Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission

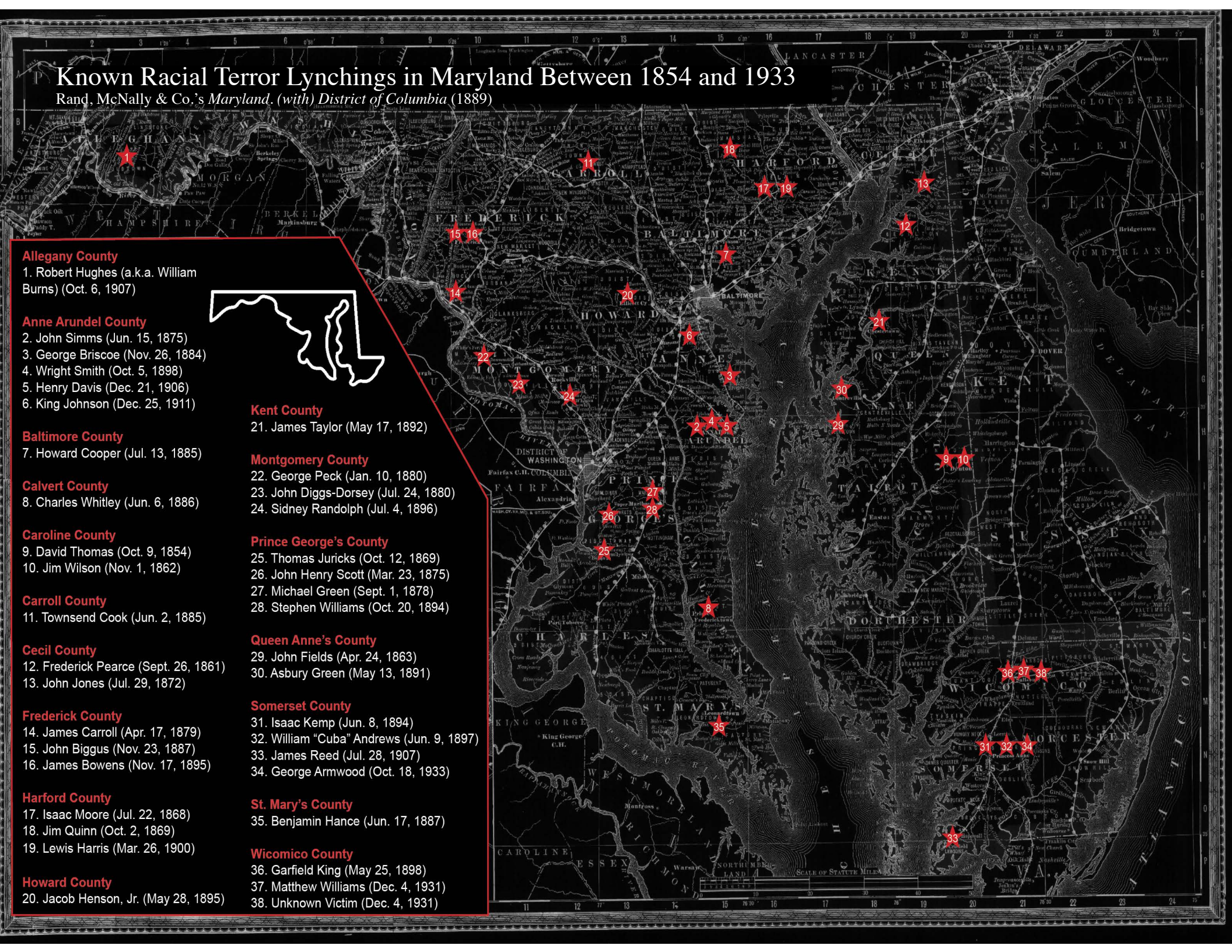
Final Report

Revised
December 9, 2025

Depiction of the lynching of Matthew Williams by Edmund Duffy.
From the collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Gift of Allen Seeber

Known Racial Terror Lynchings in Maryland Between 1854 and 1933

Rand, McNally & Co.'s *Maryland. (with) District of Columbia* (1889)



Allegany County
1. Robert Hughes (a.k.a. William Burns) (Oct. 6, 1907)

Anne Arundel County
2. John Simms (Jun. 15, 1875)
3. George Briscoe (Nov. 26, 1884)
4. Wright Smith (Oct. 5, 1898)
5. Henry Davis (Dec. 21, 1906)
6. King Johnson (Dec. 25, 1911)

Baltimore County
7. Howard Cooper (Jul. 13, 1885)

Calvert County
8. Charles Whitley (Jun. 6, 1886)

Caroline County
9. David Thomas (Oct. 9, 1854)
10. Jim Wilson (Nov. 1, 1862)

Carroll County
11. Townsend Cook (Jun. 2, 1885)

Cecil County
12. Frederick Pearce (Sept. 26, 1861)
13. John Jones (Jul. 29, 1872)

Frederick County
14. James Carroll (Apr. 17, 1879)
15. John Biggus (Nov. 23, 1887)
16. James Bowens (Nov. 17, 1895)

Harford County
17. Isaac Moore (Jul. 22, 1868)
18. Jim Quinn (Oct. 2, 1869)
19. Lewis Harris (Mar. 26, 1900)

Howard County
20. Jacob Henson, Jr. (May 28, 1895)

Kent County
21. James Taylor (May 17, 1892)

Montgomery County
22. George Peck (Jan. 10, 1880)
23. John Diggs-Dorsey (Jul. 24, 1880)
24. Sidney Randolph (Jul. 4, 1896)

Prince George's County
25. Thomas Juricks (Oct. 12, 1869)
26. John Henry Scott (Mar. 23, 1875)
27. Michael Green (Sept. 1, 1878)
28. Stephen Williams (Oct. 20, 1894)

Queen Anne's County
29. John Fields (Apr. 24, 1863)
30. Asbury Green (May 13, 1891)

Somerset County
31. Isaac Kemp (Jun. 8, 1894)
32. William "Cuba" Andrews (Jun. 9, 1897)
33. James Reed (Jul. 28, 1907)
34. George Armwood (Oct. 18, 1933)

St. Mary's County
35. Benjamin Hance (Jun. 17, 1887)

Wicomico County
36. Garfield King (May 25, 1898)
37. Matthew Williams (Dec. 4, 1931)
38. Unknown Victim (Dec. 4, 1931)

Chair
David O. Fakunle, Ph.D.

Vice Chair
Charles L. Chavis, Jr., Ph.D.

Staff
Sophie Asike, Esq.
Trish Floyd
Zenita Hurley, Esq.
Kristin McFarlane, Esq.

Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Commissioners
David Armenti
Lindsey Baker
Iris Leigh Barnes, Ph.D.
Simone Barrett-Williams, Ph.D.
Michelle Coles, Esq.
Nicholas Creary, Ph.D.
Maya Davis
Teisha Dupree-Wilson, Ph.D.
Holly Fisher-Hickman, Ph.D.
Christopher E. Haley
Elizabeth Hughes
Amy Millin
Robert Parker
Carl Snowden
Marshall Stevenson, Ph.D.
Stephanie Suerth

December 1, 2025

The final report of the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission (MLTRC) represents the culmination of a historic, extraordinary and sacred labor: the first state-sponsored effort in the United States to investigate, document, and reckon with the history of racial terror lynching within its own borders.

From the moment the Commission was established in 2019, we have understood that this work was not ours alone. We stand on the shoulders of those who came before us – community historians, descendants, educators, faith leaders, activists, and countless unsung truth-tellers who refused to let silence be the final word. Their courage, persistence, and love for justice guided every step of this journey. It is to them, the 38 known victims of racial terror lynching in Maryland, and those victims of racial terrorism whose names are lost to time – for now – that we dedicate this work.

This report bears witness to a chapter of Maryland's history too long denied: the era between 1854 and 1933, when Black Marylanders – descendants of Africans who suffered unimaginable horrors as part of the Transatlantic Slave Trade (*Maafa*) – were terrorized, brutalized, and murdered by White mobs, often with at best the negligence and at worst the complicity of local and state institutions. No perpetrators were ever held accountable, and these crimes against humanity were not isolated acts of violence; they were part of a system designed to enforce an unfounded racial hierarchy, White power, through fear.

The work of the MLTRC has been scholarly, community-rooted, and spiritual. Over more than six years, the Commission held fourteen public hearings in counties across Maryland, concluding with a final statewide institutional and reconciliation hearing. We listened to descendants, historians, community leaders, policymakers, and advocates. We examined thousands of pages of archival records and historical evidence. We stood in the very places where violence once occurred and where communities gathered in remembrance. In every hearing, in every testimony, we heard echoes of both trauma and resilience.

This report is divided into two parts:

Part I documents the history and geography of racial terror lynching in Maryland. Through meticulous historical research and community testimony, it chronicles the stories of 38 documented victims: names once buried beneath silence and shame are now acknowledged for how they lived and not simply the sadism surrounding their undeserved deaths. Some may ask: these men were accused of committing heinous crimes. Why should we honor them? The answer lies in the foundational principles of justice itself: due process and the presumption of innocence until proven guilty. None of these victims received a fair trial. None faced a jury of their peers. None had the opportunity to present evidence in their defense. Moreover, pioneering journalist and anti-lynching activist Ida B. Wells documented through meticulous research that many accusations of rape – the charge most

frequently used to justify lynching – were spurious. Her investigations revealed that some accusations involved clandestine consensual relationships between Black men and White women, relationships that violated social taboo and, in Maryland, also violated anti-miscegenation laws. Other accusations were fabricated entirely to provide cover for economic competition, labor disputes, or simply the desire to terrorize Black communities into submission. We honor these victims not to endorse alleged crimes, but to affirm that every person – regardless of accusation – deserves due process, a fair trial, and protection from mob violence. In so doing, we honor the rule of law itself.

Part II offers 84 recommendations for repair and reconciliation. These recommendations – rooted in law, history, and moral responsibility – address not only the legacy of racial terror lynching, but the enduring harms of racial inequities and inequalities in criminal justice, education, health, land ownership, financial and economic sustainability, and media representation. Critically, they call for accountability and acknowledgment of state and institutional complicity in racial terrorism, reparations for those harmed, and systemic reforms to prevent future injustices.

We recognize that some may question why Maryland should undertake this work now, more than ninety years after the last documented lynching. The answer is found not in the calendar, but in the present. Notably, there is no statute of limitations on murder. This work represents an opportunity to investigate and address 38 open murder cases – crimes against humanity for which no one was ever held accountable. Furthermore, the systems and structures that enabled racial terror lynching – disparities in law enforcement, economic exclusion, educational inequity, health injustice – did not disappear in 1933. They transformed. Today's racial wealth gap, disproportionate incarceration rates, maternal mortality disparities, and land loss among Black families are direct descendants of the policies that racial terror lynching was designed to enforce. Delay has not diminished this harm; it has compounded it with interest.

Our recommendations extend beyond the descendants of the 38 known lynching victims because lynching was never solely about the individuals killed. It was a system of terror designed to subjugate an entire community and to enforce racial hierarchy that harmed – and continues to harm – all Black Marylanders. Every Black person who modified their behavior out of fear, who lost property to White mobs, who was denied economic opportunity, who fled their community to protect their family, was a victim of this system. To limit repair to direct descendants would be to fundamentally misunderstand the nature and scope of racial terrorism. Accountability for these crimes cannot be limited to individual acts of violence; it must address the institutional structures and state actors who enabled, encouraged, or failed to prevent these murders.

This work asks nothing of individual Marylanders beyond what we owe one another as members of a shared community: acknowledgment of truth and participation in repair. The recommendations do not assign personal guilt for historical acts; they recognize that we have all inherited institutions, systems, and disparities shaped by Maryland's history of racial terror. However, inheritance brings responsibility. While individuals living today did not commit these murders, the institutions we sustain – law enforcement agencies, courts, local governments – failed to prevent them, investigate them, and hold perpetrators accountable. True accountability requires these institutions to acknowledge their role and implement reforms that prevent such failures from recurring. Just as we benefit from the roads, schools, and infrastructure built by previous generations, we also inherit the responsibility to repair the harms they left unaddressed. This is not about punishment; it is about honest accounting and forward investment in a Maryland that works better for everyone.

Finally, we recognize Maryland faces fiscal challenges. Yet we cannot afford not to address these issues. The cost of inaction – in lost human potential, in economic inefficiency, in social instability, in the burden of mass incarceration, in public health expenditures treating the symptoms of inequality – far exceeds the investment required for meaningful repair. Many of our recommendations cost nothing; they require only political will and commitment to justice. Others represent investments that will generate returns in the form of stronger communities, better health outcomes, improved educational achievement, and reduced involvement in the criminal justice system. The question is not whether Maryland can afford to act, but whether we can afford to continue bearing the mounting costs of unaddressed historical harm.

Together, these sections form a call to action: to acknowledge, appreciate and respect the truth, to understand and reckon with the past, to hold institutions accountable for their failures, and to repair what remains broken. As Commissioners were consistently reminded during the journey of this meaningful work, racial terrorism has not gone away…rather, it has evolved. By extension racism continues to evolve, and, as the current moment demonstrates, it has a devastating impact on all people and not just those most oppressed. Therefore, racism is everyone's problem. The fires of resentment, mistrust, and division that burn in our communities today were lit by torches of racial terror centuries ago, and we cannot extinguish those fires by ignoring how they started. Given that the MLTRC was charged with better understanding and exploring justice for an official time period amounting to less than a quarter of the state's near-400-year existence, our work should not be misconstrued as satisfactory to addressing the totality of history's impact. Instead, it should be interpreted as a significant piece of a much more consequential puzzle.

Although the formal work of the Commission has reached its end, the work of truth-telling, justice, and accountability must continue. Reconciliation cannot be a single act, but an ongoing process of courage, empathy, restoration, and love. We hope that this report will serve as a foundation for Marylanders – and for the people of this country, now more than ever – to continue this work in homes, classrooms, courthouses, pews, and communities for generations to come. If nothing else, we encourage readers of this report to own these stories for all they can teach about the past, for how they can contextualize the present, and for how they offer wisdom to help dictate a more desirable future. Every person has a role they can play, and so we uplift the ability and opportunity to craft a narrative worth living, telling, and preserving.

We present this report, representative of some of the most important work we may ever do in our lives, with reverence and gratitude – to the victims of racial terrorism both known and unknown, to their descendants who have carried memory through generations with dignity, to the descendants of perpetrators and spectators who have chosen to stand on the side of humanity, and to the communities across Maryland who continue to reclaim their history in pursuit of healing and virtue. We offer these recommendations not as a burden, but as an opportunity – to build a Maryland that honors its full history, holds its institutions accountable for past failures and future commitments, repairs longstanding harms, and creates conditions for all people to thrive. The choice before us is not whether to pay for the past, but whether to invest in a future worthy of our highest values.

May truth remain our guide, justice our practice, reconciliation our legacy, and peace our goal.

Dr. David O. Fakunle, Chair

Dr. Charles L. Chavis, Jr., Vice Chair

Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Table of Contents

Executive Summary 11
Introduction 12
Maryland's Victims of Racial Terror Lynchings 13
MLTRC Background 17
MLTRC Composition and Scope of Work 17
Commissioners 17
At-Large Commissioners 18
Staff 18
Project Managers 18
Public Members of The Reconciliation Committee 19
Report Writers, Designers, And Researchers 19
Overview of the Report 22
Part I: **Truth** 25
Historical Context for Racial Terror Lynchings 27
Research 32
Central Maryland 36
Capital Region 59
Western Maryland 71
Eastern Shore 84
Southern Maryland 107
Findings 117
Part II: Reconciliation 121
Legal Foundation 124
Recommendations 132
A. Maryland's Apology and Acknowledgment of Responsibility 135
B. Material Reparations Recommendations 139
C. Criminal Justice Recommendations 145
D. Community Healing Recommendations 156
E. Educational Recommendations 162
F. Mental Health Recommendations 169
G. Symbolic Reparations 174
H. Media Recommendations 180
I. Funding, Implementation, & Monitoring Recommendations 186
Suggested Timeline for Implementation 187
Recommendations Table 189
Appendix A: Glossary Definitions With Sources A-2
Justice/Legal Framework Terms A-2
Analytical/Conceptual Terms A-3
Research/Documentation Terms A-4

Table of Contents

Demographics/Population Terms A-5
Economic/Social Terms A-5
Criminal Justice Terms A-6
Educational Terms A-7
Health/Wellness Terms A-8
Memorial/Commemoration Terms A-9
Policy/Reform Terms A-9

Appendix B: Case Studies B-1

Anne Arundel County Lynching Cases B-2
Case Study: John Simms B-3
Case Study: George Briscoe B-7
Case Study: Wright Smith B-11
Case Study: Henry Davis B-16
Case Study: King Johnson B-22
Baltimore County Lynching Case B-28
Case Study: Howard Cooper B-29
Carroll County Lynching Case B-38
Case Study: Townsend Cook B-39
Harford County Lynching Cases B-46
Case Study: Isaac Moore B-47
Case Study: Jim Quinn B-52
Case Study: Lewis Harris B-56
Howard County Lynching Case B-62
Case Study: Jacob Henson Jr. B-63
Montgomery County Lynching Cases B-87
Case Study: George Peck B-88
Case Study: John Diggs-Dorsey B-96
Case Study: Sidney Randolph B-108
Prince George's Lynching Cases B-124
Case Study: Thomas Juricks B-125
Case Study: John Henry Scott B-131
Case Study: Michael Green B-136
Case Study: Stephen Williams B-140
Allegany County Lynching Case B-155
Case Study: Robert Hughes (A.k.a. William Burns) B-156
Frederick County Lynching Cases B-165
Case Study: James Carroll B-166
Case Study: John Biggus B-173
Case Study: James Bowens B-179

Table of Contents

Caroline County Lynching Cases B-192
Case Study: David Thomas B-193
Case Study: Jim Wilson B-197
Cecil County Lynching Cases B-202
Case Study: Frederick Pearce B-203
Case Study: John Jones B-206
Kent County Lynching Case B-210
Case Study: James Taylor B-211
Queen Anne's County Lynching Cases B-221
Case Study: John Fields B-222
Case Study: Asbury Green B-226
Somerset County Lynching Cases B-235
Case Study: Isaac Kemp B-236
Case Study: William "Cuba" Andrews B-242
Case Study: James Reed B-247
Case Study: George Armwood B-253
Wicomico County Lynching Cases B-264
Case Study: Garfield King B-265
Case Study: Matthew Williams B-274
Case Study: Unknown ("John Smith") B-292
Calvert County Lynching Case B-308
Case Study: Charles Whitley B-309
St. Mary's County Lynching Case B-317
Case Study: Benjamin Hance B-318

Appendix C: Anti-Lynching Legislation C-1
1898 (Williams) C-2
1933 (Metzerott) C-3
1933 (Altfeld, No.57) C-6
1933 (Altfeld, No.58) C-7
1933 (Goodman/Ades) C-8

Appendix D: Concentric Circles of Conspiracy D-2

Appendix E: MLTRC Hearing Participants, Research Contributors, and Affiliated Organizations E-2

Appendix F: Participants and Expert Witnesses | Statewide Hearing April 4 And 5, 2025 F-2
Written Testimony F-4
Yvette Carnell F-4
Jonathan M. Smith F-9
Gloria Ladson-Billings, Professor Emerita, FBA F-14

Table of Contents

Darcelle Lahr, Ed.d., MBA, PE F-17
Professor Joel Edward Goza F-23
Matiangai Sirleaf F-26
William Darity Jr. F-47
Adjoa A. Aiyetoro F-49
Armstrong Williams F-52
Frances Murphy Draper F-54
Joanne M. Braxton, Ph.d. F-58
Dr. Gail C. Christopher, D.N. F-64

Appendix G: Links To Public Hearings and Media Coverage G-2

Appendix H: MLTRC Recommendations for Future Truth And Reconciliation Commissions H-1

“Lynching is color-line murder.”

Ida B. Wells
“Lynching, Our National Crime” (1909)

Executive Summary

Racial terror lynching is defined by the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission (MLTRC) as "the unlawful killing of an African American[1] by white mob violence, often with the apparent complicity of state and local officials, intended to incite racial terror and subservience to white supremacy."[2] These acts of violence were a recurring feature of life in the United States during the century following the Civil War, spanning from 1865 to the mid-20th century.

The MLTRC was established in 2019 by House Bill 307. Its mandate was later expanded by House Bill 297 in 2021 and Senate Bill 478 in 2023. The Commission is authorized to investigate racially motivated lynchings of African Americans in Maryland, particularly those carried out by white mobs. MLTRC is the first state-sponsored commission of its kind in the nation. Part 1 of this report documents the history of racial terror lynching in Maryland through detailed case studies of the 38 known victims for whom sufficient and verifiable primary source information exists (see **Appendix B** for the individual case studies). This work is informed by contributions from the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, local county coalitions, state and local historical societies, oral histories, and expert testimony collected at 13 public hearings held between October 2, 2021, and final statewide hearings on April 4–5, 2025 (see **Appendix E** for the list of affiliated organizations, and **Appendix G** for links to public hearings and related media coverage).

Between 1854 and 1933, at least 38 Black Marylanders were victims of racial terror lynchings. Their stories—recovered through the work of the MLTRC and its community partners—anchor this report's findings. The research findings indicated that while the geographic, political, and economic characteristics of Maryland's counties varied widely, the following themes surfaced repeatedly in places where racial terror lynchings occurred:

1. The Black men who were lynched were accused of crimes without due process.
2. Law enforcement systems throughout the state enabled the mob violence against the victims of racial terror lynching.
3. Lynchings occurred in areas with high rates of free Black residents and Black landownership.
4. Most of the racial terror lynchings occurred as a by-product of enforced racial segregation and political suppression following the end of slavery.
5. Most racial terror lynchings occurred in places of geographic and jurisdictional isolation.
6. The history of racial terror lynchings was erased from public memory for decades.
7. Throughout the state and from the beginning of Maryland's history, there have been resilient Black communities, despite the impacts of racial terror lynchings.
8. Maryland began and functioned as a Southern state throughout the period of racial terror lynchings.

The Commission was also mandated to develop and present a set of formal recommendations to the Maryland General Assembly, aimed at enacting specific and measurable public actions for truth-telling, accountability, and reparative justice at the community, county, and state levels. **Part II** of the report puts forward 84 recommendations accompanied by relevant legal justifications. The recommendations from the MLTRC to address the history and impact of racial terror lynchings fall into nine key categories:

1. Apology and Acknowledgment of Responsibility;
2. Material Reparations – proposing tangible investments to repair historical and ongoing harms;

3. Criminal Justice – addressing the absence of accountability and broader failures of the legal system;
4. Community Healing – fostering spaces and practices for grief, remembrance, and resilience;
5. Educational – integrating the history of racial terror into curricula and public education;
6. Mental Health – supporting culturally competent, trauma-informed services for descendants and communities;
7. Symbolic Reparations – including apologies, memorials, and public acknowledgments to honor victims and affirm the truth;
8. Media – promoting accurate, respectful storytelling to counter historical distortion; and
9. Funding, Implementation, and Monitoring – ensuring recommendations are resourced, enacted, and assessed with transparency and accountability.

Through this report, the Commission seeks to honor the truth, pursue justice, and lay the foundation for meaningful reconciliation across Maryland.

A glossary of terms used throughout the report is included in **Appendix A** to ensure the important research and stories are accessible to all readers.

Introduction

The Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission (MLTRC) was established to investigate the cases of Marylanders who were victims of racial terror lynching between 1854 and 1933. These acts of violence were intended to uphold white supremacy through fear and brutality. Not a single perpetrator of these lynchings was ever held accountable.

The Commission is committed to uncovering the truth behind these crimes—many of which were carried out with the complicity and/or willful neglect of local and state authorities. Through historical research, public hearings, and community engagement, the MLTRC seeks to:

- Restore dignity to the victims and their families;
- Provide space for public acknowledgment and commemoration;
- Support healing within the affected communities;
- Develop recommendations for repair and restitution for Maryland's descendants of African chattel slavery; and
- Provide opportunities for the State of Maryland, county and local governments, and private entities to hold themselves accountable for contributing to creating an environment that allowed the perpetration of racial terror lynchings with impunity.

By confronting this painful chapter in Maryland's history, the Commission aims to promote justice, foster reconciliation, and ensure that similar acts of racial terror are never repeated.

Maryland's Documented Victims of Racial Terror Lynchings

As one of the original colonies, a border state during the Civil War, and a state located within sight of the nation's capital, Maryland carries a deeply complex history rooted in the legacies of slavery, freedom, and racial injustice. Between 1854 and 1933, at least 38 Black Marylanders were killed in documented acts of racial terror lynching. The individuals named below are remembered here by county:

Allegany County

- **Robert Hughes** (a.k.a. William Burns) (*Cumberland, October 6, 1907*) worked as a hotel porter. He was the son of Wormley Hughes, a preacher, and Georgetta Hughes, a teacher. He was related to Sally Hemings, mother of the children of Thomas Jefferson. Robert Hughes was the twin brother of Ethel May and the brother of John Henry Hughes, who was married to Mary Wanda Hughes; Selena Hughes Johnson, who lived in Pittsburgh with her aunt; and Sarah Myrtle Hughes, the youngest sibling.

Anne Arundel County

- **John Simms** (*Annapolis, June 15, 1875*) was a farmer.
- **George Briscoe** (*Outside of Annapolis, November 26, 1884*) was married.
- **Wright Smith** (*Annapolis, October 5, 1898*) was a laborer and a South Baltimore Republican politician. He was married to Margaret.
- **Henry Davis** (*Annapolis, December 21, 1906*) was a laborer. He was married and the son of Eliza Reed.
- **King Johnson** (*Brooklyn, December 25, 1911*) worked as a laborer.

Baltimore County

- **Howard Cooper** (*Towson, July 13, 1885*) was the son of Henrietta and Joshua Cooper, who worked as a farmer and had served as a Civil War veteran. He had a twin brother, was the grandson of David and Louisa Davis on his mother's side and Abraham and Lucinda Hayes Cooper on his father's side, and the nephew of five paternal aunts and uncles. There were allegations of Howard Cooper's diminished mental capacity, which influences some of the recommendations in Part II.

Calvert County

- **Charles Whitley** (*Prince Frederick, June 6, 1886*) worked as a domestic servant. He was the son of Caroline Whitley of Virginia and had only recently moved from Virginia to Maryland at the time of his lynching.

Caroline County

- **David Thomas** (*Denton, October 9, 1854*) was a free Black laborer. He was married to Levene and was the father of Mary, Susanne, and Elizabeth.
- **Jim Wilson** (*Denton, November 1, 1862*) was a farmer and a free Black man from three generations of free Blacks with substantial land holdings.

Carroll County

- **Townsend Cook** (*Westminster, June 2, 1885*) worked as a laborer. He was the third child of Augustus Cook, a qualified voter, and Margaret Cook. He was the brother of Dennis, Roderick, and Mary Cook.

Cecil County

- **Frederick Pearce** (*Cecilton, September 26, 1861*) was 13 years old and enslaved at the time of his lynching.

- **John Jones** (*Near Chesapeake City, July 29, 1872*) worked as a laborer. He was married to Hester Ann Jones and was the father of three young children: Josephine, age four; William, age three; and Alexander, age four months.

Frederick County

- **James Carroll** (*Point of Rocks, April 17, 1879*) worked as a laborer on the C&O Canal.
- **John Biggus** (*Jefferson Pike, November 23, 1887*) was the son of Henry and Emma Biggus. He was engaged to Ida Burns and had only recently arrived in Frederick before he was lynched.
- **James Bowens** (*Frederick City, November 17, 1895*) worked as a laborer. He was the son of Minnie and Samuel Bowens, a Civil War veteran. He played on one of Frederick's amateur Black baseball teams and was an active Republican.

Harford County

- **Isaac Moore** (*Near Bel Air, July 22, 1868*) was believed to have been born free.
- **Jim Quinn** (*Between Black Horse and Jarrettsville, October 2, 1869*) worked as a laborer.
- **Lewis Harris** (*Bel Air, March 26, 1900*) was married to Martha Turner. He was the son of Overton and Dorcas Harris of Louisa County, Virginia.

Howard County

- **Jacob Henson, Jr.** (*Ellicott City, May 28, 1895*) worked as a store clerk and was known in the community for his quiet diligence. He was the son of Jacob Henson Sr., once enslaved by Charles Washington Dorsey, and Eveline Ireland Henson. His family's roots stretched through generations of enslavement and service to prominent Maryland families—his grandmother, Lucy Ireland, had been enslaved by James McCubbin and Gabriella Peters, the granddaughter of Martha Washington. Raised in Ellicott City, Jacob Henson Jr. came from a large, accomplished family. One of his sisters studied nursing at Howard University, one brother served as a Buffalo Soldier in the U.S. Army, another joined the Merchant Marines, and his brother David Henson lived in Baltimore. Jacob Henson Jr. himself remained in Ellicott City, where he clerked for tavern owner Daniel Shea and was also baptized Catholic in infancy. A year before his death, he served St. Paul's Catholic Church by pumping the bellows of the organ—a role remembered by parishioners after his lynching in 1895.

Kent County

- **James Taylor** (*Chestertown or Kennedyville, May 17, 1892*) worked as a farmhand. He was the son of Charles and Elizabeth Francis Taylor and the brother of Mary and Julia Taylor.

Montgomery County

- **George Peck** (*Poolesville, January 10, 1880*) worked as a laborer.
- **John Diggs-Dorsey** (*July 24, 1880*) was a farm laborer. He was the son of John H. Williams of Washington, D.C., and the brother of a married sister who also lived in Washington, D.C.
- **Sidney Randolph** (*Rockville, July 4, 1896*) was a laborer born in Georgia who had worked in Pittsburgh's steel mills as a young man. He later moved to Maryland in search of work. His lynching sparked the formation of the Anti-Lynching Society.

Prince George's County

- **Thomas Juricks** (*Piscataway, October 12, 1869*) was a freedman tenant farmer and the son of Jacob and Milly Juricks. He was the brother of Joseph, Edward,

and Jacob Juricks—the latter a Civil War veteran and co-founder of a Freedman's Bureau school for Black children in New Market, Frederick County. Thomas Juricks was the father of six children: Milton, Abs, John, Mary Ella, Henry, and Jane.

- **John Henry Scott** (*Near Oxon Hill, March 23, 1875*) worked as a laborer. At the time of his lynching, he was reportedly survived by his mother and brother.
- **Michael Green** (*Upper Marlboro, September 1, 1878*) was a laborer and tenant farmer. He served in the Civil War with the 3rd Regiment, Maryland Infantry, Potomac Home Brigade, Company E, as a private from February 28, 1864, to May 29, 1865. He later opened a bank account with the Freedmen's Bureau Bank in 1871. He was the husband of Laura Rideout and the father of Sophia Green; the grandfather of Mary Ann "Maggie" Queen; the great-grandfather of Joseph D. Taylor, Arthur James Taylor, Charles Bernard Taylor, and Henrietta Taylor; and the great-great-grandfather of Lewis James Harris III of South Carolina in 2004.
- **Stephen Williams** (*Upper Marlboro, October 20, 1894*) was married to Carrie Williams. He was one of nine known children born to Thomas and Maria Julia Williams, who had been enslaved and may have had additional children.

Queen Anne's County

- **John Fields** (*Queenstown, April 24, 1863*) was enslaved at the time of his lynching.
- **Asbury Green** (*Centreville, May 13, 1891*) worked as a laborer. He was married.

Somerset County

- **Isaac Kemp** (*Princess Anne, June 8, 1894*) was born in Nassau, Bahamas, and worked as a migrant strawberry picker. He was the son of York Kemp, a maritime worker, and Linda Tynes. He was naturalized in Florida in 1888.
- **William "Cuba" Andrews** (*Princess Anne, June 9, 1897*) worked as an oyster dredger. He was the son of Henry and Rebecca Andrews and the brother of Bessie Andrews.
- **James Reed** (*Crisield, July 28, 1907*) was born in Choctaw Indian Territory. He was the son of Sylvia and Henry Reed and had five siblings: Abram, Henrietta, Alice, Aaron, and Polly Reed.
- **George Armwood** (*Princess Anne, October 18, 1933*) worked as a farm laborer. There were allegations of George Armwood's diminished mental capacity, which influences some of the recommendations in Part II, but he was considered a hard worker. He was the son of Etta Armwood, the grandson of Martha Miles, and the brother of Irema and Clifford Armwood. He was also the forebear of Marci Bryant and Tina Johnson.

St. Mary's County

- **Benjamin Hance** (*Leonardtown, June 17, 1887*) was believed to have been born free. He worked as a household servant and a ship hand, and he was a parishioner at St. Aloysius Catholic Church.

Wicomico County

- **Garfield King** (*Salisbury, May 25, 1898*) was the son of Nathan and Ann Maria King. He had seven siblings: Alexander, Minerva, Scott, Alice, Louisa, James U., and Naomi. The King family was one of the first prominent Black families to settle in Trappe District, Maryland, and they contributed significantly to the area's social and economic success as educators, religious leaders, veterans, entrepreneurs, and community figures. Garfield King's nephew, Thomas Pope, was a Buffalo Soldier. Many King family members attended Friendship United Methodist Episcopal Church and are buried in its cemetery. The family valued education, and records show that several members, including Garfield King, graduated from the Princess Anne "Colored" Academy (now the University of Maryland Eastern Shore - UMES).

- **Matthew Williams** (*Salisbury, December 4, 1931*) worked as a laborer in a box factory, where he was known as a quiet and hardworking man. He was the son of Harry (also recorded as Hosay) and Annie Handy Williams, and the brother of Olivia Simmons. After his mother's death, he was raised by his maternal grandmother, Mary Lowe Handy, and his aunt, Addie Black. Following his grandmother's passing, he continued to live near his cousin, Mary Black. He attended John Wesley Methodist Church and had planned to join the Elks fraternal group.
- **Unknown Victim** (*Salisbury, December 4, 1931*): Lynched in Salisbury in connection with the Matthew Williams' lynching.

Within and beyond the time period covered by this report are those Black Marylanders who were the victims of other forms of state violence. These include, but are not limited to:

- The killing of an enslaved man, possibly named George, who was reportedly stabbed by a man named Joshua Anderson on June 23, 1853 in Washington County;
- **Nicholas Snowden**, who was lynched in 1885—his killers reportedly white men disguised in blackface;[3]
- The legal lynching of **James Allen** on July 6, 1894 who was accused of assaulting a white woman and lived in the same locality as Stephen Williams in Prince George's County;[4]
- The legal lynching of **William Leazer** on July 21, 1905 who was hanged in Annapolis, Md., for the accused murder of Police Officer John McNamara;[5]
- The killing of Edna Broten (or Broughton), who was struck and killed on October 18, 1933, by a vehicle occupied by Margaret Nelson, Fred Nelson, and another man as they rushed to join the lynching of George Armwood;
- The legal lynching of **Page Jupiter** on February 2, 1934 who was hanged after supposedly confessing to killing a white woman with an axe;[6]
- The legal lynching of **Marshall Eddie Conway** in 1970 who was intentionally accused and framed for the murder of a Baltimore Police officer and placed on a path to execution by gas chamber through the apparatus of the Maryland justice system;[7]
- **Freddie Gray** who sustained fatal injuries in 2015 while in police custody for possession of a knife; and
- **Korryn Gaines** who was killed in her home by police officers attempting to serve a warrant on August 1, 2016.

This broader history of racialized violence in Maryland remains largely untold. Few meaningful efforts have been made to confront its legacy or to address its lasting impact on Maryland's families, communities, and institutions.

MLTRC Background

The MLTRC was established in 2019 by House Bill 307 and amended by House Bill 297 in 2021 and Senate Bill 478 in 2023. It is the first commission of its kind in the United States. The Commission is authorized to investigate cases of racially motivated lynchings of African Americans in Maryland, specifically those carried out by white mobs. In addition to conducting thorough historical research, the Commission is empowered to hold public meetings and regional hearings in counties where such acts occurred. To date, evidence gathered from archival records and community-based research has identified at least 38 documented cases of racial terror lynchings in Maryland between 1854 and 1933.

MLTRC Composition And Scope Of Work

Operating under the authority of the Maryland Office of the Attorney General, the MLTRC has convened consistently since its founding in 2019. Supported by dedicated staff and volunteer members—including Commissioners and committee participants—the Commission has worked diligently to research and document the history of racial terror lynchings in the state.

This effort builds on the foundational work of the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project and the 14 affiliated county coalitions, which have sought to center the humanity of victims, commemorate their lives, and confront the legacy of racial violence. Since 2018, these local efforts have included the research and documentation of the history of racial terror lynchings; advocacy for the public acknowledgment of these murders; hosting community remembrance events (e.g. soil collection ceremonies, installation of historical markers, annual remembrance ceremonies, naming of parks); and other forms of public education and engagement.

Over the course of the Commission's work, the following people have served:

Commissioners

Maryland Commission on Civil Rights
- Gary Norman (2019 – 2022)
- Stephanie Suerth, Ph.D. (2022 – present)

Maryland State Archives
- Timothy Baker (2019 – 2020)
- Maya Davis (2020 – 2021)
- Christopher E. Haley (2021 – present)

Maryland Historical Trust
- Elizabeth Hughes (2019 – present)

Commission on African American History and Culture
- Tamara England Wilson, D.Min. (2019 – 2021)
- Maya Davis (2021 – present)

Maryland State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
- Carl Snowden (2019 – present)

Reginald F. Lewis Museum of African American History and Culture

- Jacqueline Copeland (2019 – 2019)
- Damika Baker (2019 – 2020)
- Jacquelyn Bullock (2020 – 2021)
- Izetta A. Mobley, Ph.D. (2021 – 2024)
- Robert Parker (2024 – present)

The National Great Blacks In Wax Museum

- David O. Fakunle, Ph.D. (2019 – present)

Maryland Center for History and Culture (formerly Maryland Historical Society)

- David Armenti (2019 – present)

Maryland Lynching Memorial Project

- Nicholas Creary, Ph.D. (2019 – present)

Lillie Carroll Jackson Civil Rights Museum

- Iris Leigh Barnes, Ph.D. (2019 – present)

Bowie State University

- Roger Davidson, Ph.D. (2019 – 2025)
- Holly Fisher-Hickman, Ph.D. (2025 – present)

Coppin State University

- Elgin Klugh, Ph.D. (2019 – 2021)
- Teisha Dupree-Wilson, Ph.D. (2021 – present)

Morgan State University

- Simone Barrett-Williams, Ph.D. (2019 – present)

University of Maryland, Eastern Shore

- Marshall Stevenson, Ph.D. (2019 – present)

At-Large Commissioners

- Charles L. Chavis, Jr., Ph.D. (2019 – present)
- DeNeen Brown (2019 – 2023)
- Omar Eaton-Martinez (2019 – 2023)
- Kirkland Hall, Sr., Ph.D. (2019 – 2023)
- Lindsey Baker (2023 – present)
- Michelle Coles (2023 – present)
- Amy Millin (2023 – present)

Staff

Counsel, Office of the Attorney General

- Zenita Hurley, Esq. (2019 – present)
- Kristin McFarlane, Esq. (2019 – present)
- Sophie Asike, Esq. (2023 – present)

Project Managers

- Stephanie Thompson, PMP (2021 – 2023)
- Jourdana Clairbourn (2023 – 2023)
- Trish (Boyle) Floyd (2023 – 2025)

Maryland State Archives

- Christopher E. Haley (2019 – 2021)
- Emily Oland Squires (2019 – present)
- Hannah Lane (2023 – 2025)

Bowie State University

- Sonya Osei (2019 – 2021)
- Joy Ayomiposi Sarimakin (2022 – 2024)
- Ann Asare (2024 – 2025)
- Brianna Griffin (2024 – 2025)
- Arusha Evans (2025 – present)

Public Members of the Reconciliation Committee

- Michelle I. Gawerc, Loyola University Maryland (2022 – present)
- Stephanie S. Franklin, Esq., The Franklin Law Group, P.C. (2024 – present)
- Eric Wiebelhaus-Brahm, Binghamton University, State University of New York

Report Writers, Designers, and Researchers

- Dr. Jenice L. View, 3PV Consulting (2024 – present)
- Leah Danville, 3PV Consulting (2024 – present)

In its first year (FY2020), the Commission took several key steps to establish its structure and workflow:

- Appointed Chair, David Fakunle, Ph.D.
- Adopted bylaws to guide Commission operations
- Established standing committees
- Elected Vice Chair, Charles L. Chavis, Jr.
- Selected four public members
- Elected officers
- Submitted an application and subsequently received funding for the Emmett Till Cold Case Investigations Program Grant, U.S. Department of Justice–Office of Justice Programs
- Created an evidence collection form
- Issued requests to local archives and historical societies for lynching-related records
- Collaborated with county coalition leaders
- Developed recommendations for the public hearing process
- Drafted a proposed budget
- Launched a web presence
- Instituted a records management system to collect, inventory, and preserve public submissions of documents and materials relevant to the Commission's work

From the outset, the Commission was committed to a collaborative and inclusive process that welcomed contributions from individuals, institutions, and communities across the state. To support this commitment, protocols were developed to ensure that the public could share materials and stories—all of which are now part of the Commission's archives. These narratives, captured in the transcripts of public hearings, connect historical accounts to contemporary issues faced by Black communities in Maryland (see **Appendix G** for access to transcripts).

To date, the Commission has held 14 public hearings, including 10 individual county sessions in:

- Allegany County (October 2, 2021)
- Baltimore County (June 4, 2022)
- Anne Arundel County (October 8, 2022)
- Wicomico County (October 22, 2022)
- Somerset County (November 5, 2022)
- Frederick County (April 13, 2024)
- Montgomery County (October 5, 2024)
- Howard County (January 11, 2025)
- Prince George's County (January 25, 2025)
- Carroll County (February 1, 2025)

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, all of the hearings (individual county and combined regional) were livestreamed and in person.

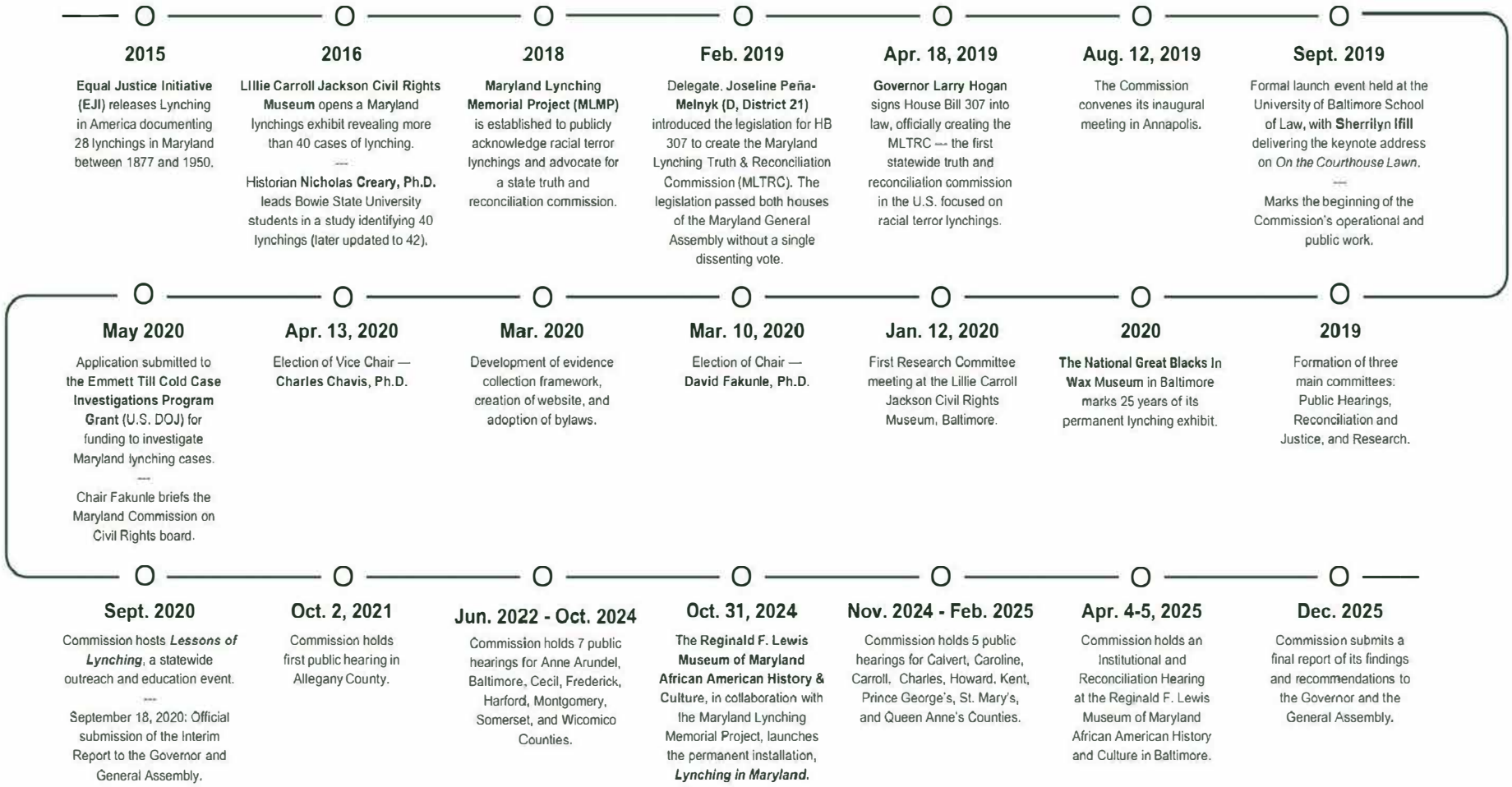
Combined hearings for:

- Harford and Cecil Counties (October 26, 2024)
- St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties (November 16, 2024)
- Caroline, Kent, and Queen Anne's Counties (December 7, 2024)

Additionally, a two-day statewide Institutional and Reconciliation Hearing was held in Baltimore City on April 4 and 5, 2025, to address broader systems and institutional harms. All hearings, including the April 2025 were in-person, livestreamed, and recorded and are available for free, public access (see **Appendix G**).

The ultimate mandate of the Commission is to develop and present a set of formal recommendations to the Maryland General Assembly, aimed at enacting specific and measurable public actions for truth-telling, accountability, and reparative justice at the community, county, and state levels.

TIMELINE OF THE MARYLAND LYNCHING TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (MLTRC)



Overview of the Report

This report is divided into two parts, each addressing a distinct but interrelated component of the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission's mandate: historical documentation and recommendations for repair.

Part I, Maryland and the Historical Context for Racial Terror Lynchings, provides historical context and case studies of documented racial terror lynchings that occurred in Maryland between 1854 and 1933. These cases are organized by region—Central, Eastern Shore, Capital Region, Western, and Southern Maryland—and then by individual counties within each region where records exist.

The Commission identified at least 38 individuals who were victims of racial terror lynching, based on available and verifiable primary source evidence. Each case study includes as much of the following information as could be determined:

- Timeline and details of the event
- Stated or alleged rationale for the lynching
- Key individuals involved (perpetrators, officials, community members)
- Political context or implications (local and state)
- Public reactions (within Black and white communities)
- Newspaper coverage
- Government and court documents
- Death certificates and coroner's reports
- Photographs and other surviving ephemera
- A bibliography of relevant scholarly or public writing
- Testimony or input from descendants (victims, perpetrators, witnesses)
- Information from local historical societies and memorial coalitions (particularly those affiliated with the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project)

Where possible, these case studies are further enriched by testimonies and personal stories shared by descendants and community members during the Commission's public hearings. All case studies are included in **Appendix B**.

Part II, Recommendations, presents 84 specific recommendations that address the ongoing impact of racial terror lynching and broader state-sanctioned racial violence—particularly as it has affected African descendants of U.S. chattel slavery in Maryland. These recommendations fall under the following categories:

- Apology and Acknowledgment of Responsibility;
- Material Reparations;
- Criminal Justice;
- Community Healing;
- Educational;
- Mental Health;
- Symbolic Reparations;
- Media and
- Funding, Implementation, and Monitoring.

Each recommendation includes a legal justification and is designed to inform enforceable legislation, actionable policy changes, and sustained programmatic implementation. This section also outlines proposed mechanisms for funding, monitoring, and oversight to ensure accountability and long-term impact. Part II concludes with a table that includes metrics, costs, and applicability for each recommendation.

The following appendices are included in this report:

- **Appendix A** is a glossary of terms that are used throughout the report
- **Appendix B** presents individual case studies of the 38 known victims of racial terror lynchings that occurred in Maryland between 1854 and 1933
- **Appendix C** includes Anti-Lynching Legislation introduced in the Maryland General Assembly
- **Appendix D** is an example of the concentric circles of conspiracy regarding lynchings
- **Appendix E** is the list of people and affiliated organizations who testified at regional hearings
- **Appendix F** is the list of experts who testified at the statewide institutional and reconciliation hearings on April 4–5, 2025 along with any expert testimony received
- **Appendix G** is links to public hearings and related media coverage
- **Appendix H** is a set of recommendations for future truth and reconciliation commissions

This report represents both an ending and a beginning. It marks the culmination of six years of research, testimony, and collaboration between the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission and local partners dedicated to illuminating the stories and humanity of Maryland's victims of racial terror lynchings. Yet it is not a definitive account. Rather, this should be viewed as a living document—one that invites continued discovery, reflection, and dialogue. Readers are encouraged to contribute new research, information, personal histories, and recommendations as Maryland continues to confront its racial past and move toward a more just and equitable future.

Endnotes

1. The original language of the legislation used the terms “African American” and “Black” to refer to African-descended residents of U.S. chattel slavery in Maryland living during the period of the historical review. Subsequently, in consideration of the reconciliation component of the Commission’s work it is useful to be specific about “Maryland’s descendants of U.S. chattel slavery” being the primary focus
2. Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Interim Report, September 21, 2020, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/interim-report.pdf
3. Archives of Maryland, Nicholas Snowden, MSA SC 3520-13735 https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013735/html/13735bio.html
4. State of Maryland: Lynching of Stephen Williams, Colored, in Prince George’s County.” The Baltimore Sun, October 22, 1894. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013742/tif/sun22oct1894.tif.
5. “Leazer To Be Hanged July 21.” The Baltimore Sun, May 19, 1905, 10, col. 2. https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/371294576/
6. “Prisoner Taken to La Plata for Hearing First: Page Jupiter, Accused in Killing, Saved from Angry Mob; Negro Now Denies Murder of Woman; Held without Bail—Sheriff Thinks Suspect Is Still Unsafe.” The Baltimore Sun, July 11, 1933, 1. https://www.newspapers.com/article/the-evening-sun-page-jupiter-4-baltimor/184825393/ ; and “Negro Convicted of Killing Woman: Page Jupiter Sentenced to Be Hanged for Murder at Waldorf; Trial Is Held Quietly; Defense Limited to Testimony on Mental Condition and Plea for Mercy.” The Baltimore Sun, November 24, 1933, 5. https://www.newspapers.com/article/the-baltimore-sun-page-jupiter-5-baltim/184826424/
7. Based on new research by Andrea Conte into the role of COINTELPRO in disrupting the Black Panther Party in Maryland, https://docs.google.com/document/d/10joYgep3eaKykoN3HOJ3bbVgjFzW6PSMLDaAWkDABKw/edit?tab=t.0

Part I

TRUTH

“What, then, is the cause of lynching?... In the first place, it is due to race hatred, the hatred of a stronger people toward a weaker who were once held as slaves. In the second place, it is due to the lawlessness so prevalent in the section where nine-tenths of the lynchings occur.”

Mary Church Terrell
“Lynching from a Negro’s Point of View,” *North American Review* (1904)

A. Historical Context for Racial Terror Lynchings

A Legacy Rooted in Contradiction

Maryland has long occupied a complex and contradictory position in the American racial landscape. As a border state during the Civil War and a slave state that remained in the Union, Maryland's legal, cultural, and political dynamics straddled both North and South.[8] These tensions produced a racial history marked not only by slavery, but also by an unusually large free Black population, widespread support for Black colonization, and persistent racial violence long after emancipation.

Between 1854 and 1933, Maryland saw at least 38 documented racial terror lynchings—public acts of violence overwhelmingly targeting Black men. Victims were often accused, but rarely convicted, of crimes against white women, men, or Black women. In addition to these killings, there were numerous near lynchings and accidental deaths as a result of mob frenzy, such as the death of seven-year-old Edna Broten in Somerset County in 1933.

These acts occurred across Maryland—rural and urban counties alike, from the Eastern Shore to Western Maryland. They functioned as tools to terrorize Black communities and to enforce white political and economic control, particularly after the end of slavery, during Reconstruction and the Jim Crow era when Black self-determination was on the rise.

Understanding these lynchings requires reckoning not just with individual mobs, but also with the legal, economic, and political systems that enabled them. Civic leaders, elected sheriffs, and mainstream media all played roles in sustaining the violence, as did the crowds of white men, women, and children who gathered to witness the lynchings and collected "souvenirs" of the brutality. The lynchings were deliberate and coordinated acts of racial terror. In every case, the victims were denied due process under the law, and their families and communities have continued to feel the impact, well into the 21st century.

Indigenous Lands, Colonial Foundations, and the Rise of Slavery

Before European colonization, the land that became Maryland had been home to Indigenous nations for thousands of years, with dense settlements, established trade networks, and sophisticated stewardship of its waterways and forests.[9] These communities cultivated corn, beans, and squash; built towns; farmed fertile riverbanks; and maintained complex diplomatic and commercial relations across the mid-Atlantic long before the arrival of English colonizers.[10]

Beginning in the early 1600s, colonial waterways like the Potomac and Susquehanna became axes for trade and tension, and Indigenous power was decimated by war, treaty, disease, and dispossession—setting the stage for Lord Baltimore's 1634 settlement on land ostensibly purchased from the Yaocomico people.[11] Acknowledging this deep history is essential: the structures of oppression—including slavery, racial segregation, and lynching—that followed colonization were made possible by settlements that displaced and marginalized centuries of Indigenous life.

Maryland was founded in 1634 by Lord Baltimore as a refuge for Catholics and a proprietary colony of England.[12] The region's early economy was based on tobacco agriculture, dependent first on indentured labor and then increasingly on chattel slavery. By 1664, Maryland codified slavery into law, declaring that African descent was hereditary and perpetual.[13]

Though rooted in Anglican and Catholic traditions, Maryland's political leadership also embraced Protestantism, particularly Methodism and Quakerism, some factions of which became vocal opponents of slavery. By the early 1800s, Maryland was home to a growing free Black population and simultaneously to one of the most aggressive colonization movements in the country. The Maryland State Colonization Society, funded by the state legislature, actively sought to remove free Black Marylanders to Liberia.[14]

A Border State's Divided Loyalties

At the time of the Civil War, Maryland's loyalties were deeply fractured. The wealthiest planters in Southern Maryland and on the Eastern Shore favored secession, while urban centers like Baltimore and parts of the western counties supported the Union. In 1864, under federal pressure, Maryland adopted a new constitution that abolished slavery—yet Black Marylanders continued to face legal, political, and physical violence.[15]

Though the state ratified the 13th Amendment, it refused to ratify the 15th (Black male suffrage) until 1973,[16] and in the years following Reconstruction, passed Jim Crow laws, segregated schools and transportation, and systematically disenfranchised Black voters.[17]

Black Progress and White Backlash

Between the 1860s and 1930s, Maryland's Black population built resilient institutions—churches, schools, fraternal organizations, and mutual aid societies. In places like Baltimore, Cumberland, Easton, and Annapolis, Black residents became property owners, educators, entrepreneurs, and civic leaders.[18]

But with every Black advance came white backlash. Lynchings, voter suppression laws, and discriminatory economic practices such as redlining–the discriminatory practice of denying financial services, like mortgages, to residents of certain neighborhoods based on their race or ethnicity–sought to reassert white supremacy. Newspapers fanned racial panic. Legislators passed voter literacy laws, banned interracial marriage, and segregated nearly every aspect of public life.[19] Sherrilyn Ifill defines the public spaces where lynchings occurred as tools to enforce the message of white supremacy.[20] Lynchings were not spontaneous—they were message crimes, often orchestrated with the tacit approval of local leaders.

The Geography of Racial Terror

Maryland's lynching history reflects its geographic diversity:

- On the Eastern Shore, large Black majorities and economic dependence on Black labor led to at least 14 lynchings over the decades of racial terror documented in this report, the largest number in Maryland.

- In Central Maryland, at least 11 documented lynchings intersected with the growth of Black political power and the rise of industrial labor competition.

- In the Capital Region, proximity to Washington, D.C. did little to protect Black residents from mob violence impacting at least seven documented lynchings.

- In Southern and Western Maryland, at least six documented lynchings occurred in counties with significant Black landownership and strong Black institutions—evidence that success, not only "criminality," fueled white rage.[21]

Across these regions, Black Marylanders often lived in the same counties as their enslavers, worked the same land, and were buried near the sites of their own brutal deaths—silenced for generations.

The Role of Maryland's Press

Maryland's media—particularly local white-owned newspapers—played a central role in sustaining the ideology and violence of white supremacy. Articles often:

- Sensationalized accusations against Black men, especially when white women were involved;
- Referred to Black suspects as "fiends," "brutes," or "black devils";
- Justified lynchings as community justice;
- Failed to call for investigation or accountability; and
- Ignored or downplayed Black voices and testimonies."

As one editorial observed in 1931 following the lynching of Matthew Williams in Salisbury:

> "Lynchings are not confined to 'backward Southern States.' They happen in the best families, as the Salisbury incident attests. The country will expect Maryland to act vigorously and effectively to clean its hands of this mob murder."[22]

But Maryland rarely did.

The Emergence of the Black Press[23]

From their beginnings in the 19th century, Black-owned newspapers sought to restore the full humanity of Black Americans, and assert the dignity and freedom of Black life in the aftermath of slavery. Across generations, Black journalists and editors—including, but not limited to, figures such as Ida B. Wells and Alexander Manly—challenged the distortions and racial violence amplified by white-owned media.

Most early Black newspapers operated in the South, where about ninety percent of Black Americans lived. Editors often calibrated how openly they reported white supremacist violence because of the very real risk of retaliation. As Black communities grew in northern and border states, rising literacy and more stable finances enabled many outlets to publish more forthright coverage of post-Reconstruction and Jim Crow racism.

Collectively, Black newspapers documented and humanized the victims of racial-terror lynchings, offering fuller, more accurate accounts and context than their white-owned counterparts. They became essential sources of information and memory for Black communities.

In Maryland, the *Baltimore Afro-American* (founded in 1892 and revived from bankruptcy in 1897) joined a broad ecosystem of Black newspapers launched nationwide between 1890 and 1910. Taken together, these newspapers fought for racial, economic, and social justice—and were the best sources on the impact of racial-terror lynchings on survivors and affected communities.

Legacy, Erasure, and Historical Reckoning

For decades, Maryland's counties avoided confronting their lynching history. The stories of at least 38 victims of racial terror lynchings were rarely mentioned in local schools, historical accounts, or government records. Through the work of local advocates and the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, these stories have brought this history to light through soil collections, documenting case histories, and holding remembrance ceremonies to begin honoring victims and confronting the past.

About the Coroner's Juries

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, coroner's juries were small panels—typically composed of white male citizens—convened by local coroners to determine the cause and manner of death in cases of sudden, violent, or unexplained deaths. In Maryland, as elsewhere in the South, these juries often met after racial terror lynchings. While they were nominally tasked with investigating the circumstances of the killing, in practice they rarely sought accountability. Coroner's juries routinely ruled that lynching victims had died "at the hands of persons unknown," even when the identities of participants were publicly known. These proceedings offered the appearance of due process while effectively legitimizing mob violence and reinforcing white impunity.

How Coroner's Juries Were Composed

Coroner's juries typically consisted of prominent white landowners, businessmen, local militia members, and civic leaders. These jurors were drawn from the same communities—and often the same networks—as lynch mobs, ensuring sympathy toward mob violence.

- In Maryland, the "judge lynch's court" system (i.e., coroner's inquests into lynching deaths) relied on 12–15 white male jurors selected from the county voter rolls or property tax rolls—that is, from the local elite who dominated both juries and mobs.[24]

Sources Often Included Lynch Mob Participants

These juries frequently included men who:

- Directly participated or were sympathetic to the lynch mob
- Knew the accused and victims personally
- Had conflicts of interest, including economic or political motives
  As a result, their rulings ("died at the hands of parties unknown") effectively protected the mob, ensuring no legal accountability.[25]

Composition & Process: Maryland's Context

From news articles pertaining to the at least 38 known victims of racial terror lynchings , we know:

- Coroner's juries declared lynchings murder, yet claimed they had no information to identify perpetrators—despite widespread local knowledge.
- Many inquests were conducted within days, often at the coroner's residence or sheriff's office, and might include only a handful of jurors.
- Jurors were drawn from eligible voters or property owners, effectively preventing Black participation as members of the coroner's juries, reinforcing elite solidarity and suppressing evidence.

Case Examples: Juror Composition in Action

- **George Peck (Montgomery, 1880):**
  When his body was taken down, the coroner summoned a jury—who concluded his death was by "parties unknown." Yet local papers later reported that neighbors *observed* the coroner's jury was drawn from men "who knew exactly who did it"—and made no effort to investigate.[26]

- **Maryland Inquest Records (Post-1900):**
  Newspapers often proved that coroner inquests into lynchings across counties were rote affairs, with jurors drawn entirely from local elites, utterly failing to challenge mob violence.[27]

Why This System Was Effective in Protecting Mob Violence

1. **Legal Shielding**: Declaring "unknown parties" effectively halted investigation and prosecution.

2. **Community Consensus**: Jurors agreed with the lynch mob's moral justification, viewing the mob as an extension of justice.

3. **Institutional Complicity**: Law enforcement and judges refused to intervene, biasing juries further.

4. **Cultural Legitimacy**: In small communities, upholding the mob bolstered social standing among whites.

Maryland and Beyond: A Broader Pattern

- A 1900 Maryland grand jury investigation in Harford County found that county coroners and jurors routinely refused to identify lynchers, even when some participants were publicly known.[28]

- This mirrored national patterns: lynchings were declared "murders" by coroners, but juries—composed of the same white elite—routinely found no criminal culpability.[29]

- These coroner's juries were not neutral fact-finders; they were agents of suppression, part of the system that reinforced white supremacy and mob rule.

Summary: Coroner's Juries as Enablers of Lynching

Function	Effect
Jurors drawn from local white elite	Shared ideology with the lynch mob
Rapid inquests with narrow scope	No prosecution allowed
Verdicts of "unknown perpetrators"	Legal impunity guaranteed
No oversight or appeals	Mob violence becomes institutionalized

Coroner's juries in lynching cases were not investigative bodies—they were instruments of erasure, designed to protect the lynch mob under the veneer of legality.

Conclusion

Maryland's racial history is not a footnote—it is a central story of American contradiction. A state where Catholic refugees sought religious liberty but built plantations. A state that "freed" its enslaved population while rejecting their political rights. A state that remained in the Union while tolerating enslavement and, later, the extrajudicial killing of its own citizens.

To understand the history of racial terror lynching in Maryland is to confront the ways in which law, culture, and silence coalesced to enforce white supremacy. But it is also to honor the resilience of Black communities, the memory of those lost, and the ongoing demand for truth, justice, and reconciliation at the community and State levels.

B. Research

Due to the varying political, social, and economic climates across the state of Maryland, we have separated the discussions of the 38 racial terror lynchings into the following geographic regions: Central Maryland, Capital Region, Western Maryland, Eastern Shore, Southern Maryland.

Endnotes

8 Equal Justice Initiative, Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror, 3rd ed. (Montgomery, AL: EJI, 2017) https://eji.org/reports/lynching-in-america/.

9 Towson University, "What you should know about our region's Native tribes," Newsroom, October 11, 2024 https://www.towson.edu/news/articles/2024/what-to-know-native-tribes.html

10 Towson University, "What you should know about our region's Native tribes," Newsroom, October 11, 2024 https://www.towson.edu/news/articles/2024/what-to-know-native-tribes.html

11 Task Force to Study the History and Legacy of Slavery in Maryland, Final Report (December 31, 1999), MdHR 991422; "Indigenous Peoples of the Chesapeake Region," Towson University Indigenous Research Guide, Albert S. Cook Library.

12 "Maryland," Encyclopedia Britannica Online, https://www.britannica.com/place/Maryland.

13 Maryland General Assembly, "An Act Relating to Negroes and Other Slaves," 1664, in the Archives of Maryland Online.

14 Richard L. Hall, On Afric's Shore: A History of Maryland in Liberia, 1834–1857 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2003).

15 Jean H. Baker, The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

16 *Celebrating Rights and Responsibilities,* "Baltimore & the Fifteenth Amendment, May 19, 1870" https://msa.maryland.gov/dtroy/project/ratify/

17 Maryland State Archives, "Timeline of Black History in Maryland," https://guide.msa.maryland.gov/pages/viewer.aspx?page=afrosources.

18 Edith B. Wallace, "They Have Erected a Neat Little Church," *The Rural African American Experience, 1865–1900*, National Park Service, 2021.

19 "The African American Experience in Maryland," *Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission*, 2023.

20 Sherrilyn Ifill, *On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the 21st Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007), 64-66.

21 Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, "County Case Studies," https://www.mdlynchingmemorial.org.

22 *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, December 6, 1931.

23 Fred Carroll, (2017). *Race News: Black journalists and the fight for racial justice in the twentieth century*, University of Illinois Press, pp. 16-22.

24 Washington County Coroner's Inquisitions, "Coroner's Inquisitions – Washington Co., Maryland, Book 12, 1906-1911," USGenWeb (MDFrederick), https://usgenwebsites.org/MDFrederick/county/washington/inquisitions/wc_inq_12.htm

25 An example of this is the case of George Peck, a young man accused of attempted rape. The alleged assault was interrupted by a local preacher who held George Peck at gunpoint until the County Constable James Uriah "Hugh" Miles arrived. Constable Miles was a nephew of George Peck's employer Lemuel Beall, the son of Beall's sister Elvira and Lemuel Beall served on the coroner's jury after George Peck's lynching. "Lynch Law in Maryland." The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, MD), January 13, 1880, 1. https://www.newspapers.com/image/371757105/

26 Marc Rowell, "The Lynching Memorial Project Collects Soil at Site of George Peck's Murder," Washington Post, November 3, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2019/11/03/lynching-memorial-project-collects-soil-site-lynching-george-peck/; and "The Story of George Peck," Montgomery History, https://montgomeryhistory.org/lynchings-in-montgomery-county/lynchings-george-peck/.

27 For example, in the case of James Taylor (Kent County) almost every news source that mentions the mob stated that it was comprised of known and highly regarded individuals from Chestertown: "Five hundred persons were engaged in the lynching, some of them connected with the best families in town." (The Times-Transcript (Moncton, Moncton Parish, New Brunswick, Canada), May 20, 1892, p. 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1105780444/.) There is also substantial evidence that city officials approved the lynching of James Taylor ("Jim Taylor Lynched," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland), May 19, 1892, p. 4, https://www.newspapers.com/image/372946127/).

28 Petula Dvorak, "More Than 100 Years Late, Lynchings Get a Hearing," The Washington Post, October 28, 2024,https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2024/10/28/more-than-100-years-late-lynchings-get-hearing/

29 Sherrilyn A. Ifill, On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the Twenty-First Century (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007), 32, 35, 55-56.

“The hanging and charred black body on display outside the courthouse symbolized to the lynch mob and their supporters the independence of the local white community from the dictates of Annapolis and Baltimore.”

Sherrilyn Ifill
On the Courthouse Lawn (2007)

Central Maryland

Central Maryland

Overview

Central Maryland—including the counties of Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Carroll, Harford, and Howard Counties—was the political, cultural, and economic center of the state during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Home to the state capital and situated between the ports of Baltimore and the rail lines of the Piedmont Plateau, the region balanced agrarian tradition and industrial modernization, Confederate sympathy and Union loyalty, and a deep-rooted white elite with an increasingly assertive Black population.

Despite the diversity of geography and demography across these counties, a common thread connected them: the violent enforcement of white supremacy in response to Black freedom, labor, and political power.

Racial Demographics and Migration Patterns

In the years leading up to the Civil War, Central Maryland's Black population was both significant and regionally distinct. Counties like Anne Arundel and Howard had high percentages of enslaved people and large free Black populations—among the largest in the state.[30] Baltimore County, though more industrially mixed, relied on both urban and rural slavery, while Howard and Carroll featured smaller but still significant Black communities.

- In 1860, Black residents made up:
    - 51% of Anne Arundel County
    - 14% of Baltimore County
    - 8% of Carroll County
    - 23% of Harford County
    - 32% of Howard County[31]

Following emancipation in 1864, Black Marylanders across Central Maryland sought to rebuild their lives—founding churches, schools, and farming settlements. In places like Parole (Anne Arundel), Turner Station and East Towson (Baltimore County), and Freetown (Howard), freedmen created self-sufficient communities despite legal and extralegal barriers. Many remained near the plantations, mills, or urban centers where they or their families had been enslaved.[32] But Black mobility remained limited by geography, racism, and entrenched white power structures.

Labor, Land, and Economic Exclusion

While Eastern Shore counties remained heavily agrarian, Central Maryland saw more economic diversification in the late 19th century. Baltimore County developed industrial corridors in Sparrows Point and Catonsville.[33] Howard and Anne Arundel Counties combined grain farming with milling and port activity.[34] Harford exported fruit along the Susquehanna River and the Chesapeake Bay.[35]

Yet across these economies, Black labor remained undervalued and exploited. In all five counties, Black residents worked in agriculture, domestic service, construction, and factory labor—but rarely gained access to capital, land, or political leverage. Black landownership was limited to a few self-contained enclaves, and Black businesses faced systemic denial of loans, permits, and licenses.[36]

Reconstruction and White Backlash

After emancipation, Black men across Central Maryland began to vote, organize, and hold political meetings, often aligning with the Republican Party. They formed mutual aid societies, political clubs, and church-based coalitions, and were instrumental in shaping Reconstruction politics in Annapolis and Baltimore.[37]

But that progress was short-lived. By the 1870s, white Democrats and business elites began rolling back Black civic gains through:

- Gerrymandering–manipulating the boundaries of electoral districts to benefit a political party, incumbent, or group–and voter suppression;
- Segregated schools, railcars, and neighborhoods; and
- Intimidation, job loss, and physical violence.

The white press reinforced these efforts, often portraying Black voters as ignorant or dangerous. In Carroll and Howard Counties, Black Republicans were attacked at rallies, mocked in political cartoons, or driven from polling places.[38] Even in counties with large Black populations, like Anne Arundel, Democratic operatives wielded sufficient legal and economic power to strip Black residents of meaningful political participation.

Lynching and Racial Terror

These patterns of suppression were enforced not only through policy but through racial terror. Between 1868 and 1911, Central Maryland was the site of at least 11 documented lynchings of Black men, most of whom were murdered while in custody or due to unproven accusations of assault.

- In Anne Arundel County, five Black men—**John Simms** (1875), **George Briscoe** (1884), **Wright Smith** (1898), **Henry Davis** (1906), and **King Johnson** (1911)—were lynched over four decades.
- In Baltimore County, **Howard Cooper** (1885), a 15-year-old, was lynched outside the Towson jail after a rushed trial and pending appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.
- In Carroll County, **Townsend Cook** (1885) was hanged by a mob after being denied a fair trial.
- In Harford County, **Isaac Moore** (1868), **Jim Quinn** (1869), and **Lewis Harris** (1900) were all lynched under circumstances typical of racial scapegoating and mob rule.
- In Howard County, **Jacob Henson Jr.** (1895) was lynched near Woodbine under allegations of assault.

Segregation, Silence, and Memory

By the early 20th century, Central Maryland's systems of segregation were firmly in place. Black schools were segregated and remained underfunded. Public housing, transportation, and even hospitals were segregated by law or practice. Black professionals faced barriers to licensing and business development. Some communities operated as sundown towns, where Black people were warned not to remain after dark.[39]

Equally striking was the historical amnesia. Across the region, lynchings were erased from public memory, omitted from local textbooks, and ignored by government officials.

Generations of Black and white residents grew up with no knowledge of what had happened in their own courthouses or jail yards.

Only in recent years—through the work of the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, the MLTRC, and community historians—have these stories begun to reemerge. Soil collection ceremonies, historical markers, and public hearings have helped restore names to the victims and context to their deaths.

Conclusion

Central Maryland's counties were not peripheral to Maryland's history of racial terror—they were at its core. Here, state laws were written, verdicts rendered, and the illusion of order masked deep, sanctioned injustice. While no documented lynchings occurred within Baltimore City itself, the city remained deeply intertwined with the violence that unfolded across the region. Black men accused of crimes in nearby counties were often transferred to Baltimore's jails to protect them from lynch mobs—an act that exposed both the volatility of white violence and the state's failure to ensure due process beyond the city's limits. At the same time, Baltimore's courts, newspapers, and political institutions sustained the legal and cultural framework that justified racial terror elsewhere. In this sense, the city's role was paradoxical: a place of relative refuge amid mob unrest, yet also a seat of power that legitimized the racial hierarchy on which such violence depended.

As we turn to the individual county narratives and case studies that follow, this regional framing serves as a reminder: racial terror did not exist in isolation. It was structured, sustained, and sanctioned across counties—and its legacy continues to shape life in Central Maryland today.

“These aren’t good times for a Negro man to be too proud, step too high. There are a lot of white men hard up. There are a lot of white men out of work. They won’t be wanting to see a big proud black man getting along. They’ll be lynchings now.”

Sherwood Anderson
“Lookout, Brown Man” *The Nation* (1930)

Anne Arundel County

John Simms (1875)
George Briscoe (1884)
Wright Smith (1898)
Henry Davis (1906)
King Johnson (1911)

County Overview

Founded in 1650, Anne Arundel County sits at the crossroads of the Chesapeake Bay and the state capital, Annapolis.[40] As one of Maryland's oldest and most influential counties, its history has been shaped by the tensions of proximity: close to state and national power, yet resistant to racial progress. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, Anne Arundel's elite white families controlled not only state politics, but also the legal and social architecture that upheld enslavement, segregation, and racial violence.

Despite its genteel image, Anne Arundel County witnessed more documented racial terror lynchings than any other county in Maryland—a pattern that reflected both its political significance and its deep racial hostility.

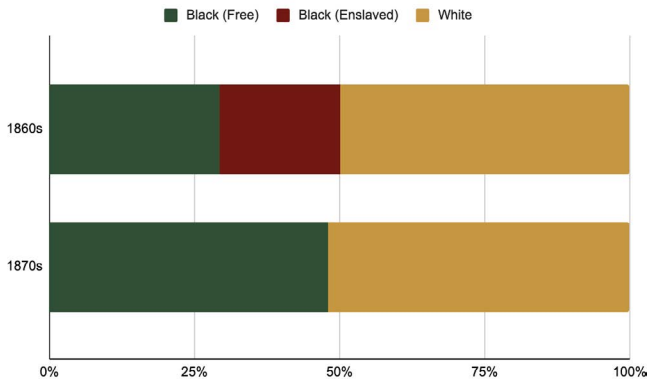
Racial Demographics and the Legacy of Slavery

In 1860, the county's population totaled approximately 23,900, with over 12,000 Black people (51%)—the highest proportion in the state. Of those, close to 5,000 were enslaved.[41] Anne Arundel's plantation economy depended on enslaved labor to cultivate tobacco, wheat, and corn, especially in the southern part of the county and along the Chesapeake.[42]

By 1870, after Maryland's abolition of slavery in 1864, the Black population remained high—over 11,000 people (about 48%) of the county's total.[43] These newly freed individuals lived in rural hamlets such as Parole, Galesville, and Lothian, often near the land where they or their families had been enslaved.[44] Though emancipation ended bondage, it did not yield justice. Most Black residents became tenant farmers, domestic laborers, and watermen, working for the same white landowners who had once enslaved them.

Labor, Land, and Black Resilience

Post-emancipation, African American communities developed resilience, rooted in faith, work, and self-help. In Shady Side, residents purchased land, farmed, fished Chesapeake Bay, built houses, boarding houses, schools,[45] and churches like St. Matthew's UMC—all fostering independence through shared institutions.[46] Nearby Bacontown (circa 1860), anchored by Mt. Zion UMC and a schoolhouse, similarly exemplified such village-building among freedpeople.[47]



Black churches like Asbury Broadneck United Methodist[48] and Mt. Zion UMC[49] functioned as more than places of worship—they were sites of mutual aid, education, and political

discussion. In nearby Bacontown, the church housed a schoolhouse and lodge, symbolizing mutual aid and local institution-building among Black residents.[50]

Still, economic opportunity remained deeply racialized. Black teachers, for example, were often denied licenses or assigned to crumbling schools. In the early 20th century, white school commissioners offered Black teachers half the salary of their white peers for the same work.[51]

Political Disenfranchisement and White Supremacy

After Reconstruction, white political leaders in Anne Arundel County moved swiftly to disenfranchise Black voters, using a combination of gerrymandering, literacy tests, and intimidation. Although Black men were legally eligible to vote due to the 15th Amendment to the Constitution, many faced direct threats or economic retaliation if they attempted to exercise that right.[52]

In Annapolis and outlying communities, Democratic ward bosses and white civic clubs ensured that Black political influence remained marginal, even as Black residents outnumbered whites in many districts.[53] As did white editors nationwide,[54] the local press often reinforced white supremacy through racist caricatures and inflammatory editorials using abusive stereotypes about Black people.[55]

Racial Terror and Lynching

Anne Arundel County was the site of at least five documented lynchings of Black men, each rooted in the racist logic that white fear—especially regarding white women—justified extralegal murder.

- **John Simms** (1875), a farmer, was lynched after being accused of attacking a white woman.
- **George Briscoe** (1884), married, was taken from custody and hanged without trial near Crownsville after being accused of multiple robberies.
- **Wright Smith** (1898), a laborer who was married to Margaret and a south Baltimore Republican politician, was lynched outside Parole after a rumor of an attempted assault of a white woman.
- **Henry Davis** (1906), a laborer and son of Eliza Reed, was dragged from the Annapolis jail and hanged from a tree near the city after being accused of assaulting a white woman.
- **King Johnson** (1911), a laborer, was lynched after being accused of killing a white man.

In each case, the men were murdered by white mobs—often with tacit or active cooperation from law enforcement. No perpetrators were ever prosecuted.

These lynchings served not only to punish the accused, but to terrorize the broader Black community, discouraging social, economic, and political advancement.

Legacy, Erasure, and Historical Reckoning

For decades, Anne Arundel County avoided confronting its lynching history. The stories of John Simms, George Briscoe, Wright Smith, Henry Davis, and King Johnson were rarely mentioned in local schools, historical accounts, or government records.[56] A turning point came in 2018, when the Annapolis City Council passed a resolution formally apologizing

for the historical lynchings of Black men in the city and county. This was one of the earliest and most explicit acknowledgments of local complicity in racial violence in Maryland.

The following year, in 2019, Anne Arundel County became the first in the state to install a historical marker through the Equal Justice Initiative's Community Remembrance Project. Originally placed in downtown Annapolis and later relocated to the grounds of the Severna Park Library, the marker honors all five Black men who were lynched in the county. Its dedication was organized by Connecting the Dots Anne Arundel County, a coalition of local racial justice advocates, in partnership with EJI. Together, these efforts, along with remembrance events, marked the beginning of a broader reckoning, transforming long-standing silence and erasure into a public process of remembrance and accountability.

Yet the broader legacy of inequality remains. Black residents still face disparities in housing, education, and political representation—echoes of the violence and exclusion that shaped Anne Arundel County's past.

Additional details can be found in the case studies of John Simms, George Briscoe, Wright Smith, Henry Davis, and King Johnson in Appendix B.

Baltimore County

Howard Cooper (1885)

County Overview

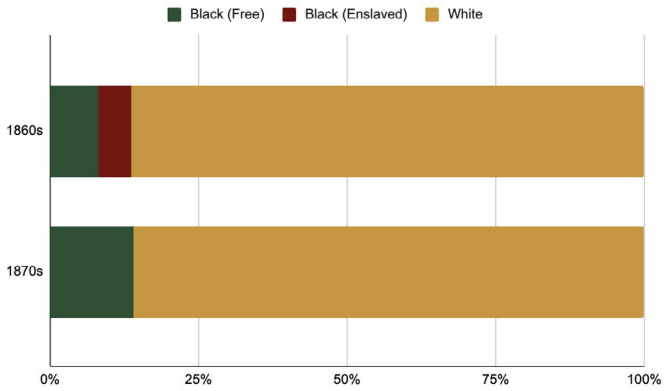
Baltimore County, founded in 1659, has long occupied a transitional space between rural Carroll and Harford counties and the urban intensity of Baltimore City.[57] While Baltimore City formally separated from the county in 1851, the two jurisdictions remained deeply intertwined—economically, socially, and politically. Baltimore County's proximity to the city, coupled with its own emerging industrial base and agricultural roots, made it a microcosm of Maryland's racial contradictions: modernizing yet exclusionary, industrial yet agrarian, reformist in rhetoric yet deeply segregated in practice. The county seat, Towson, symbolized white civic power as the site of the former Hampton Plantation, which was one of the largest in the U.S. The Baltimore County Courthouse, located in Towson, was built in the 1850s, sat a few blocks from the jail where 15-year-old Howard Cooper, was lynched in 1885 and near the Black community of East Towson founded in 1829 by freed Blacks who had been enslaved by the Ridgley family on the Hampton Plantation/Estates.[58]

Labor, Industry, and Black Migration

In the 19th century, Baltimore County's economy was anchored by agriculture (especially wheat, corn, and dairy farming), iron and limestone mining, and light manufacturing.[59] With the rise of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and nearby Baltimore ports, parts of the county developed into regional shipping and transportation hubs. By the late 1800s, Sparrows Point, which soon became one of the world's largest steel production centers, drew Black laborers from southern Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas.[60]

In 1860, Black people comprised about 14% of the county population (7,413 of 54,135), including over 3,000 enslaved individuals.[61] By 1870, following emancipation, the Black population had risen to 47,921, but stayed around 14% of Baltimore County's overall population.[62] Many settled near employment centers in Catonsville, Reisterstown, Texas (Cockeysville), and Oella, where they labored in stone quarries, canneries, fields, and homes.[63]Despite their central role in the county's economy, Black residents were structurally denied land ownership, fair wages, or upward mobility.

Baltimore County and the Civil War



Baltimore County, like much of Maryland, was deeply divided during the Civil War. While the state officially remained in the Union, the county harbored significant Confederate sympathies, especially among wealthy landowners and rural whites.[64]

Many prominent families in the county enslaved people and resisted federal abolition efforts. In 1861, county officials attempted to maintain armed neutrality, but Union troops occupied nearby Baltimore City and enforced federal control. While some county residents enlisted in the Union Army, others joined or aided the Confederate cause, including through smuggling, spying, and harboring Confederate

soldiers.[65]This internal division created lasting tension during and after the war. Following emancipation, many white residents—particularly in northern and western Baltimore County—opposed Reconstruction policies and resisted Black civil rights through both legislation and intimidation.[66]

Segregation, Surveillance, and Black Community-Building

Baltimore County maintained formal and informal systems of segregation that paralleled, and in some cases influenced, those in Baltimore City. Public schools were fully segregated well into the 20th century, with Black students attending one- or two-room schools that lacked plumbing, heat, or libraries.[67] Housing segregation was enforced through both zoning and racial restrictive covenants, particularly in emerging suburban areas like Pikesville, Dundalk, and Essex, where Black residency was often legally or violently blocked.[68] The Baltimore courthouse upheld property covenants and voting restrictions that disenfranchised Black residents, even after the Supreme Court ruled against them.[69]

Nevertheless, Black communities formed resilient neighborhoods and institutions. In Turner Station, Black workers employed at Bethlehem Steel built a thriving, self-sustaining enclave.[70] In Winands Road,[71] Lutherville, and Relay, Black residents formed churches, schools, and benevolent societies that provided spiritual grounding, education, and social services amid structural exclusion.[72] The *Baltimore Afro-American* newspaper, formed in 1889 as the *Home Protector,* became an important force in uplifting Black life and resisting the biased narratives about Black people, not only in Baltimore, but nationwide through its rigorous investigative reporting and by including the voices of Black people in the stories about their communities.[73]

Criminalization and the Lynching of Howard Cooper

Baltimore County's justice system routinely failed to protect Black defendants, who were tried by all-white juries and often denied legal representation. Sheriffs frequently collaborated with or yielded to white mobs, especially in cases involving alleged crimes against white women.

On July 13, 1885, **Howard Cooper**, a Black 15-year-old, was dragged from the Baltimore County Jail by a mob of white men.[74] He had been convicted by an all-white jury for an unsubstantiated crime in just minutes and was awaiting an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. The mob lynched him from a sycamore tree just outside the courthouse.[75]

Though newspapers reported widely on the lynching, no one was arrested or prosecuted.[76] Black residents of Baltimore County and Baltimore City were terrorized, and legal authorities offered no protection. Baltimore County officials routinely transferred Black detainees to Baltimore City jails, where there was a presumption of stronger facilities and a slightly more accountable legal culture that offered greater protection, although this was never guaranteed.[77]

Geographic Proximity, Racial Division

Baltimore County's proximity to Baltimore City deeply shaped racial relations. For some Black residents, the city offered slightly better job prospects and relative safety, while the county remained hostile and rigidly segregated. Yet for others—particularly in rural or industrial areas—relocation wasn't feasible, and Black residents faced daily surveillance and legal vulnerability.

The courthouse in Towson, while distant from Baltimore's political reformers, was central to enforcing white supremacy in suburban and rural areas. At the same time, Black migration from the South and surrounding counties brought waves of laborers who reconstructed cultural and social life amid exclusion. Churches like St. John's AME, Mount Olive Baptist, and Union Bethel AME in Catonsville served as sites of resistance and education.

Legacy and Memory

For generations, Howard Cooper's lynching was omitted from county histories, unmarked and unacknowledged. It was not until 2021 that a historical marker was erected in Towson, in between two community planned soil collection ceremonies in 2018 and 2023, organized by the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project with Equal Justice Initiative, the Baltimore County Lynching Memorial Project and other local partners.[78] On July 13, 2025–the 140th anniversary of Howard Cooper's lynching–a park, located across the street from the Old Jail where Howard was murdered, was dedicated the Truth & Community Remembrance Park. Howard Cooper's first cousin, thrice removed, provided comments at the Remembrance Ceremony and participated in the unveiling of an interpretive sign about the horrific crime of the lynching.[79]

Today, efforts to confront Baltimore County's racial terror history are growing—but the landscape of segregation, displacement, and silence endures. The county's legacy is not only written in its court records, but in the neighborhoods that were built through resistance—despite every effort to exclude them.

Additional details can be found in the case study of Howard Cooper in Appendix B.

Carroll County

Townsend Cook (1885)

County Overview

Founded in 1837, Carroll County was carved from parts of Baltimore and Frederick Counties and named after Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence.[80] Nestled in the Piedmont hills of north-central Maryland, Carroll County developed a largely agrarian economy and was historically defined by its white Protestant majority, small towns, and deep-seated racial and political conservatism.

Though it had a smaller Black population than many of its neighboring counties, Carroll County played a visible role in Maryland's post-emancipation racial terror history—most infamously in the 1885 lynching of **Townsend Cook** in Westminster.[81] The county's combination of racial isolation, Confederate sympathy, and cultural hostility to Black advancement made it a uniquely volatile space for Black life in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

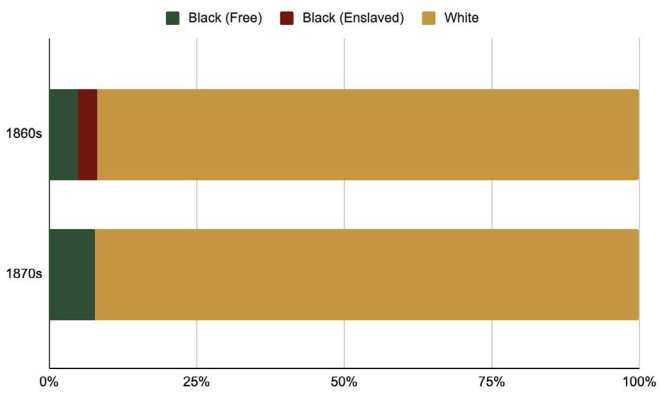
Racial Demographics and Enslavement Legacy

Carroll County was never a large slaveholding county, but slavery and white supremacy nonetheless shaped its development. In 1860, just before the Civil War, Carroll County had a total population of roughly 24,500. Of these, about 2,000 were Black (nearly 8%), including approximately 1,225 free and 783 enslaved individuals.[82] Roughly half of the Black population was free.[83]

By 1870, Carroll County's Black population appears to have remained steady at just over 2,000 residents, making up approximately 7–8% of the county—consistent with the 1860 and 1880 census data.[84] Though freed from bondage, most Black residents faced grinding poverty, job discrimination, and persistent racial hostility. By 1930, the Black population remained stagnant at just over 2,000 people, constituting 5% of the county's population.[85] This low percentage made Carroll County one of Maryland's most racially homogenous counties—but it also increased the vulnerability of its Black communities to isolation and violence.

Civil War Allegiances and Political Backlash

Carroll County, though nominally part of a Union state, was known for its Confederate sympathies. Local men joined both the Union and Confederate armies, and skirmishes occurred near the county's border during the Gettysburg campaign.[86] After the war, Carroll County's white electorate mirrored that of the rest of the state and became staunchly Democratic and anti-Reconstruction, resisting efforts to enfranchise Black citizens or integrate public life.[87]



Black men in Carroll County voted overwhelmingly Republican during Reconstruction and the years that followed.[88] Their votes helped sway local elections and challenged white political control. But this participation also made Black voters targets for backlash in the form of ridicule, job loss, and physical violence. The white press regularly caricatured Black Republicans as ignorant or dangerous, and Democratic leaders portrayed Black political organizing as a threat to "order."[89]

Labor, Land, and Black Community Life

In the decades after emancipation, most Black Carroll Countians worked in agriculture, domestic service, or manual trades. Some families acquired small plots of land in Uniontown, Taneytown, and New Windsor, though landownership remained rare.[90] The heart of Black life existed in settlements like Union Street in Westminster, where families established churches, lodges, and schools.

Churches like Centenary United Methodist in Westminster and White Rock United Methodist Episcopal in Sykesville/Eldersburg were much more than places of worship. Founded by formerly enslaved congregants in the late 1860s, these institutions served as hubs for education, fostering political awareness, and providing social protection in an era of structural exclusion. Centenary's historic building (1869) anchored civic leadership in Westminster, while White Rock's initiation of educational events, community programming, and cemeteries underscore its central role in Black empowerment.[91] Black educators and pastors served as leaders in the fight for dignity amid constant white surveillance.

Still, the county's Black schools were underfunded and overcrowded, teachers underpaid, and often lacking heat or books. Black students attended school in makeshift buildings—often church basements—with outdated materials and no transportation support.[92]

Segregation, Surveillance, and Racial Violence

Carroll County's white residents enforced a strict color line through legal and extralegal means. Public accommodations were segregated by custom. Black families were discouraged from living in certain areas or attempting to move into white neighborhoods. Newspapers and political leaders used language that portrayed Black residents as outsiders or threats.

This hostility culminated in the lynching of **Townsend Cook**, a Black laborer and third child of Margaret and Augustus Cook (a registered voter), was accused of assaulting a white woman in 1885. Before he could receive a trial, Townsend Cook was abducted from the Carroll County Jail in Westminster by a mob of masked white men and hanged from a tree near town.[93] The local press offered conflicting accounts—some condemning the act, others tacitly approving it. No one was arrested or prosecuted.

Townsend Cook's murder sent a clear message: Black people in Carroll County could not count on legal protection, even within the courthouse walls.

Legacy and Silence

In general, local narratives often emphasized the county's religious values and agricultural stability, while ignoring the violence that underpinned its racial order. For decades, Carroll County offered no public acknowledgment of its lynching history, and Townsend Cook's name was omitted from official histories and school textbooks. Recently, his story has been incorporated into a module on Civil Rights during the Progressive Era in Carroll County Public Schools' U.S. History classes. Although his name is spelled incorrectly,

the lesson is intended to educate students that lynching was not confined to the southern states.

Through the efforts of historians and truth-telling initiatives—such as Maryland Lynching Memorial Project and the Carroll County Lynching Memorial Project– Townsend Cook's lynching has been publicly named.

Additional details can be found in the case study of Townsend Cook in Appendix B.

Harford County

Isaac Moore (1868)
Jim Quinn (1869)
Lewis Harris (1900)

County Overview

Founded in 1774, Harford County lies in the northeastern corner of Maryland, bordered by the Susquehanna River and Chesapeake Bay.[94] Though sometimes viewed as a rural buffer between Baltimore and the Mason-Dixon Line, Harford was a significant site of enslavement, early Black freedom, and racial terror.

Its central location and access to major waterways made Harford a hub for both agricultural wealth and military activity. The county's proximity to Pennsylvania also helped foster an active free Black population before the Civil War—yet that same borderland positioning also made Harford a hotbed for white supremacist resistance after emancipation.

Racial Demographics and the Legacy of Enslavement

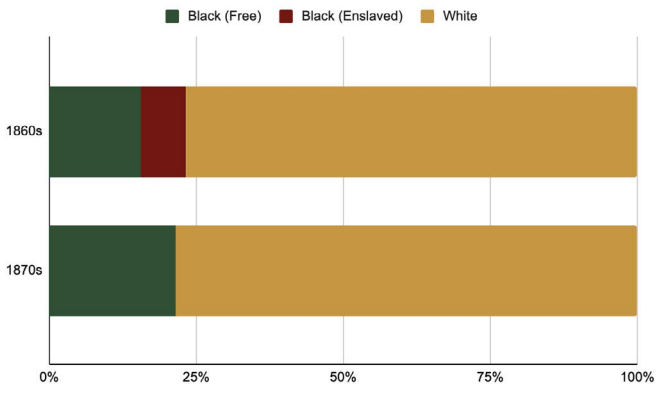
By 1860, Harford County's population was just over 23,415 with about 5,444 Black people (~23%)—more than 3,600 of whom were free,[95] making Harford County home to one of the state's largest free Black communities prior to the Civil War. These free families often lived in clusters near Bel Air, Havre de Grace, and Darlington, where they formed churches, farms, and labor cooperatives despite intense restrictions.

In 1870, following Maryland's abolition of slavery, the Black population remained relatively steady at around 4,855 people (~22%), but structural exclusion deepened.[96]

Labor, Land, and Segregated Survival

Harford County's economy in the 19th century was rooted in grain, dairy, and orchard farming, supplemented by fishing, canning, and shipping along the Chesapeake. Black residents—both enslaved and free—formed the backbone of that economy.[97] After emancipation, many Black families remained on the land, working as tenant farmers, sharecroppers, or domestic servants, often under conditions nearly as exploitative as slavery.

Despite this, Black Harford Countians established self-sufficient communities across the county. Churches like Hosanna AME in Darlington, St. James AME in Havre de Grace, and Clark's Chapel Methodist Episcopal Church served as education centers, voting hubs, and mutual aid providers.[98] Established in the adjacent church in 1865, and built in 1867, Hosanna School was one of the first publicly funded Black schools in Maryland; it was likely built by formerly enslaved people determined to claim education as a birthright.[99]



Black Harford Countians also made major cultural contributions, including Daniel Ross and Henry Hopkins who represented Harford County at a Convention of the Free Colored People of Maryland, held in Baltimore on

July 25th, 1852 “for the purpose of taking into consideration the present condition and prospects of the colored race.”[100]

Segregation, White Backlash, and the Ku Klux Klan

Following Reconstruction, Harford County’s white leadership increasingly enforced segregation through zoning policies, unequal school funding, and voter suppression. Black schools, such as Central Consolidated and Havre de Grace Colored School, operated with outdated textbooks, second-hand supplies, and no transportation support. Few Black students stayed in school past the 7th or 8th grade, and per-pupil funding—such as at Bel Air Colored School—lagged significantly behind white schools.[101]

White supremacy was not just structural—it was organized and often violent. The Ku Klux Klan was active in Harford County by the 1920s. On August 24, 1924, the first Ku Klux Klan church in the United States, according to its pastor, was dedicated Sunday in Webster, Havre de Grace. The symbol of hate, Webster Community Christian Church, contained an “electric fiery cross” on its steeple and was guarded by Klansmen for a week.[102] Klan members included local businessmen, law enforcement officers, and even clergy, who sought to enforce racial separation and intimidate Black residents attempting to assert their rights.

Lynching and Racial Terror

Harford County was the site of at least three documented lynchings of Black men during the post-Civil War period:[103]

- In 1868, **Isaac Moore,** a Black man who was believed to have been born free, was accused of assault and attempted rape, seized by a mob, and hanged from a tree.
- In 1869, **Jim Quinn**, a laborer, was lynched after being accused of sexual assault; reports at the time said the mob “did its duty.”
- In 1900, **Lewis Harris**, married to Martha Turner and the son of Overton and Dorcas Harris of Louisa County, Virginia, was accused of assaulting a white woman. He was pulled from custody and lynched without trial.[104] His murder was widely reported in the local press—and justified as “community justice.”

Legacy and Historical Reckoning

Spurred by the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project and the Harford County Committee of the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, Harford County has begun to publicly acknowledge the murders of Isaac Moore, Jim Quinn, and Lewis Harris and soil collections have been held for all three men.

Additional details can be found in the case studies of Isaac Moore, Jim Quinn, and Lewis Harris in Appendix B.

Howard County

Jacob Henson, Jr. (1895)

County Overview

Carved from Anne Arundel County in 1851, Howard County sits at the heart of Maryland, geographically between Baltimore and Washington, D.C.[105] Although its landscape is now marked by planned communities like Columbia, its 19th- and early 20th-century history was shaped by enslavement, Reconstruction-era Black political organizing, and violent white backlash.

Howard County's location at the junction of major economic and transportation routes—the B&O Railroad, the Patapsco River, and the National Pike—gave it early economic vitality.[106] But these same corridors also allowed ideas, people, and political movements to move rapidly—making Howard County a contested racial frontier, where Black communities fought to build institutions and claim rights, even as white residents and media sought to crush that progress through violence and erasure.

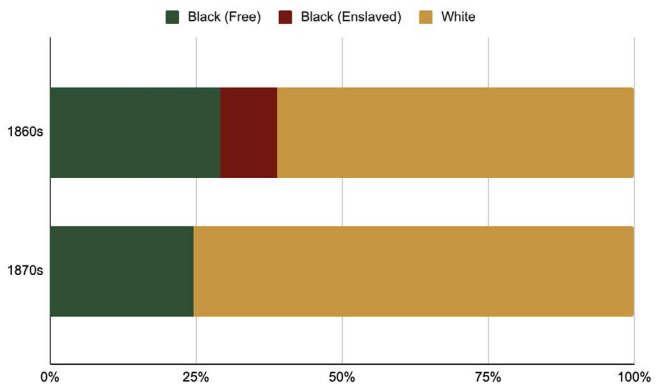
Racial Demographics and the Legacy of Slavery

By 1860, Howard County had about 13,000 residents, roughly 4,200 (32%) of whom were Black, with over 2,800 enslaved and nearly 1,400 free Black individuals.[107] That proportion placed Howard County among Maryland's more racially mixed counties. The large number of free Black residents—many living in rural areas such as Freetown, Jonestown, Woodbine, and Ellicott Mills—formed the basis of independent Black communities before emancipation.[108]

By 1870, after the Civil War and Maryland's 1864 abolition of slavery, Black residents of Howard County accounted for about 25% of the population, with many remaining near former plantations and mill towns.[109] These communities remained largely segregated—socially, geographically, and economically—yet maintained deep networks of kinship, faith, and mutual aid.

Black Labor, Land, and Segregation

Enslaved and free Black labor had long powered the county's agricultural economy: wheat, corn, dairy, and tobacco farming dominated the upland areas, while mills and quarries along the Patapsco River relied on both enslaved and wage labor.[110] After the war, Black men and women continued working on white-owned farms and in domestic service, often under exploitative conditions.



Black families carved out self-sustaining communities like Simpsonville, Cooksville, and Lawyers Hill, establishing churches, schools, and burial grounds. Churches such as Mt. Pisgah AME, Locust United Methodist, and St. Stephens AME served as spiritual anchors, while also doubling as meeting halls, schools, and political organizing sites.[111]

Nevertheless, racial segregation deepened through the late 19th century. Similar to other counties in Maryland:

- Schools for Black children were underfunded, often lacking desks, heat, or proper curricula;
- Housing codes and real estate restrictions limited where Black families could live or own land; and
- Transportation, jury service, and public services were all segregated in practice if not by law.[112]

Black Political Power and White Backlash

What most alarmed white Howard Countians after emancipation was not just the freedom of the people they formerly enslaved—but the political power Black residents quickly asserted during Reconstruction.

Black residents voted in large numbers, aligned with the Republican Party, and organized politically through churches and fraternal societies.[113] In 1870, over 1,000 Black men voted in Howard County elections—a powerful bloc that threatened white Democrats.[114]

The local white press, particularly the *Howard County Times*, regularly mocked Black political engagement using racist cartoons and language.[115] Black speakers were depicted as dangerous or foolish. One editorial warned that "Negro domination" would bring "social disorder and ruin."[116]

This backlash was not limited to words. Black Republican leaders and schoolteachers were physically attacked. In 1879, several Black men were assaulted while traveling to a Republican meeting in Ellicott Mills. During elections, armed white men stood outside polling stations to intimidate Black voters.[117]

Racial Violence and the Lynching of Jacob Henson, Jr. (1895)

This climate of racial tension and suppression laid the groundwork for the county's most infamous act of extrajudicial violence. In 1895, **Jacob Henson, Jr.**, a Black 22-year-old store clerk with siblings who attended college and served in the U.S. military, was accused of killing his employer during an altercation. Though in state custody and awaiting trial, he was abducted by a white mob and lynched in Ellicott City.[118]

Newspapers praised the mob's speed and coordination. No one was arrested or investigated. The event silenced local Black communities, reinforcing the lesson that Black life was conditional—and that the courts would not provide protection.

Jacob Henson, Jr.'s lynching was not an isolated act of mob rage. It was a product of a decades-long campaign to disempower Black residents and reassert white control.

Black Resilience and Community Institutions

Despite constant threat, Howard County's Black communities persisted. Black teachers like Mary Bibb and Reverend Benjamin Harrison founded and staffed schools in church basements. Farmers cooperated to buy land and build mutual aid societies. Freedmen's communities organized annual Emancipation Day celebrations, reminding younger generations of their collective power.

In the early 20th century, Black residents of Ellicott City, Clarksville, and Savage pushed for better schools, road access, and voting protections. Though most demands were denied or delayed, their organizing laid the groundwork for mid-20th century civil rights efforts.

Legacy and Public Memory

Spurred by the Howard County Truth & Reconciliation, Inc. and local initiatives, Howard County has begun to publicly acknowledge the murder of Jacob Henson, Jr.[119]

Today, Howard County is often celebrated for its diversity and affluence, but its legacy is still being reckoned with. The roads and rail lines that once carried enslaved people and white mobs are now suburban highways. Yet the memory of Black resilience—and white resistance to it—remains written in the soil, the archives, and the stories finally being told.

Additional details can be found in the case study of Jacob Henson, Jr. in Appendix B.

Endnotes

30 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html
31 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html
32 For example, Crossroads of War and Freedom: Post-1865 African American Communities in Maryland, https://www.crossroadsofwar.org/discover-the-story/post-war-african-american-communities#:~:text=Cluster%20communities%20tended%20to%20be,leading%20roles%20in%20their%20operations .
33 Robert C. Chidester, 2003, A Historic Context for the Archeology of Industrial Labor in the State of Maryland, Maryland Historical Trust https://heritageumd.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/chidester-robert-c-_historic-context.pdf
34 Howard County History, https://www.howardcountymd.gov/history; Anne Arundel, An Introduction to Anne Arundel County and the City of Annapolis, Maryland, https://www.umdsmartgrowth.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/pals.anne_.arundel.annapolis.info_.packet.final_.pdf
35 Historical Society of Harford County, Society News, January/February 2019, https://www.hshccatalog.org/repository-dmw/NL/2019-01-02_NL.pdf, p. 4.
36 Maryland State Archives, "County Demographics & Free Black Populations in Central Maryland," in Legacy of Slavery in Maryland, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/antebellum/county.html?utm_source
37 Maryland State Archives, Black Baltimore 1870 - 1920 Civil Rights and Politics, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/stagser/s1259/121/6050/html/1010.html; Baltimore's Civil Rights Heritage, 1885-1929: Segregation and the Fourteenth Amendment, https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/1885-1929/; Halpin, Dennis. A Brotherhood of Liberty: Black Reconstruction and Its Legacies in Baltimore, 1865–1920 (University of Pennsylvania, 2025).
38 "Baltimore's Civil Rights Heritage, 1885-1929: Segregation and the Fourteenth Amendment,https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/1885-1929/
39 Loewen, James W. Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism. New York: The New Press, 2005.
40 "Anne Arundel County, Maryland," Wikipedia, last modified July 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anne_Arundel_County,_Maryland.
41 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
42 Janesko, Sarah N. (2018) "Cultivating Historic Farms: A Study of Late-Nineteenth Century Maryland Farms," Northeast Historical Archaeology: Vol. 47 47, Article 5. Available at: https://orb.binghamton.edu/neha/vol47/iss1/5, https://orb.binghamton.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1506&context=neha
43 Maryland State Archives, "African American Population Statistics by County, 1870," in Research: Census Records, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
44 "Historic Black Communities of Anne Arundel County," Maryland Commission on African American History and Culture, 2023, https://www.aacounty.org/sites/default/files/2023-06/African_American_Heritage_Guide.pdf
45 Ann Widdifield, Passing Through Shady Side: An Oral History (used as a reference by museum staff and researchers).https://bayweekly.com/filling-a-color-gap-in-maryland-history/
46 "Filling a Color Gap in Maryland History," Bay Weekly, https://bayweekly.com/filling-a-color-gap-in-maryland-history.
47 "Bacontown's History Recognized," Streetcar Suburbs News, February 2024, https://streetcarsuburbs.news/bacontowns-history-recognized.
48 Asbury Broadneck United Methodist Church. "About Us." https://asburybroadneck.org/about-us/.
49 Mt. Zion United Methodist Church (Lothian, MD), "Our History," https://mtzionumclmd.org/our-history.
50 Mt. Zion United Methodist Church (Lothian, MD), "Our History," https://mtzionumclmd.org/our-history.
51 Mills v. Board of Education of Anne Arundel County, 30 F. Supp. 245 (D. Md. Nov. 22, 1939), Justia, https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp/30/245/1378476/?utm_source
52 Sherrilyn A. Ifill, On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the Twenty-First Century (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007), 22, 64-65.
53 Dennis Patrick Halpin, 2019, A Brotherhood of Liberty: Black Reconstruction and Its Legacies in Baltimore, 1865-1920, pp. 97-101
54 Fred Carroll, 2017, Race News: Black Journalists and the Fight for Racial Justice in the Twentieth Century, pp. 16-17.
55 For example, referring to Henry Davis as a "brute" The Suspect Is Arrested." Evening Capital, 17 December 1906. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/12-17-1906capital.pdf
56 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Anne Arundel County Hearing," 2022.
57 "Baltimore County, Maryland," Wikipedia, last modified July 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baltimore_County,_Maryland.
58 "Baltimore County, Maryland," Wikipedia, last modified July 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baltimore_County,_Maryland.
59 Scharf, J. Thomas. History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day, Vol. 3. Baltimore: John B. Piet, 1879.
60 Mark Reutter, Making Steel: Sparrows Point and the Rise and Ruin of American Industrial Might. University of Illinois Press, 2004.
61 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
62 Maryland State Archives, "African American Population Statistics by County, 1870," in Research: Census Records, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
63 Robert C. Chidester, The History of Industry in Baltimore County, (Autumn 2004) Historical Society, Historical Trails of Baltimore County, vol 35, no. 1&2, https://www.hsobc.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/htv037n1.pdf
64 David Kenton Graham, Loyalty on the Line: Civil War Maryland in American Memory (Ph.D. diss., Purdue University, 2014), doc. available at Purdue e-Pubs, https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/dissertations/AAI3719189/.
65 Charles W. Mitchell, Maryland Voices of the Civil War (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), pp. 110–135.
66 Halpin, Dennis. A Brotherhood of Liberty: Black Reconstruction and Its Legacies in Baltimore, 1865–1920 (University of Pennsylvania, 2025 summary). https://www.pennpress.org/blog/border-state-reconstruction-how-black-marylanders-took-the-fight-for-racial-equality-into-their-own/
67 Baltimore Heritage, "1885–1929: Segregation and the Fourteenth Amendment," Baltimore's Civil Rights Heritage (interactive website),https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/1885-1929/; Maryland Center for History and Culture, A Thorny Path: School Desegregation in Baltimore, https://www.mdhistory.org/a-thorny-path-school-desegregation-in-baltimore/; Paul Gessler, CBS News, Efforts being made to preserve old Maryland segregated, all-Black schoolhouses, https://www.yahoo.com/news/efforts-being-made-preserve-old-233700357.html?guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLmNvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAANfEoYfVA8Nho5eXAQrpGV9tmug9FgWYz05HlPZK3Ppqv2rDrHB41HHl60w4JUkqlIMc0l1PFbfspiiIBSbYWXdDzB9Nu5S6dq5WyDN_wRXlR0c0sekEQQjyT284FATYdDCaNflYJCoj-LXMzMUrGzot4ZHSQqPnzOmJUi95PMZs
68 Baltimore Heritage, "1885–1929: Segregation and the Fourteenth Amendment," Baltimore's Civil Rights Heritage (interactive website),https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/1885-1929/.

69 History of Inequity in Baltimore, Baltimore City Department of Planning, Historical and Architectural Preservation Division, https://planning.baltimorecity.gov/sites/default/files/History%20of%20Inequity%20in%20Baltimore%209-12-18.pdf; The Baltimore Story, 1913: Political Segregation, https://www.thebaltimorestory.org/history-1/1913-political-segregation;
70 Mill Stories: Remembrance of Sparrows Point Steel Mill, interview with Lou Diggs, UMBC and Baltimore Museum of Industry, https://millstories.umbc.edu/.
71 Louis Diggs, Surviving in America: Histories of 7 Black communities in Baltimore County, Maryland : Oakland Park Road, Relay, Oella, Halethorpe, Granite, Church Lane, Winands Road -Softcoverhttps://www.abebooks.com/9780966341966/Surviving-America-Histories-Black-communities-0966341961/plp
72 AP News, "Breathing New Life into Maryland's Former All-Black Schools," AP News, March 11, 2023, https://apnews.com/school-boards-teaching-maryland-state-government-new-jersey-state-government-general-news-2fd466e8a74d65fa450d06303d6ef0ea and Maryland Commission on African American History and Culture and Maryland Historical Trust, "Moore Administration Announces $5 Million in African American Heritage Preservation Grants," January 8, 2025, https://africanamerican.maryland.gov/2025/01/08/for-immediate-release-moore-administration-announces-5-million-in-african-american-heritage-preservation-grants/
73 The Wayback Machine, "Newspapers, the Afro- American," https://web.archive.org/web/20071208023236/http://www.pbs.org/blackpress/news_bios/afroamerican.html; Farrar, Hayward (May 30, 1998). The Baltimore AFRO-American: 1892–1950. Greenwood Press. ISBN 0-313-30517-X, https://web.archive.org/web/20080510115328/http://www.greenwood.com/catalog/GM0517.aspx
74 Maryland State Archives, "Howard Cooper", MSA SC 3520-13733, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013733/html/13733bio.html.
75 Maryland State Archives, "Howard Cooper", MSA SC 3520-13733, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013733/html/13733bio.html.
76 Equal Justice Initiative, Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror, 3rd ed. (Montgomery, AL: Equal Justice Initiative, 2017).
77 Adam Malka, The Men of Mobtown: Policing Baltimore in the Age of Slavery and Emancipation (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018)
78 Equal Justice Initiative, "Baltimore Dedicates Historical Marker Remembering Lynching of Howard Cooper," EJI Community Remembrance Project, May 26, 2021, https://eji.org/news/baltimore-dedicates-historical-marker-remembering-lynching-of-howard-cooper/
79 Howard Cooper Community Remembrance Ceremony-Truth & Community Remembrance Park: 7/13/25, Towson, MDhttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tz_95f9jtJo
80 "Carroll County, Maryland," Wikipedia, last modified July 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carroll_County,_Maryland.
81 Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, "Lynchings in Maryland: Townsend Cook (1885),"; Maryland State Archives, Townsend Cook (SC 3520-13732),; Carroll County Coalition, Gathering of Remembrance for Townsend Cook, June 22, 2021.
82 Maryland State Archives, "Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender," Legacy of Slavery in Maryland, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
83 Maryland State Archives, Beneath the Underground: The Flight to Freedom and Communities in Antebellum Maryland, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdslavery/html/antebellum/faa.html; Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html;
84 Maryland State Archives, "Black Marylanders 1870: African American Population by County, Status & Gender," Legacy of Slavery in Maryland, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
85 U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population, Volume III – Reports by States, Showing the Composition & Characteristics of the Population for Counties, Cities, and Townships, chap. 8, "State of Maryland" (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1932), https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1930/population-volume-3/10612963v3p1ch08.pdf
86 Steven Carney, "Carroll County in the Civil War" (Pipe Creek Civil War Round Table), https://pipecreekcivilwarroundtable.weebly.com/carroll-county-in-the-civil-war.html.
87 Levine, Mark V.; 'Standing Political Decisions and Critical Realignment: The Pattern of Maryland Politics, 1872-1948'; The Journal of Politics, volume 38, no. 2 (May 1976), pp. 292-325; Crossroads of War and Freedom: Post-1865 Black Communities in Mid-Maryland, https://www.crossroadsofwar.org/discover-the-story/post-war-african-american-communities
88 Ben Miller, Boundary Stones, February 11, 2025, "Will we Let the Ballot Be Taken From Us?" Black Marylanders Fight to Keep the Vote, https://boundarystones.weta.org/2021/09/09/will-we-let-ballot-be-taken-us-black-marylanders-fight-keep-vote
89 C. Fraser Smith, Here Lies Jim Crow: Civil Rights in Maryland (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); Lonnie Bunch, "Considering History: Racist Imagery and the Critical Patriotism of Black Legislators," The Saturday Evening Post, April 2023, https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2023/04/considering-history-racist-imagery-and-the-critical-patriotism-of-black-legislators/.
90 Post-1865 African American Communities in Mid-Maryland, Crossroads of War, https://www.crossroadsofwar.org/discover-the-story/post-war-african-american-communities#:~:text=Westminster%2C%20Frederick%2C%20and%20Hagerstown%2C,over%20the%20decades%20following%20emancipation.
91 Explore Black History in Carroll County and Maryland, Downtown Sykesville Connection, updated February 6, 2025,https://www.downtownsykesville.com/2025/02/06/16908/explore-black-history-in-carroll-county-and-maryland/ and "White Rock United Methodist Church," in Historic Places, Crossroads of War (Heart of the Civil War Heritage Area), https://www.crossroadsofwar.org/see-the-sites/white-rock-united-methodist-church?utm_
92 "Back to School in 1920," Historical Society of Carroll County, https://web.archive.org/web/20240920161715/https://hsccmd.org/27-august-1995-back-to-school-in-1920/ and Carroll County African American Heritage Guide (PDF), https://assets.locable.com/pdfs/7712/attachments-original-1738631775-The_Legacy_of_Segregation_and_the_Journey_Toward_Integration_in_Carroll_County.pdf.
93 Maryland State Archives, "Townsend Cook," MSA SC 3520-13732, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/html/13732bio.html.
94 "Harford County, Maryland," Wikipedia, last modified July 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harford_County,_Maryland.
95 Maryland State Archives, "Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender," Legacy of Slavery in Maryland, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
96 Maryland State Archives, "African American Population Statistics by County, 1870," in Research: Census Records, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
97 Maryland State Archives, "Harford County Mills: A History of Agriculture and Industry," MSA SC 4300, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc4300/sc4300/000005/000000/000009/unrestricted/harford%20mill%20chapter%20to%20edit.version%202.pdf.
98 Harford Civil Rights Project, "The Hosanna School – Harford County's First Freedmen's Bureau School", https://harfordcivilrights.org/items/show/18; Historic Hosanna School Museum, "About Hosanna School", https://www.hosannaschoolmuseum.org/hosanna-school; Charles L. Chavis, "The Hosanna School (1867–)," BlackPast.org, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/hosanna-school-1867/.
99 Harford Civil Rights Project, "The Hosanna School – Harford County's First Freedmen's Bureau School", https://harfordcivilrights.org/items/show/18; Historic Hosanna School Museum, "About Hosanna School", https://www.hosannaschoolmuseum.org/hosanna-school; Charles L. Chavis, "The Hosanna School (1867–)," BlackPast.org, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/hosanna-school-1867/.

100 A Typical Colonization Convention, Convention of Free Colored People, Journal of Negro History, https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdf/10.2307/3035626
101 Bel Air Colored School entry, The Clio, https://theclio.com/entry/102737? and Bonvillian, Crystal. “Maryland Woman Brought Desegregation Lawsuit in Harford County School District in 1963,” CBS Baltimore, March 29, 2021, https://www.cbsnews.com/baltimore/news/desegregation-harford-maryland-shirley-rose-segregation/.
102 “Dedicate Klan Church; Keep Fire Engine Handy,” Fiery Cross (Illinois), August 29, 1924, p. 6, Illinois Digital Newspaper Collections, https://idnc.library.illinois.edu/?a=d&d=IFC19240829.2.49. and Hinton, Dwayne. “Some Protestant Churches Welcomed Revival of the Ku Klux Klan.” Word in Black, March 24, 2022. https://wordinblack.com/2022/03/some-protestant-churches-welcomed-revival-of-the-ku-klux-klan/.
103 Maryland State Archives, “Judge Lynch: Lynch Law in 19th-Century Maryland,” Legacy of Slavery in Maryland, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdslavery/html/casestudies/judge_lynch.html.
104 Equal Justice Initiative, Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror, 3rd ed., 2017.
105 “Howard County, Maryland,” Wikipedia, last modified July 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Howard_County,_Maryland.
106 Howard County Government, “History,” https://www.howardcountymd.gov/history.
107 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
108 Alice Cornelison, Silas E. Craft Sr., and Lillie Price, History of Blacks in Howard County, Maryland: Oral History, Schooling, and Contemporary Issues (Ellicott City, MD: Howard County Branch NAACP, 1986), 40, accessed via Howard County Library System catalog.
109 Community Ecology Institute, “The History of Freetown Farm,” https://www.communityecologyinstitute.org/blog/the-history-of-freetown-farm; Ron Cassie, “Historical Sites Along Maryland’s Active Underground Railroad Are Being Rediscovered,” Baltimore Magazine, July 2021; Post-1865 African American Communities in Mid-Maryland, Crossroads of War, https://crossroadsofwar.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/Post-1865-African-American-Communities.FINALwCole-image.pdf?utm_
110 Maryland Department of Natural Resources, “A History of the Patapsco Valley,” Maryland Public Lands, https://dnr.maryland.gov/publiclands/pages/central/patapscovalley/history-patapscovalley.aspx. and Maryland State Archives, “Howard County Mills: A History of Agriculture and Industry,” MSA SC 4300 (PDF), citing Atkinson, Anthony, and other 19th-century mills https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc4300/sc4300/000005/000000/000010/unrestricted/howard%20county%20chapter.pdf
111 Knight Lab, “Race Relations in Howard County” StoryMap, https://uploads.knightlab.com/storymapjs/ca052664927fee0117995fd7d8648165/public-facing-content/index.html
112 Equal Justice Initiative, Race and the Jury (Montgomery, AL: Equal Justice Initiative, 2022), https://eji.org/report/race-and-the-jury/. and Beaches, Bays & Waterways. “The Fight Against Jim Crow Transportation on the Eastern Shore.” https://www.beachesbayswaterways.org/storyways/the-fight-against-jim-crow-transportation-on-the-eastern-shore#:~:text=In%201904%20the%20Maryland%20General,for%20White%20and%20Black%20passengers.
113 Dennis Patrick Halpin, 2019, A Brotherhood of LIberty: Black Reconstruction and Its Legacies in Baltimore, 1865-1920, pp. 32-38
114 Marc V. Levin, “Standing Political Decision and Critical Realignment: The Pattern of Maryland Politics, 1872-1948, Journal of Politics, Vol 38, No.2, https://doi.org/10.2307/2129537
115 The White Man’s Burden August 1, 1901 (https://digitalcollections.hclib.org/digital/collection/Bart/id/45050)
116 The White Man’s Burden August 1, 1901 (https://digitalcollections.hclib.org/digital/collection/Bart/id/45050)
117 “MARYLAND.: COLORED VOTERS SHOT DOWN AND DRIVEN AWAY FROM THE POLLS THE DEMOCRATS CARRY THE STATE BY GROSS FRAUD AND INTIMIDATION.” New York Times (1857-1922), Nov 5, 1879. http://proxybc.researchport.umd.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.proxy-bc.researchport.umd.edu/docview/93728356?accountid=14577.
118 Maryland State Archives, “Jacob Henson, Jr.,” MSA SC 3520-13743, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/html/13743bio.html.
119 Howard County Lynching Truth and Reconciliation, Inc., https://hocoltr.org/lynching_activity/jacob-henson/

“History is not the past.
It is the present.
We carry our history with us.
We are our history.”

James Baldwin
I Am Not Your Negro (1965)

Capital Region

Capital Region

Overview

Though located at the doorstep of the nation's capital, Montgomery and Prince George's Counties were shaped less by proximity to federal ideals and more by the endurance of white supremacy in local governance, labor, and law. From the end of the Civil War through the early 20th century, the Capital Region bore witness to a series of racial terror lynchings, widespread political suppression, and the systematic exclusion of Black residents from power and land.

Rather than functioning as beacons of democratic progress, these counties operated as borderlands of contradiction: close to federal power but governed by local customs that preserved and enforced racial inequality. The lynchings of at least seven Black men between 1869 and 1896 in this region—including some of the state's most notorious cases—speak not only to local violence, but also to the limits of federal influence in protecting Black life during the post-Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras.

Racial Demographics and Post-Emancipation Continuity

The Capital Region had one of the highest Black population densities in the state prior to emancipation—and that population remained stable for decades afterward.[120]

- In 1860, Black residents comprised:
    - Approximately 38% of Montgomery County (over 6,900 people), including 5,421 enslaved and over 1,500 free Black individuals
    - Approximately 59% of Prince George's County (over 13,500 people), including 12,479 enslaved and 1,198 free Black individuals[121]

- By 1870, Black residents still made up:
    - Approximately 36% of Montgomery County
    - Approximately 46% of Prince George's County[122]

These figures reflected deep-rooted Black communities—especially in settlements like Sandy Spring, Ken-Gar, Parole, Fairmount Heights, and Lakeland—built and maintained in spite of legal discrimination and violent exclusion.[123]

Labor, Land, and Economic Inequality

While the counties were closely linked to the federal government through infrastructure, employment, and oversight, Black labor remained hyper-exploited and undercompensated. Tobacco and grain plantations transitioned into tenant farming systems that often trapped formerly enslaved people in cycles of debt and dependency.[124]

Few Black families gained meaningful access to land or capital. In Prince George's County, where Black residents made up the majority population for decades, white landowners still held political and economic control.[125] The region's proximity to Washington, D.C., offered some employment opportunities in domestic work, transportation, or construction—but these jobs did not shield workers from racism, poverty, or violence.

Segregation and White Political Control

In both counties, segregation was a defining feature of the post-Reconstruction period. Schools were separate and grossly unequal. Black teachers were underpaid, and students were sent to poorly maintained one-room schoolhouses with no transportation or basic supplies.[126]

Local governments imposed voter suppression tactics, including poll taxes, literacy tests, and intimidation at the polls. Black civic groups and Republican organizations were surveilled, ridiculed in the white press, and frequently disbanded by threats or violence.[127]

Despite these challenges, Black residents organized around churches, fraternal societies, and land cooperatives to push for civil rights. Yet even modest attempts at progress were often met with white backlash—and in the most extreme cases, racial terror lynching.

Lynching and Racial Terror in the Capital Region

Between 1869 and 1896, the Capital Region saw at least seven documented lynchings of Black men:

- In Montgomery County, at least three racial terror lynchings occurred:
  - **George Peck** (1880)
  - **John Diggs-Dorsey** (1880)
  - **Sidney Randolph** (1896)
- In Prince George's County, at least four Black men were lynched:
  - **Thomas Juricks** (1869)
  - **John Henry Scott** (1875)
  - **Michael Green** (1878)
  - **Stephen Williams** (1894)

These lynchings followed a grimly consistent pattern: allegations of assault (often without evidence), removal from jail custody, murder by white mobs, and no accountability for the perpetrators. Local white newspapers frequently reported these acts with indifference—or worse, approval.

Sidney Randolph's lynching, in particular, was widely publicized across the country and remains one of the most widely reported in Maryland's history. A Black man accused of 'looking suspicious' while walking near the site of an attack on a white family, Sidney Randolph was held for weeks in county custody and then abducted and lynched—despite overwhelming evidence of his innocence and before his case could be tried in front of a grand jury. His case exemplified how racial terror operated even in places within arm's reach of the federal government—demonstrating that proximity to power offered no guarantee of protection for Black citizens.

Conclusion

The Capital Region's history of racial terror stands as a sharp contradiction to its symbolic role as the seat of American democracy. The violence committed in Prince George's and Montgomery Counties—just miles from the U.S. Capitol—underscores how local governance, not federal proximity, shaped Black life and death during the post-emancipation period.

As we turn to the individual case studies, this regional framing offers essential context: that lynching was not merely an aberration of the rural South, but a deliberate system of racial control that thrived—even here—in the shadow of the nation's highest ideals.

“A MAN WAS LYNCHED YESTERDAY.”

Banner Flown at NAACP Headquarters, New York
ca. 1936-1938.

Montgomery County

George Peck (1880)
John Diggs-Dorsey (1880)
Sidney Randolph (1896)

County Overview

Founded in 1776, Montgomery County lies just northwest of Washington, D.C., occupying a complex space where national ideals of democracy and justice frequently clashed with local white supremacy.[128] Though now one of the most prosperous and racially diverse counties in the nation, Montgomery County's 19th- and early 20th-century history is marked by deep racial violence, legal exclusion, and three known racial terror lynchings.[129]

At the same time, the county was home to some of the oldest, most resilient, and most self-sufficient Black communities in Maryland. The richness of Black civic life—from farming cooperatives to schools, churches, and fraternal societies—stood in sharp contrast to the efforts by white citizens to maintain racial control through violence, political suppression, and historical erasure.

Racial Demographics and the Legacy of Slavery

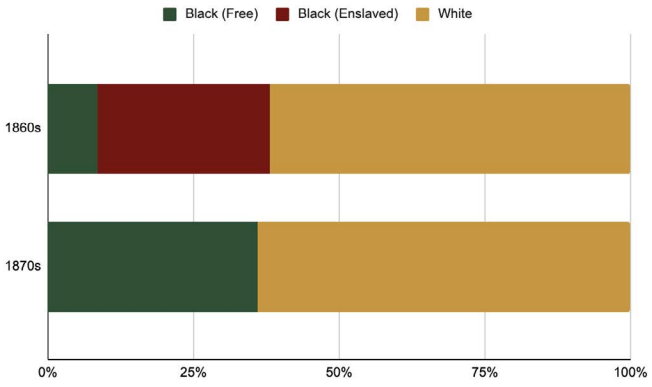
In 1860, Montgomery County's population was approximately 18,322, with 6,973 Black residents (about 38%), including 5,421 enslaved and 1,552 free Black individuals.[130] Slavery was widespread, especially in central and western parts of the county, where enslaved people labored on wheat, tobacco, and dairy farms.[131]

Following Maryland's abolition of slavery in 1864, the Black population remained stable. The 1870 census recorded 7,434 Black residents, about 36% of the total.[132]

While freedom brought new opportunities, the racial power structure remained intact. Black Montgomerians continued to labor in agriculture, domestic service, and construction—often for the same white families who had once enslaved them.

Prosperous Black Communities and Institutions

In the decades following emancipation, Black residents built a vast network of freedom communities, each with its own churches, schools, stores, farms, and civic traditions. These settlements—among them Sandy Spring, Norbeck, Ken-Gar, Quince Orchard, Takoma, Lincoln Park, and Scotland—formed the cultural and economic heart of Black life in Montgomery County.[133]



- Sandy Spring became an epicenter of Black landownership and education, thanks in part to early Quaker support. Families like the Hills, Doves, and Prathers cultivated not only crops but civic pride.
- Ken-Gar, founded by formerly enslaved people, was known for its strong ties to Mount Calvary Baptist Church and for producing generations of teachers and community leaders.

- Lincoln Park in Rockville emerged as one of the earliest Black subdivisions in the county, where families built homes, businesses, and social institutions.[134]

Education was a cornerstone of community pride. Though public funding was deeply unequal, Black families pooled resources to build schools, hire teachers, and insist on educational access. Churches like Sharp Street United Methodist, Mount Zion AME, and Emory Grove United Methodist doubled as schools, meeting halls, and cultural centers.[135]

Black fraternal organizations—such as the Knights of Pythias, Odd Fellows, and Masonic lodges—provided burial insurance, emergency funds, and political advocacy. Many families in these communities could trace landownership back to the 1860s and 1870s—a profound achievement given the climate of racial hostility and exclusion.[136]

The Rise of Racial Terror and the Logic of Lynch Law

Despite these accomplishments, Black success in Montgomery County provoked white fear and resentment. The post-emancipation era saw white residents—especially landowners and political leaders—resort to both formal and informal means of racial control.

Montgomery County's white elite increasingly embraced the racial ideology of the post-Reconstruction South: that Black prosperity threatened white supremacy. As Black families acquired land, voted, and educated their children, white newspapers, churches, and vigilante groups responded with growing alarm.

This tension erupted into racial terror lynchings on at least three known occasions between 1880 and 1896:

- **George Peck** (1880), a laborer, was accused of assaulting a white girl and abducted from custody and lynched near Poolesville.
- **John Diggs-Dorsey** (1880), a laborer, was accused of assaulting his employer's wife, jailed in Rockville, and forcibly taken by a white mob. He was lynched without trial.
- **Sidney Randolph** (1896), a migrant from Georgia working in Darnestown, was arrested with no substantial evidence of attacking a family and the murder of their daughter. Though in custody, he was kidnapped by a mob and hanged from a tree. His lynching was widely reported—The Washington Post denounced it as lawless, but no one was charged.

What made Montgomery County's lynchings especially revealing was their proximity to federal authority. Sidney Randolph's murder occurred just miles from Washington, D.C.—yet the federal government remained silent, and local officials claimed helplessness.[137]

Policing, Political Suppression, and Exclusion

Local policing in Montgomery County, as in the rest of Maryland, often served white interests. Sheriffs and constables aligned with Democratic power structures and regularly participated in voter suppression and labor intimidation. Black citizens who tried to testify in court or assert legal rights faced open hostility and mockery.[138]

By the early 20th century, Jim Crow was firmly entrenched. Black schools were underfunded and overcrowded. Public transportation and housing remained segregated. Real estate restrictive covenants barred Black homeownership in much of the county, and developers promoted "whites-only" subdivisions across new growth corridors.[139]

Legacy and Resilience

Through the recent work of the Montgomery County Lynching Memorial Project, the Montgomery County Commission on Remembrance and Reconciliation, and grassroots historians, these stories of racial terror lynching have reentered public consciousness.

Soil collections, public markers, and oral history projects now honor the memory of John Diggs-Dorsey, George Peck, and Sidney Randolph. Equally important are the efforts to document and celebrate the lives and communities of those who resisted—by building, farming, teaching, and surviving.

Additional details can be found in the case studies of John Diggs-Dorsey, George Peck, and Sidney Randolph in Appendix B.

Prince George's County

Thomas Juricks (1869)
John Henry Scott (1875)
Michael Green (1878)
Stephen Williams (1894)

County Overview

Established in 1696 and named for Prince George of Denmark, Prince George's County is located just east of Washington, D.C., forming a major part of the Capital Region's social and political infrastructure.[140] While it is now home to one of the largest and most affluent Black populations in the country, its 19th- and early 20th-century history reflects a deeply entrenched system of enslavement, segregation, and racial terror.[141]

Bordering the nation's capital, Prince George's County was both shaped by—and resistant to—the influence of federal ideals. The region's white leadership exploited Black labor while suppressing Black political rights, relying on a combination of legal exclusion and extralegal violence, including at least four documented lynchings between 1869 and 1894.

Racial Demographics and the Legacy of Slavery

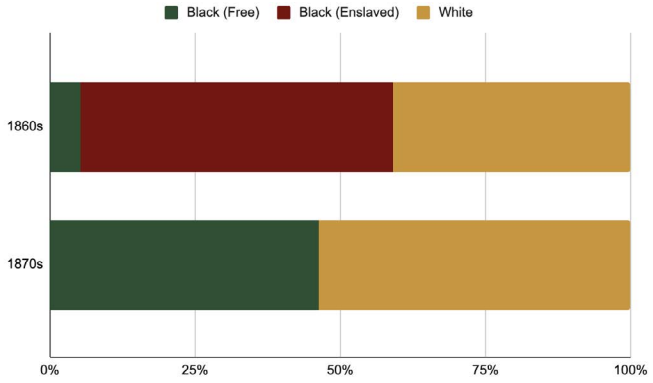
As of 1860, Prince George's County had a total population of approximately 23,000, of whom more than 13,600 (close to 60%) were Black—with more than 12,400 enslaved and 1,198 free Black individuals.[142] This made Prince George's County the most heavily enslaved county in the state. The local economy revolved around tobacco cultivation, grain farming, and plantation-based labor, with enslaved people performing the vast majority of agricultural work.[143]

Following emancipation in 1864, the 1870 census recorded over 9,700 Black residents, a drop to around 46% of the population, many of whom remained in rural areas working as tenant farmers or laborers.[144]

Black Labor, Land, and Community Institutions

After the Civil War, Black Prince Georgians worked in agriculture, construction, domestic service, and later on the railroads and streetcars connecting Maryland and Washington, D.C.[145] While some families succeeded in purchasing land in communities like Rossville, Lakeland, and Fairmount Heights, most were trapped in cycles of poverty enforced by labor contracts, credit dependency, and land access restrictions.[146]

Despite these challenges, Black residents built vibrant communities anchored by churches, schools, and benevolent associations. Churches like St. Paul's Baptist in Capitol Heights and First Baptist of Glenarden served as spiritual centers and meeting places for political organizing.[147] Black educators and preachers often doubled as civic leaders, defending their communities against white hostility and advocating for dignity in daily life.



White Backlash and Political Suppression

During Reconstruction and into the Jim Crow era, Black residents of Prince George's County voted in high numbers and organized politically, mostly aligning with the Republican Party.[148] This surge in Black political participation was met with escalating white resistance.

White Democrats used literacy tests, poll taxes, and gerrymandering to block Black voting. Newspapers such as the *Prince George's Enquirer* published racist editorials accusing Black leaders of "stirring up agitation."[149] White politicians routinely portrayed Black civic action as a threat to public order.

Black schools remained underfunded, and efforts to secure equal pay for Black teachers or improved school infrastructure were met with fierce opposition from white school boards. Even Black veterans returning from military service were denied voting rights and economic opportunities.

Lynching and Racial Terror

Between 1869 and 1894, at least four Black men were lynched in Prince George's County, each under suspicion of alleged crimes against white individuals—usually white women. These murders followed a clear pattern: white mobs abducted Black men from jails or law enforcement custody and executed them without trial.[150][151]

- **Thomas Juricks** (1869), a tenant farmer who was the brother of a Civil War veteran and himself the father of six children, was lynched by a mob after being accused of assaulting a white woman. The mob hanged him from a tree with no investigation.
- **John Henry Scott** (1875), a laborer who was survived by his mother and brother, was lynched after being accused of raping his employer's wife. Local accounts celebrated the lynching as a "community action."
- **Michael Green** (1878), a tenant farmer who had served in the Civil War and was married to Laura Rideout and father of Sophia Green, was accused of attempting to assault a white woman. Though there was no trial or evidence, he was seized and lynched.
- **Stephen Williams** (1894), married to Carrie Williams and son of Thomas and Maria Julia Williams, was lynched after being charged with assaulting a white woman. Although the case was unproven, Stephen Williams was pulled from custody and hanged.

Legacy and Reckoning

Spurred by the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, Prince George's County Lynching Memorial Project, and local initiatives, Prince George's County has begun to publicly acknowledge the murders of Thomas Juricks, John Henry Scott, Michael Green, and Stephen Williams. A soil collection and ceremony has been held for Thomas Juricks.

Today, Prince George's County is recognized as a center of Black cultural and political power in Maryland. But its transformation is incomplete without a full accounting of the violence, exclusion, and resistance that defined its earlier chapters.

Additional details can be found in the case studies of Thomas Juricks, John Henry Scott, Michael Green, and Stephen Williams in Appendix B.

Endnotes

120 "Montgomery County, Maryland" and "Prince George's County, Maryland," Wikipedia, last modified July 2025.
121 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
122 Maryland State Archives, "African American Population Statistics by County, 1870," in Research: Census Records, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
123 Heritage Montgomery, "Early History of Local African American Communities," Heritage Montgomery, https://heritagemontgomery.org/moco-history/historic-african-american-communities/early-history-local-african-american-communities/.
124 Anne Holton, "A Shameful Past: Bethesda's Segregation and Civil Rights Struggle," Bethesda Magazine, March 29, 2021,https://bethesdamagazine.com/2021/03/29/a-shameful-past/.
125 "Prince George's County Planning Department, "Racially Restrictive Covenants in Prince George's County" (report, October 2023), https://www.pgplanning.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Racially-Restrictive-Covenants.pdf. and Prince George's County Planning Department, Chapter 2: Historical Land Ownership Patterns, in Montgomery County Jurisdictional Plan (report, November 2023), https://www.pgplanning.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Chapter-2-Essays.pdf.
126 Warrick S. Hill, Before Us Lies the Timber: The Segregated High School of Montgomery County, Maryland, 1927–1960 (Silver Spring, MD: Bartleby Press, 2003), 45–46.
127 Dennis Patrick Halpin, 2019, A Brotherhood of Liberty: Black Reconstruction and Its Legacies in Baltimore, 1865-1920, pp. 130-137 ; Baltimore's Civil Rights Heritage, 1885-1929: Segregation and the Fourteenth Amendment, Party Politics and Voter Disenfranchisement, ,https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/1885-1929/#party-politics-and-voter-disenfranchisement-1900s

128 "Montgomery County, Maryland," Wikipedia, last modified July 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montgomery_County,_Maryland.
129 Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, "Montgomery County," https://www.mdlynchingmemorial.org.
130 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
131 U.S. Census Bureau, "Maryland County Demographics by Race and Status, 1860," Historical Census Browser, University of Virginia.
132 Maryland State Archives, "African American Population Statistics by County, 1870," in Research: Census Records, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
133 Heritage Montgomery, "Early History of Local African American Communities," Heritage Montgomery, https://heritagemontgomery.org/moco-history/historic-african-american-communities/early-history-local-african-american-communities/.
134 Heritage Montgomery, "Early History of Local African American Communities," Heritage Montgomery, https://heritagemontgomery.org/moco-history/historic-african-american-communities/early-history-local-african-american-communities/.
135 Emory Grove United Methodist Church, "Our Mission & History," https://emorygrovechurch.org/mission/; Heritage Montgomery, Community Cornerstones: Early African American Institutions in Montgomery County (Heritage Montgomery, 2015), https://www.heritagemontgomery.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/community-cornerstones-brochure.pdf.; Montgomery History, African American Communities of Montgomery County (Silver Spring, MD: Montgomery County Historical Society, 2024), https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/Montgomery-County-African-American-communities-rev-2024.pdf.
136 African American Communities of Montgomery County (Silver Spring, MD: Montgomery County Historical Society, 2024), https://montgomeryhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/Montgomery-County-African-American-communities-rev-2024.pdf; National Park Service, "Gibson Grove Cabin John, Maryland," National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/articles/gibson-grove-cabin-john-maryland.htm.; Montgomery County Department of Libraries, Lincoln Park History Project, https://www.montgomerycountymd.gov/Library/projects/lincoln-park-history/lincoln-park-history-project.html.
137 "The Lynching of Sidney Randolph," The Washington Post, July 5, 1896; reprinted in Maryland Press Archive, 2023.
138 Dennis Patrick Halpin, 2019, A Brotherhood of Liberty: Black Reconstruction and Its Legacies in Baltimore, 1865 - 1920, pp. 43–64.
139 Warrick S. Hill, Before Us Lies the Timber: The Segregated High School of Montgomery County, Maryland, 1927–1960 (Silver Spring, MD: Bartleby Press, 2003), 45–46.
140 "Prince George's County, Maryland," Wikipedia, last modified July 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prince_George%27s_County,_Maryland.
141 "Prince George's County, Maryland," Wikipedia, last modified July 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prince_George%27s_County,_Maryland.
142 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
143 Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Chapter 6: The African-American Experience, in Post-Reconstruction Archeological Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland (Rockville, MD: MNCPPC, c. 2003), https://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/pdfs/217/Chapter%2006%20The%20African-American%20Experience.pdf.
144 Maryland State Archives, "African American Population Statistics by County, 1870," in Research: Census Records, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
145 Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Chapter 3: Agriculture, in History and Archaeological Context of Montgomery County, Maryland (n.p.: MNCPPC, c. 2003), https://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/pdfs/217/Chapter%2003%20Agriculture.pdf.
146 Experience Prince George's, Black History in Prince George's Maryland, https://www.experienceprincegeorges.com/things-to-do/museums-history/african-american-history/ ; Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Chapter 6: The African-American Experience, in Post-Reconstruction Archeological Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland (Rockville, MD: MNCPPC, c. 2003), https://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/pdfs/217/Chapter%2006%20The%20African-American%20Experience.pdf.
147 Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Chapter 6: The African-American Experience, in Post-Reconstruction Archeological Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland (Rockville, MD: MNCPPC, c. 2003), https://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/pdfs/217/Chapter%2006%20The%20African-American%20Experience.pdf.; Oral History Interviews for the African-American Heritage Survey, Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission (c. 2008), https://acrobat.adobe.com/id/urn:aaid:sc:us:8aad8ac2-a68e-423a-a57b-dbcc3f0057e8.
148 Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Chapter 6: The African-American Experience, in Post-Reconstruction Archeological Resources in Prince George's County, Maryland (Rockville, MD: MNCPPC, c. 2003), pp. 96-97,https://www.mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/pdfs/217/Chapter%2006%20The%20African-American%20Experience.pdf
149 This editorial may be mimicking the 1857 sentiments expressed Attorney General Jeremiah Black quoted in Rick Allen, Team of Confederates: The Political Ineptitude of James Buchanan, Southeast Missouri State University ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, 2017. 10268355.
150 Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, "Known Lynchings in Prince George's County," https://www.mdlynchingmemorial.org.
151 Equal Justice Initiative, *Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror*, 3rd ed., 2017.

“Not everything that is faced can be changed, but nothing can be changed until it is faced.”

James Baldwin
Essay for *The New York Times* (1962)

Western Maryland

Western Maryland

Overview

Western Maryland, including Allegany and Frederick counties, sits at the state's mountainous edge—geographically distant from the plantation economies of the Eastern Shore and tidewater South, but deeply entangled in the racial hierarchies of post-slavery America.[152] The region's industrial economy, lower concentration of enslaved labor, and early free Black population might suggest a more progressive racial history. But in reality, Western Maryland was home to violent, public acts of racial terror and long traditions of exclusion.

Between 1879 and 1907, at least four known lynchings occurred in the region:

- **Robert Hughes/William Burns** (1907) in Allegany County; and
- **James Carroll** (1879), **John H. Biggus** (1887), and **James Bowens** (1895) in Frederick County.

These lynchings followed familiar Southern patterns—unproven accusations of crimes, especially against white women, public attacks especially seizure from jail cells, extrajudicial murder, and community-wide silence—underscoring that racial terror was a statewide phenomenon, even in a region of the state where slavery had once been less dominant.

Even before these lynchings, enslaved persons in Western Maryland were afforded little protection. On June 23, 1853, an enslaved man, possibly named George, was stabbed by a man named Joshua Anderson. Because George was considered property, the only legal "retribution" came five years later, when the Maryland House of Delegates awarded compensation to his owner, Joseph Spriggs, for the loss of his enslaved man.[153]

Racial Demographics and the Legacy of Freedom

Unlike much of Maryland, Western counties had relatively low numbers of enslaved people by 1860—but relatively high numbers of free Black residents, creating a unique social dynamic.[154]

- In 1860:
  - Allegany County had approximately 1,133 Black people (approx. 4%), including 467 free and 666 enslaved[155]
  - Frederick County had approximately 8,200 Black people (approx. 18%), with 4,957 free and 3,243 enslaved
- By 1870:
  - Allegany's Black population was approximately 1,166 (approximately 3%)[156]
  - Frederick's Black population was approximately 7,572 (c. 16%), a slight post-war decrease.

The high percentage of free Black residents before the Civil War meant several Black civic institutions—churches, schools, fraternal organizations—were established quite early in Western Maryland's history.

Industry, Labor, and Black Agency

Western Maryland's economy was not built on large-scale plantations but rather on coal mining, transportation, iron works, and agriculture. In Allegany County, Black men worked

in rail yards, coal mines, canal operations, and brickyards. In Frederick County, they labored as farmers, teamsters, blacksmiths, laundresses, and domestic workers.[157]

Black families in both counties founded independent communities like Brownsville (Allegany) and settled in towns like Buckeystown, New Market, and Urbana (Frederick). Some, like Jane Gates of Cumberland, were able to purchase land, raise families, and pass down wealth and dignity across generations.[158] Churches such as Asbury United Methodist and Mount Zion Baptist anchored Black community life and fought for literacy, legal aid, and political rights.[159]

These gains were substantial, but they were also deeply resented by many white residents.

Lynching and the Reassertion of White Control

Between 1879 and 1907, lynchings in Western Maryland followed patterns already entrenched elsewhere in the state: Allegations of assault, especially against white women; mob attacks, particularly abduction from local jails; lynching within close proximity to towns or county seats; and no prosecutions of the perpetrators.

These included:

- **James Carroll** (1879)
- **John H. Biggus** (1887)
- **James Bowens** (1895)
- **Robert Hughes (a.k.a. William Burns)** (1907)

In each of the cases, white newspapers emphasized the alleged crimes, justified the killings, and reframed mob violence as “community justice.” No efforts were made to prosecute the murderers, and no public officials were held accountable.

Though these counties were home to courts, rail lines, and federal infrastructure, that proximity to order did not protect Black residents from terror. In fact, the very visibility of Black success and agency made that violence more likely.

Silence, Erasure, and Remembrance

For most of the 20th century, textbooks highlighted industry, natural beauty, and Civil War heritage of Western Maryland, but omitted Black resistance and white violence. Churches, families, and local historians preserved what they could. More recently, the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, and local NAACP branches have worked to uncover burial sites, newspaper records, and oral histories. In Frederick and Cumberland, soil collection ceremonies and educational events now confront what was once hidden.

Conclusion

Western Maryland complicates assumptions about where and how racial terror operated. Though removed from the Deep South and more industrial than agricultural, Allegany and Frederick Counties were home to deep-seated racism, public lynchings, and long traditions of silence. But these counties were also places of Black self-determination, where families like the Gateses and organizations like Asbury Methodist Church shaped generations of civic leadership. In remembering this region, we must hold both truths: that Black progress often came at the price of Black vulnerability, and that justice today requires confronting what was never meant to be spoken.

“Southern trees bear a strange fruit, blood on the leaves and blood at the root.”

Abel Meeropol/Billie Holiday
“Bitter Fruit”/“Strange Fruit” (1937/1939)

Allegany County

Robert Hughes/ William Burns (1907)

County Overview

Nestled in the Appalachian Mountains and bordered by Pennsylvania and West Virginia, Allegany County occupies Maryland's westernmost edge. Created in 1789 from parts of Washington County, Allegany County developed as an industrial and transportation hub, linking the Potomac River to the coal fields of Appalachia.[160]

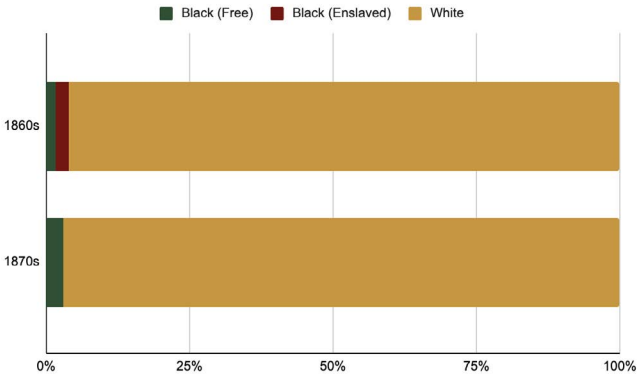
Allegany County's economy was shaped by the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and deep-shaft coal mining, making it one of the most industrialized parts of Maryland by the late 19th century. While this region is often remembered for white immigrant labor, Allegany County was also home to a small but enduring Black population that labored in mines, rail yards, and domestic work, and that built some of the most self-reliant Black communities in Western Maryland.[161]

Yet racial violence was never far from the surface. In 1907, the lynching of Robert Hughes, a Black man accused of killing a police officer, revealed that even in an industrial county with federal oversight, white mob violence could be deployed by the Board of County Commissioners to reinforce racial boundaries.[162]

Racial Demographics and the Legacy of Slavery

While Allegany County was not a plantation-based economy like much of Southern or Eastern Maryland, slavery did exist in the region—primarily in domestic labor and small-scale agriculture.[163]

- In 1860, the county had a population of approximately 28,348, including 1,133 Black people, with about 666 enslaved and 467 free Black individuals—just over 3% of the total population.[164]
- By 1870, the Black population grew to about 1,166, still under 5% of the total.[165]



Despite their small numbers, Black Alleganians built tight-knit communities, often centered around churches, mutual aid societies, and schools.

Black Labor and the Industrial Economy

Allegany County's economy was defined by mining, railroading, and river transport—and Black workers played key roles in all three. In Cumberland, Black men worked as:

- Railroad laborers, brakemen, and porters for the B&O Railroad
- Coal miners in the Georges Creek Valley
- Construction hands and boatmen along the C&O Canal[166]

Wages were often lower for Black workers, and access to union membership was restricted. Nevertheless, families endured—and some, like the descendants of Jane Gates, accumulated property and established themselves as civic leaders.[167]

Jane Gates, a formerly enslaved woman, worked as a laundress and a nurse, amassing $1400 and purchased property in Cumberland in 1871.[168] Ms. Gates raised five children, one of whom, Edward Gates, became the great-grandfather to Henry Louis Gates, Jr., the renowned American literary critic, professor, historian, and filmmaker.[169]

Similarly, Brownsville, a Black community established on land donated for education, became a cornerstone of Black life in the region—later giving way to what is now part of Frostburg State University.[170]

The Lynching of Robert Hughes/William Burns (1907)

Robert Hughes (a.k.a. William Burns), was a young hotel porter, the son of preacher Wormley Hughes, and originally from Fauquier County, Virginia, who had relocated to Cumberland, Maryland. On October 6, 1907, he was accused of killing an officer of the Cumberland Police force. While in custody at the Allegany County Jail, a mob of white men overpowered guards, dragged Robert Hughes from his cell, and riddled his body with bullets just blocks from the courthouse.[171]

The lynching drew national coverage, in part because of Cumberland's industrial reputation and relative proximity to Washington, D.C. Yet no one was arrested or prosecuted. Local officials claimed they could not identify the mob; newspapers framed the event as an act of rough justice.[172]

A *Baltimore Sun* headline read "10,000 See Corpse | Sunday-School Children Are Among Throngs That Gaze At Lynched Negro…" signaling tacit public support or resignation.[173] Robert Hughes' lynching reveals that even in a county that appeared "advanced"–with railroads, courts, and federal infrastructure–the sacrifice of Black bodies was still used to maintain white dominance.

Black Resilience and Historical Memory

Despite episodes of violence, Black Allegany County residents persevered. Families like the Gateses, Parkers, and Browns remained in the area for generations. Black churches like Metropolitan AME[174] and John Wesley A.M.E.[175] became community anchors.

Yet the memory of Robert Hughes was erased from most local histories. Until recent years, there was no public recognition of his lynching—no marker, no inquiry, and no justice.

Only through the work of the Allegany County Lynching Truth & Reconciliation Committee with the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, the Allegany County NAACP, and local educators has this history begun to reemerge. The Allegany County Lynching Truth & Reconciliation Committee partnered with the Equal Justice Initiative to dedicate a historical marker in Cumberland (2021) and hosted a soil collection.[176] These commemorative efforts aim to restore dignity to the dead and context to their deaths.

Conclusion

Allegany County challenges easy narratives about Maryland's racial geography. It was neither deeply agrarian nor urban, neither borderland nor Deep South. But like elsewhere in the state, Black labor built the economy, and Black lives were devalued by legal systems that promised fairness but delivered fear. The lynching of Robert Hughes reminds us that racial terror could strike even in places of progress. And the legacy of families like Jane Gates's tells us that Black endurance—quiet, proud, and generational—has always been at the heart of Allegany County's story.

Additional details can be found in the case study of Robert Hughes in Appendix B.

Frederick County

James Carroll (1879)
John Biggus (1887)
James Bowens (1895)

County Overview

Located in western-central Maryland at the crossroads of the Mason-Dixon Line and the Potomac River, Frederick County occupies a pivotal place in the state's geographic and political history. Formed in 1748 and home to one of Maryland's oldest towns, the county played key roles during the Revolutionary War, Civil War, and Reconstruction.[177]

Frederick County's position—bordering Pennsylvania and Virginia—made it a site of conflicting loyalties, cultural friction, and intense racial violence. During the post-emancipation era, a strong and resilient Black community emerged in the face of these tensions, only to be met with brutal extralegal suppression, including the lynchings of **James Carroll** (1879), **John H. Biggus** (1887), and **James Bowens** (1895).

Racial Demographics and the Legacy of Enslavement

Frederick County was a major slaveholding county throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries, yet also had one of the largest free Black populations in antebellum Maryland.[178]

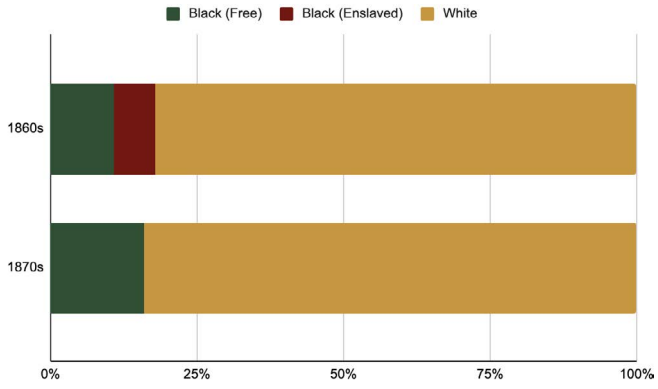
- In 1860, the population was about 46,591, including 8,200 Black residents (c. 18%)—of whom 3,243 were enslaved and 4,957 were free.[179]
- By 1870, the Black population was 7,572, about 16% of the total.[180]

This unusually high number of free Black residents prior to emancipation enabled the development of early Black institutions—including schools, landholdings, churches, and fraternal lodges—which provided the backbone for resistance in the decades to come.

Black Community Life: Land, Labor, and Leadership

Black Fredericktonians worked in agriculture, transportation, quarrying, and domestic labor. Some served as blacksmiths, midwives, brickmakers, and carpenters—often passing trades from generation to generation.[181] In the decades after emancipation, Black residents formed strong self-reliant communities, particularly on the edges of towns like Frederick, New Market, Buckeystown, and Middletown.[182]

Several families—such as the Hawkins, Butlers, and Williamses—became known for landownership and education advocacy. Churches like Asbury United Methodist, and other AME and Baptist congregations, became hubs of civic organizing and community care.[183]



Black-led mutual aid societies and fraternal organizations, including the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows and Knights of Pythias, provided economic lifelines and burial support—especially in a county where white institutions refused Black access.[184]

Yet as Black civic strength grew, so too did white resistance. Tensions over land, labor, and perceived threats to white political dominance spilled over into violence—especially in the form of lynch law.

Lynching and Racial Terror

Between 1879 and 1895, Frederick County witnessed at least three documented lynchings of Black men, each following a now-familiar pattern of unproven allegations, mob abduction, and public execution:

- **James Carroll** (1879), a laborer on the C&O Canal, was accused of breaking and entering, rape, and assault of a white family. James Carroll was taken from a train at Point of Rocks that was transporting him from Washington, D.C. back to Frederick by a masked mob and hanged. No trial occurred.
- **John H. Biggus** (1887), son of Henry and Emma Biggus and engaged to Ida Burns, was accused of a violent assault on a white woman near the town of Frederick. John Biggus was dragged from jail by a mob and hanged. Local newspapers applauded the action.
- **James Bowens** (1895), a laborer and former baseball player, was accused of attempted rape and assault of a white girl and arrested. In the dead of night, James Bowens was seized by a white mob and lynched from a tree in walking distance of town.

These lynchings sent a chilling message to the Black community: that proximity to courts and towns did not guarantee justice. Indeed, the public nature of these killings—sometimes announced or rumored in advance—meant they were not merely extralegal but *intended to be witnessed*.

White Backlash and Segregation

Frederick County has examples of champions for Black schools–like the School Board of Trustees in Buckeystown[185]–but similar to the rest of Maryland, the quality and resources allocated in Frederick County were consistently inferior. As elsewhere in Maryland, poll taxes, literacy tests, and discriminatory districting further suppressed Black civic influence. Against this backdrop, community leaders championed literacy and equitable schooling.[186]

White newspapers like *The Citizen* did not report on Frederick's Black community, except within the crime reports section[187] and the *Frederick News* often contributed to the heightened excitement in Frederick while at the same time expressing warnings, reinforcing the social climate that enabled lynching and marginalization.[188]

Meanwhile, white property owners used restrictive covenants and intimidation to prevent Black land acquisition in desirable areas—a practice that persisted well into the 20th century.

Historical Memory and Ongoing Reckoning

Despite Frederick County's rich Black history, local textbooks and museum exhibits long omitted any mention of lynching. The civic contributions of Black farmers, educators, and laborers were overshadowed by Confederate nostalgia[189] and myths of "peaceful" race relations.

The Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, the Frederick County Lynching Memorial Project Committee, and independent scholars have unearthed records of the James

Carroll, James Bowens, and John Biggus lynchings and, in partnership with the Frederick Remembrance Memorial Coalition, held memorial services and soil collection ceremonies for each victim.

Conclusion

Frederick County represents the tension at the heart of post-emancipation Maryland: a place where Black independence grew rapidly, but where white violence rushed to meet it. The county's early free Black communities laid the foundation for civic pride and resistance—but they also became targets in an era when racial order was enforced with deadly force.

The lynchings of James Carroll, John Biggus, and James Bowens were not isolated tragedies—they were tools of repression in a county that feared the very progress Black people were making. Telling their stories now is not only about justice for the past—it is about defining truth for the future.

Additional details can be found in the case studies of James Carroll, John Biggus, and James Bowens in Appendix B.

Endnotes

152 Garrett County, also in Western Maryland, has no known documented lynchings during the time period of this report.
153 Journal of the Proceedings and Documents of the Maryland House of Delegates in 1858, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000665/html/am665--312.html; Baltimore Sun, Friday June 24, 1853; The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer, Monday June 27, 1853
154 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
155 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
156 Maryland State Archives, "African American Population Statistics by County, 1870," in Research: Census Records, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
157 Western Maryland Regional Library, Allegany County African American History Collection,, https://www.whilbr.org/AlleganyAfricanAmericans.; and Hilary Cohen, "Tracing the Timeline of Black History in Frederick County," The Washington Post, May 1, 2023, https://www.washingtonpost.com/creativegroup/frederick-county/trace-the-timeline-of-black-history-in-frederick-county/.
158 Appalachian Forest National Heritage Area, "Jane Gates: An African-American Trailblazer of Allegany County," America 250 in the Appalachian Forest, https://www.appalachianforestnha.org/america250-in-the-appalachian-forest-stories/jane-gates-an-african-american-trailblazer-of-allegany-county.
159 For example, Rev. Thomas W. Henry, https://www.nannyjack.com/post/rev-thomas-w-henry
160 "Allegany County, Maryland," Wikipedia, last modified July 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allegany_County,_Maryland.
161 Western Maryland Historical Library, Enslaved and Free Africans in Western Maryland, https://www.whilbr.org/WesternMDSlaves; 1910 Census: Volume 1. Population, General Report and Analysis, Volume 1. Population, General Report and Analysis, Chapter Two, Color or Race, Nativity and Parentage, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1910/volume-1/volume-1-p4.pdf, p. 236; Allegany Museum, "Overlooked People on the National Road," https://alleganymuseum.org/overlooked-people-on-the-national-road/; Allegany County Mountain Side of Maryland, "African American Sites in Mountain Maryland," https://www.mdmountainside.com/blog/post/african-american-sites-in-mountain-maryland/; Western Maryland's Historical Library, https://www.whilbr.org/AlleganyAfricanAmericans/Tunnels-under-Emmanuel-Church; Western Maryland's Historical Library, https://www.whilbr.org/AlleganyAfricanAmericans/Underground-Railroad-Emmanuel; ICTJ Justice, Truth, Dignity: https://www.ictj.org/latest-news/ghosts-racial-violence-maryland; Frostburg State University, African American Life and Culture in Western MD, Brownsville by Madison Wilson, https://www.frostburg.edu/programs/african-american-studies-program/african-american-life-and-culture-in-western-md.php; The Brownsville Project, https://www.thebrownsvilleproject.com/about-brownsville; Allegany County Historical Society, Jane Gates House, https://alleganycountyhistory.org/latest-news/jane-gates-house/; Appalachian Forest National Heritage Area, https://www.appalachianforestnha.org/america250-in-the-appalachian-forest-stories/jane-gates-an-african-american-trailblazer-of-allegany-county
162 See the Robert Hughes Case Study; despite the Board of County Commissioners having offered a reward for finding Robert Hughes' lynchers, there is strong circumstantial evidence that the Board was complicit in denying due process to Robert Hughes.
163 Western Maryland Historical Library, Enslaved and Free Africans in Western Maryland, https://www.whilbr.org/WesternMDSlaves
164 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
165 Maryland State Archives, "African American Population Statistics by County, 1870," in Research: Census Records, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
166 Western Maryland Regional Library, "Ebenezer (African) Baptist Church," Allegany County African American History Collection https://www.whilbr.org/AlleganyAfricanAmericans/Ebenezer-Baptist-Church; Western Maryland Regional Library, "Georges Creek History," Allegany County African American History Collection, https://www.whilbr.org/GeorgesCreek.; "Baltimore and Ohio Railroad," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baltimore_and_Ohio_Railroad.
167 Appalachian Forest National Heritage Area, "Jane Gates: An African-American Trailblazer of Allegany County," America 250 in the Appalachian Forest,https://www.appalachianforestnha.org/america250-in-the-appalachian-forest-stories/jane-gates-an-african-american-trailblazer-of-allegany-county.
168 Allegany County Historical Society. "Jane Gates House." Allegany County History, September 20, 2019. https://alleganycountyhistory.org/latest-news/jane-gates-house/
169 American Academy of Arts & Sciences. "Honoring Henry Louis Gates, Jr." American Academy of Arts & Sciences News, 2022. https://www.amacad.org/news/honoring-henry-louis-gates-jr#:~:text=RUBENSTEIN:%20Have%20you%20ever%20thought,Maryland%20abolished%20slavery%20in%201864
170 Frostburg State University, African American Life and Culture in Western MD, Brownsville by Madison Wilson, https://www.frostburg.edu/programs/african-american-studies-program/african-american-life-and-culture-in-western-md.php; The Brownsville Project, https://www.thebrownsvilleproject.com/about-brownsville
171 Equal Justice Initiative, Lynching in America, 3rd ed., 2017.
172 Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, "William Burns (1907)," https://www.mdlynchingmemorial.org.
173 "10,000 See Corpse." The Baltimore Sun, 7 October 1907.
https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013759/tif/sun7oct1907.pdf
174 "Metropolitan AME – 170th Anniversary," Allegany County African-American History (Western Maryland Regional Library), https://www.whilbr.org/AlleganyAfricanAmericans/AME-Church-170th-Anniv-Committee
175 Madison Wilson, Frostburg State University, African American Life and Culture in Western MD, Brownsville by Madison Wilson, https://www.frostburg.edu/programs/african-american-studies-program/african-american-life-and-culture-in-western-md.php; The Brownsville Project, https://www.thebrownsvilleproject.com/about-brownsville
176 Allegany County Truth and Reconciliation Committee. "Dedicating the Allegany County Historical Marker." https://mdlynchingmemorial.wixsite.com/acltrc/post/dedicating-the-allegany-county-historical-marker
177 "Frederick County, Maryland," Wikipedia, last modified July 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick_County,_Maryland.
178 Maryland State Archives, "Slavery in Frederick County," Legacy of Slavery in Maryland, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/antebellum/fr.html.
179 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
180 Maryland State Archives, "African American Population Statistics by County, 1870," in Research: Census Records, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
181 Catoctin Furnace Historical Society, "African American Blacksmiths in Northern Frederick County", https://catoctinfurnace.org/blacksmith/; City of Frederick, History of Industry – Frederick, MD, https://www.cityoffrederickmd.gov/DocumentCenter/View/505/History-of-Industry.; and Heritage Frederick, Crossroads Exhibition Overview, https://frederickhistory.org/crossroads/.
182 Crossroads of War, "Post-1865 African-American Communities in Mid-Maryland" (2024), https://crossroadsofwar.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/Post-1865-African-American-Communities.FINALwCole-image.pdf.

183 Crossroads of War, "Post-1865 African-American Communities in Mid-Maryland" (2024), https://crossroadsofwar.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/Post-1865-African-American-Communities.FINALwCole-image.pdf.

184 Crossroads of War. "Post-1865 African-American Communities in Mid-Maryland." 2024. https://crossroadsofwar.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/Post-1865-African-American-Communities.FINALwCole-image.pdf; and Steve Crump, "Once Home to Black Organizations, 'Pythian Castle' Has Rich History," Frederick News-Post, October 14, 2013, https://www.fredericknewspost.com/archives/once-home-to-black-organizations-pythian-castle-has-rich-history/article_b1b9086d-6e89-5420-ba7e-b4f30da06d37.html.

185 Frederick County Historic Preservation Commission, Staff Report for Buckeystown African American School (2021), https://frederickcountymd.gov/DocumentCenter/View/334237/HPC-Staff-Report_Buckeystown-AA-School_FINAL.

186 Heritage Frederick, https://frederickhistory.org/?s=19th+century+race+relations#1687532027244-d203df10-c5b3; Christopher N. Butler, Historic Frederick County: The Story of Frederick and Frederick County, p. 37; Theda Skocpol and Jennifer Lynn Oser, Fall 2004, Organization Despite Adversity: The Origins and Development of African American Fraternal Associations, Social Science History, Vol 28, Issue 3, pp. 367-437, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0145553200012803

187 The Citizen. Frederick City, MD: Baughman Bros., 1895–1923. Chronicling America, Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/sn89060092/

188 Dean Herrin, "The 'Mob Fairly Howled:' Lynching in Frederick County, Maryland, 1879-1895" (report, African American Resources Cultural and Heritage Society [AARCH], March 2020), pg. 33, https://aarchsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/History-of-Lynching-Frederick-County-MD_Dean-Herrin.pdf

189 According to the Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System (CWSS) and the National Archives, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Frederick, Maryland, has been historically recognized for its Confederate sympathies; ongoing research projects seek to document the lives of local residents, many of whom supported the Confederacy during the Civil War. https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/soldiers-and-sailors-database.htm

“Lynching is an arm of the technology of oppression, the terror technique intended to steal Black lives and Black joy.”

Dr. Marcus Anthony Hunter, Professor of Sociology & African American Studies at UCLA

Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Reckoning & Repair Public Hearing, Day 2 (2025)

Eastern Shore

Eastern Shore

Overview

The Eastern Shore of Maryland—including the counties of Caroline, Cecil, Kent, Queen Anne's, Somerset, and Wicomico Counties—holds a distinctive and brutal place in the state's racial history.[190] Though often portrayed as a quiet, rural expanse removed from the politics of Baltimore or Washington, D.C., the Eastern Shore was, in fact, a hotbed of racial control, labor exploitation, and white supremacist violence.

The region accounted for at least 14 of Maryland's 38 currently documented racial terror lynchings between the 1850s and 1930s, making it one of the most violent subregions in the country in terms of per capita lynching rates.[191] What set the Shore apart was not just the frequency of these acts, but the broad complicity of local institutions—law enforcement, churches, schools, political leaders—and the deliberate suppression of Black autonomy through both formal segregation and extralegal violence.

Shared Economic and Racial Foundations

The counties of the Eastern Shore were united by their dependence on Black labor. In 1860,[192] Black people made up:

- 32% of Caroline County,
- 16% of Cecil County (where slavery was declining but persisted),
- 45% of Kent County,
- 47% of Queen Anne's County, and
- 39% of Somerset County's population (with the majority enslaved).

Though slavery was abolished in Maryland in 1864, the economic structure of the Eastern Shore remained unchanged. In the 1870s, the Black population in the Eastern Shore remained relatively unchanged. Black people made up: 31% of Caroline County, 16% of Cecil County, 45% of Kent County, 41% of Queen Anne's County, 40% of Somerset County, and 28% of the recently formed Wicomico County.[193] Formerly enslaved Black residents were pushed into sharecropping, tenant farming, domestic work, and industrial labor—particularly in canneries, fisheries, railroads, and lumber mills. In all Eastern Shore counties, white landowners and business interests profited from continued Black exploitation, often while denying Black workers political rights, education, or economic mobility.

Social Isolation and Institutional Complicity

What made the Eastern Shore especially vulnerable to racial terror was not only its reliance on Black labor, but its geographic and political isolation. Courthouses were distant from rural communities. Sheriffs were often elected on white supremacist platforms. Juries were all-white, and Black testimony was discounted or outright ignored.[194]

In places like Somerset County, Wicomico County, and Queen Anne's County, white communities embraced racial violence as a means of reasserting control, especially after moments of Black assertion—whether in education, land acquisition, or the legal system.[195] In Cecil and Kent Counties, early lynchings (1861–1872) reflected the fragility of Black safety in the immediate post-emancipation era, especially where no real law enforcement presence existed.[196]

Lynching as Racial Policy

From 1854 to 1933, the Eastern Shore recorded at least 14 known racial terror lynchings of Black men, including:

- **David Thomas** (Caroline, 1854)
- **Frederick Pearce** (Cecil, 1861)
- **Jim Wilson** (Caroline, 1862)
- **John Fields** (Queen Anne's, 1863)
- **John Jones** (Cecil, 1872)
- **Asbury Green** (Queen Anne's, 1891)
- **James Taylor** (Kent, 1892)
- **Isaac Kemp** (Somerset, 1894)
- **William Andrews** (Somerset, 1897)
- **Garfield King** (Wicomico, 1898)
- **James Reed** (Somerset, 1907)
- **Matthew Williams** (Wicomico, 1931)
- **Unknown** (Wicomico, 1931)
- **George Armwood** (Somerset, 1933)

These lynchings were not isolated outbursts, but tools of racial policy—carried out with public approval, sometimes in broad daylight, and almost always with law enforcement present or complicit.[197]

Resistance and Black Community-Building

Despite these conditions, Eastern Shore Black communities endured and resisted. In every county, Black residents founded churches, schools, fraternal organizations, and businesses. Communities like Snow Hill (Worcester) and Mt. Zoar (Cecil), Tuckahoe Neck (Caroline), and San Domingo (Wicomico) provided sanctuaries for families and freedom seekers.[198]

Black women raised funds for schools through bake sales and church offerings. Civil War veterans formed Black Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) posts. Young people were trained in segregated classrooms, often taught by underpaid or volunteer teachers. And after every lynching, there were those who wrote letters, held memorials, or fled north—keeping memory alive when the law refused to do so.[199]

Why the Eastern Shore Was So Brutal

The severity of racial terror on the Eastern Shore can be traced to several key factors:

1. Dependence on Black labor plus deep-seated fear of Black mobility

   > "This lynching… was part of a wave of silent white terrorism in the wake of the stock market crash of 1929, which exposed Black laborers to white rage in response to economic anxieties."[200]

2. Physical distance from state oversight, which enabled mob control;[201]
3. A shared cultural identity rooted in "defending whiteness";[202]
4. Historical amnesia reinforced by white churches, newspapers, and civic leaders;[203] and
5. Institutional complicity—lawmen, sheriffs, judges, clergy—who actively protected perpetrators.[204]

These counties were not “forgotten corners” of Maryland. They were deliberately protected spaces for white power—even as they relied daily on Black labor, knowledge, and survival.

Legacy and Reckoning

Community groups and state efforts like the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project and local coalitions have begun to name the victims and honor their memory. Markers now stand in a few places, and some soil has been collected in jars for remembrance. But the work of reckoning is still fragile—and often resisted.

The Eastern Shore’s history is not just one of violence—it’s one of resilience, erasure, and survival. To reckon with Maryland’s legacy of racial terror, we must begin with the truth that these counties didn’t just permit violence—they structured it into everyday life. And still, Black communities fought to live, build, and remember.

“Daily the Negro is coming more and more to look upon law and justice, not as protecting safeguards, but as sources of humiliation and oppression.”

W. E. B. Du Bois
The Souls of Black Folk (1903)

Caroline County

David Thomas (1854)
Jim Wilson (1862)

County Overview

Founded in 1774, Caroline County lies on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, unique for being the only county in the region not bordered by the Chesapeake Bay. Despite being landlocked, its central artery—the Choptank River—has long played a pivotal role in its economy, transportation, and history. While the county's geographic position may seem isolated, its landscape witnessed both the economic foundations of slavery and the courageous resistance that defined Black life in antebellum Maryland.[205]

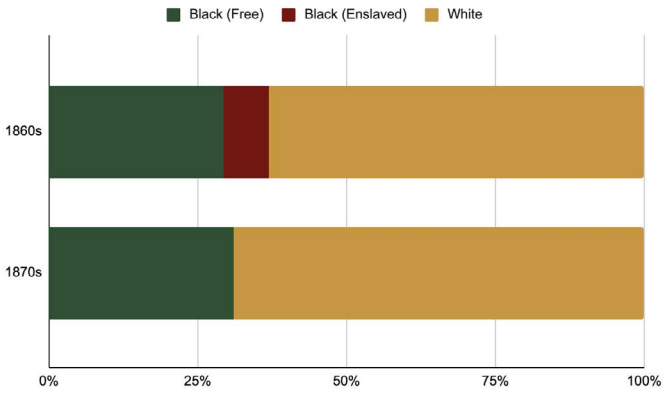
Economic Context and Labor Systems

Caroline County's economy was rooted in agriculture, with fertile floodplains along the Choptank River ideal for crops like tobacco, soybeans, wheat, and corn. During the colonial era and into the early 19th century, tobacco dominated the region, demanding extensive labor and quickly depleting the soil. As land quality declined and planters sought more sustainable crops, many transitioned to wheat and corn cultivation.[206] This shift was accompanied by a slow, uneven evolution in labor practices—but enslaved labor remained a foundation of the agricultural system for much of the 18th and 19th centuries.[207]

Maryland's moderate climate did not support year-round plantation-style farming seen in the Deep South, and this shaped the region's distinct, yet still brutal, model of slavery. Enslaved people were often "hired out" seasonally, a practice that created temporary labor relationships but also offered enslaved individuals exposure to broader networks. These connections often served as the groundwork for escape attempts, bolstering collective resistance.[208]

Racial and Social Dynamics

By 1850, Caroline County's population totaled just over 9,600 people, of whom approximately 3,596—or 37%—were Black.[209] By the mid-1800s, Caroline County had become home to one of the larger free Black populations in Maryland—2,786 free Blacks compared to 739 enslaved in 1860[210]–a result of both manumissions and economic pressures that led some white landowners to relinquish enslaved people they could no longer afford to support.[211] After Maryland abolished slavery in 1864, the 1870 census recorded around 3,700 Black residents, roughly 31% of the total population.[212] While the number of Black residents remained relatively steady into the 20th century, their share of the county's population declined slightly.



White supremacy persisted in deeply entrenched ways. Local justice systems actively worked to uphold slavery, as evidenced by the 1858 imprisonment of Hugh Hazlett, a white man, for aiding the escape of enslaved individuals.[213]

White society in Caroline County, as across the state, encouraged enslaved people to marry—viewing such unions as a form of reproductive wealth generation. However, these familial and social bonds often empowered resistance. The presence of free Black communities further complicated white control and introduced models of autonomy that undermined the ideological foundations of slavery.[214]

Resistance and the Underground Railroad

Caroline County was a key site in the network of escape and resistance. The Choptank River, once a route of forced importation for enslaved Africans, became a waterway of liberation. Countless freedom seekers used the Choptank as a natural guide on their journeys northward.[215]

The county was home to renowned Underground Railroad figures. The Leverton family—Quaker abolitionists—and Daniel Hubbard, a free Black man, worked together in Preston, Maryland, operating an Underground Railroad "station" that shepherded enslaved people toward freedom.[216] William Still, known as the "Father of the Underground Railroad," was born to parents who had been enslaved in Caroline County. His logistics work would go on to free hundreds across the Eastern Seaboard.[217]

Anna Murray Douglass, wife of Frederick Douglass and an integral figure in his escape and activism, was born free in Tuckahoe Neck, Caroline County. Her life story exemplifies the entwinement of local and national Black resistance.[218]

Seeds of Racial Terror

Despite its reputation for having a relatively large free Black population, Caroline County was not immune to the culture of racial terror. White anxieties about Black mobility, autonomy, and community-building contributed to a volatile social landscape.

In the 19th century, these tensions exploded into violence. In 1854, **David Thomas,** a free Black man, husband, and father, was lynched near Denton after being accused of killing a white man. Though details are sparse, the speed with which the mob formed and acted reflects a climate in which due process was never afforded to Black men accused of transgressing racial hierarchies. Just eight years later in 1862, **Jim Wilson,** a farmer that was born free, was lynched by a white mob in a similar extrajudicial killing, once again demonstrating the lethal force used to maintain racial dominance during the Civil War era. These incidents—occurring in a county known for its free Black population and Underground Railroad activity—reveal just how deeply racial terror was embedded, even in places where resistance to slavery thrived.

Legal systems consistently failed to protect Black people and often actively participated in their criminalization.[219] The absence of accountability laid the groundwork for extrajudicial violence—including lynchings—that sought to reassert white control and suppress the emergence of post-emancipation Black freedom.

Legacy and Historical Reckoning

Today, Caroline County holds several historical landmarks—including sites tied to the Underground Railroad such as the William Still Family Interpretive Center, designated as a National Park Service Network to Freedom site. Meanwhile, the Harriet Tubman Underground Railroad National Historical Park preserves landscapes across Dorchester, Talbot, and Caroline Counties, highlighting the region's complex legacy of both oppression and resistance. The historical threads that define Caroline County—enslavement, escape,

resilience, and racial terror—remain present in its land, its waterways, and its memory. Any honest reckoning with Maryland's history must begin with places like this.[220]

Additional details can be found in the case studies of David Thomas and Jim Wilson in Appendix B.

Cecil County

Frederick Pearce (1861)
John Jones (1872)

County Overview

Founded in 1674, Cecil County occupies Maryland's northeastern corner, bordered by Pennsylvania and Delaware to the north and east, and nestled between the Chesapeake Bay and the Susquehanna River.[221] This strategic location along land and water routes made Cecil County one of Maryland's wealthiest counties in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Commercial traffic through the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, along with steamboat ports and railroads, supported a thriving economy tied to larger trade networks across the mid-Atlantic.[222]

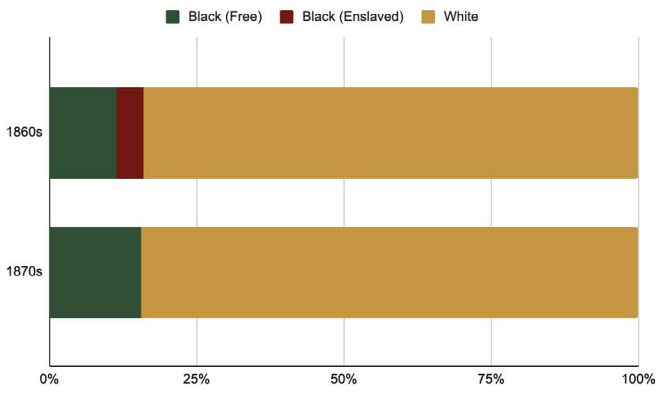
Despite this economic centrality, Cecil County's rural stretches—especially in the southern portion of the county near the Sassafras River—remained socially and geographically isolated. These areas would become the sites of two of Maryland's earliest recorded lynchings, exposing the limitations of legal oversight and the dangers of white mob violence in a region shaped by slavery, labor exploitation, and postwar racial backlash.

Enslavement, Free Black Life, and Emerging Black Communities

Cecil County's Black population in the 18th and early 19th centuries was a mixture of enslaved and free people. While the number of enslaved individuals declined significantly by the 1850s—from over 3,400 in 1790 to around 950 in 1860—their presence remained concentrated in the southern part of the county.[223] At the time of the county's two recorded lynchings in 1861 and 1872, Black residents made up approximately 16% of the total population, with far higher percentages in rural areas.[224]

Black freedom in Cecil County was hard-won, but deeply precarious. The county was home to a number of free Black communities before and after the Civil War. Notable among them was Snow Hill, north of Port Deposit, where Black merchants, laborers, and landowners formed a self-sustaining enclave beginning in the 1840s. By 1877, maps of the area showed 20 homes, 46 lots, and an AME church—markers of long-standing communal investment and autonomy.[225]

Equally important was the Union Bethel AME Church, founded in the 1850s by "Uncle" Perry Hinson on the outskirts of Cecilton. This small sanctuary—built in the woods and largely hidden from public view—served as both a site of worship and a station on the Underground Railroad. It also became a center of early Black education: Bishop Levi Coppin, born nearby in 1848, was taught to read by his mother in a clandestine school attached to the church.[226] These institutions allowed Black Cecil Countians to nurture faith, education, and freedom under threat of surveillance and violence.



Post-Civil War Backlash and Racial Hierarchy

Though Maryland abolished slavery in 1864, emancipation did not yield full citizenship for Black residents. Political and social backlash was swift. More than 200 Black men from Cecil County enlisted in the U.S. Colored Troops during the Civil War, many of whom returned to their homes only to face intensified discrimination.[227]

After the war, white Democrats regained control of the Maryland General Assembly and aggressively worked to deny Black citizenship. In Cecil County, they implemented segregated schools, restricted Black access to housing, and gerrymandered or excluded Black voters from political life. Even after the passage of the 14th and 15th Amendments, Black voting rights were suppressed or ignored.[228]

Black families responded with resilience and self-reliance. Prior to receiving any public funding for Black schools in 1872, communities pooled private donations to build their own schools—including Conowingo School No. 5. Still, structural inequity shaped daily life, and Black residents were often confined to peripheral, segregated neighborhoods such as Mt. Zoar, in the remote, under-resourced northwestern barrens.[229]

Lynching and Lawlessness in Rural Cecil

Cecil County was the site of at least two documented racial terror lynchings—each taking place in the southernmost part of the county, far from the county seat and beyond the reach of effective legal protection.

- In 1861, **Frederick Pearce**, a Black enslaved 13-year-old accused of attempted rape of a white girl, was lynched by a white mob.
- In 1872, **John Jones**, a laborer accused of setting fire to his employer's home and surroundings, was seized and lynched before he could be tried in court.

Both lynchings occurred in geographically isolated areas of Cecil County, far from the sheriff's office and circuit court in Elkton. In these rural zones, law enforcement was limited to part-time constables or local magistrates, who often lacked the authority—or the will—to intervene. This decentralized and under-resourced legal structure enabled lynch mobs to operate with little fear of accountability.[230]

Legacy and Memory

Descendants continue to live in the same rural areas where their ancestors were once targeted. The Union Bethel AME Church still stands, a living symbol of survival and spiritual resistance. Efforts by organizations such as the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, local coalition, and the MLTRC are helping to reintroduce these forgotten names into the public memory.

In a county once considered economically central but geographically splintered, the history of racial terror remains buried beneath stories of prosperity and progress. Unearthing that history is not only an act of justice, but one of truth.

Additional details can be found in the case studies of Frederick Pearce and John Jones in Appendix B.

Kent County

James Taylor (1892)

County Overview

Established in 1642, Kent County is Maryland's oldest county and lies on the Upper Eastern Shore along the Chesapeake Bay. It has historically served as a crossroads between agricultural Eastern Shore counties and urban centers across the Bay. The county seat, Chestertown, is home to Washington College, the first U.S. college chartered after the Declaration of Independence, and an elite hub of white political and commercial influence throughout the 19th century.[231]

Similar to other counties on the Eastern Shore and throughout Maryland, Kent County had strong Confederate sympathies—reflected in its voting patterns, cultural memory, and resistance to Black political advancement well into the 20th century.

Economic Structure and Racial Hierarchies

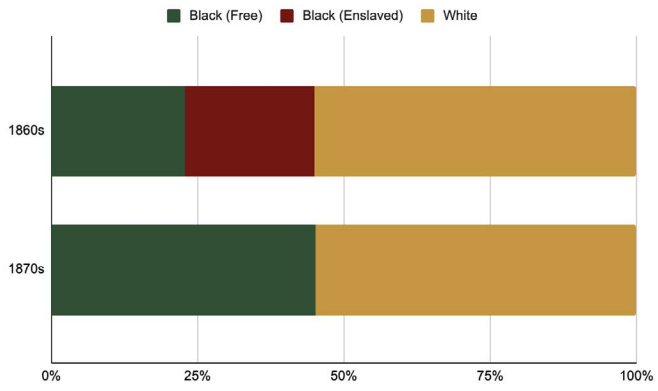
Kent County's economy historically revolved around grain crops—particularly wheat, corn, and oats—which overtook tobacco by the early 19th century.[232] The county's position along the Chester River and its access to both steamboats and railroads allowed for regular shipment of local goods to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York.[233]

As with many other Eastern Shore counties, this economy depended on enslaved Black labor until abolition in 1864. In 1860, approximately 45% of Kent County's population was Black, with nearly half of that population still enslaved.[234] After emancipation, Black residents continued to work as sharecroppers, domestic laborers, dockhands, and field workers—though with limited land ownership or economic mobility.[235]

White landowners, merchants, and officials developed formal and informal systems to restrict Black advancement—including control over land access, wage suppression, and exclusion from civic institutions. The result was a rigid, caste-like racial economy, where prosperity for white Kent Countians was built on the economic precarity of their Black neighbors.[236]

Racial Politics and Community Formation

Kent County had a substantial free Black population even before the Civil War, including skilled artisans, mariners, and small landowners.[237][238] Black churches and schools became foundational to community life—despite underfunding, political resistance, and physical segregation. Notably, Chestertown became a hub for Black civic organizing, with the formation of Black fraternal groups and veterans' associations.[239]



After Reconstruction, however, white political dominance returned swiftly. Through gerrymandering, poll taxes, and white-only primaries, Black voters were systematically excluded. Local officials often colluded with white vigilantes or turned a blind eye to acts of intimidation. Despite this, Kent County's

Black residents persisted in building institutions of resilience, including independent schools and churches like James United Methodist Church and Bethel AME Church.[240]

Racial boundaries were strictly enforced in public space. By the 1920s, Chestertown and other Kent County towns were racially zoned, both formally through housing practices and informally through intimidation.[241]

Racial Terror as Enforcement

While only one lynching is currently formally documented in Kent County, the act—like elsewhere—was not an isolated incident but part of a larger culture of white dominance.

In 1892, **James Taylor**, a Black farmhand, was lynched by a white mob after being accused of assaulting a young white girl. James Taylor was taken from jail in Chestertown and hanged from a walnut tree on the outskirts of town. His murder was witnessed by townspeople, and no one was prosecuted. The event occurred during a period when lynching was used across the Eastern Shore to maintain control over a mobile, increasingly vocal Black labor force.

The James Taylor lynching, though singular in number, represented a broader system of racial terror that reinforced labor exploitation, political silence, and social exclusion. It also mirrored similar acts across nearby Queen Anne's, Caroline, and Wicomico Counties—part of a violent regional pattern.

Legacy and Historical Reckoning

The murder of James Taylor was long excluded from local histories and absent from school curricula. However, recent grassroots efforts—including the James Taylor Justice Coalition—have begun to reintroduce this history into public memory.[242]

A soil collection was done in May 2022 in collaboration with the Equal Justice Initiative and a historical marker has been proposed in Chestertown. Commemorative events, storytelling circles, and educational programs have followed. The goal is not only to remember the violence, but to understand the system that made it acceptable—and how echoes of that system continue today.

Additional details can be found in the case study of James Taylor in Appendix B.

Queen Anne's County

John Fields (1863)
Asbury Green (1891)

County Overview

Founded in 1706 and located on Maryland's Eastern Shore, Queen Anne's County occupies a strategic position along the Chesapeake Bay, serving historically as a corridor between rural agriculture and commercial trade.[243] Named for the reigning English monarch at the time of its colonization, the county evolved into a landscape of tobacco plantations, tenant farms, and eventually diversified agriculture. While its proximity to Annapolis and Baltimore made Queen Anne's County less isolated than parts of the Lower Shore, it was still deeply entrenched in the racial hierarchies and economic dependencies that defined the region.

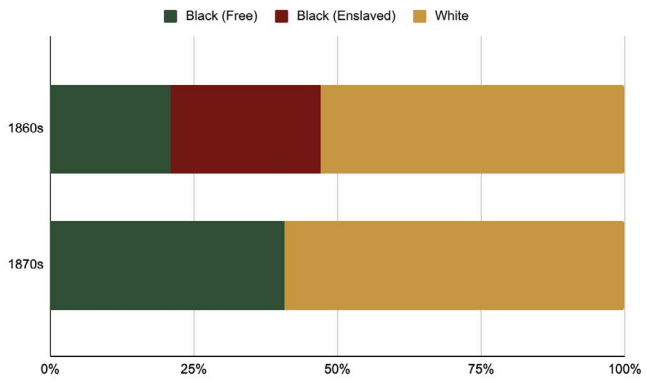
Economic Context and Labor Systems

Queen Anne's County transitioned from tobacco to grain-based farming by the early 19th century, reflecting wider regional shifts.[244] Wheat, corn, and oats dominated, and as agriculture commercialized, the rise of the seafood industry, canneries, railroads, and shipping ports along the Chester River and Eastern Bay linked local crops to urban markets. The advent of refrigerated railroad cars later in the century expanded the market for perishable goods like strawberries and tomatoes.[245]

This evolving agricultural economy remained deeply reliant on Black labor, both before and after the abolition of slavery. Enslaved Blacks provided the core of the workforce in the 18th and early 19th centuries. By 1860, 47% of the county's population was Black, with many–around 4,100– still enslaved.[246] Following emancipation, Black laborers continued to be central to the county's economy, especially in grain, canning, and domestic work. Even after emancipation in 1864, formerly enslaved people continued to labor under exploitative systems such as tenant farming and wage suppression.[247] Black labor remained foundational while Black freedom remained conditional.

Racial and Social Dynamics

Queen Anne's County had a substantial free Black population even before the Civil War, including farmers, blacksmiths, bootblacks, servants, dressmakers, washers, and watermen.[248] Despite these gains, the county's white leadership—dominated by landowning elites and merchants—maintained strict racial boundaries. Efforts at Black education, land ownership, and political participation were met with institutional resistance. The public school system remained segregated, and Black schools were often underfunded or entirely built through private donations and community labor.[249]



Following the Civil War and Reconstruction, the Democratic Party regained power in Maryland by campaigning on white supremacist platforms that emphasized law and order, racial

separation, and voter suppression, all significant threats to the self-determination of Blacks in Maryland, including Queen Anne's County.[250]

Geographic and Political Conditions for Violence

Like other Eastern Shore counties, Queen Anne's County was characterized by scattered rural settlements, weak law enforcement in remote areas, and political deference to white landowning elites. These conditions made mob action feasible and unprosecuted.

Further, public discourse—through newspapers and town rumor—often justified lynching as a defense of white womanhood or rural order. Local courts rarely investigated, and white communities often celebrated or minimized acts of racial terror.

Seeds of Racial Terror

At least two known lynchings took place in Queen Anne's County during the 19th century—each representing a distinct phase of post-slavery racial control.

- In 1863, **John Fields**, an enslaved man accused of so-called "criminal intimacy with a white girl," was seized by a white mob and lynched without trial. This took place during the Civil War, a time when Maryland remained a slave state but was increasingly under pressure to shift its racial and legal structures. John Fields' lynching reveals the deep anxieties among local whites about Black autonomy and the instability of racial order during wartime. It also reflects how little protection the law offered to Black Marylanders, even before emancipation.
- In 1891, **Asbury Green,** a married laborer, was lynched after being accused of assaulting a white woman. Despite being held in custody and moved for safety, Asbury Green was forcibly removed from a jail in Centreville by an armed mob and hanged from a tree. His murder demonstrates the failure of state and local authorities to guarantee even the most basic protections for Black people in custody—an all-too-common occurrence in the Jim Crow era.

Legacy and Ongoing Silence

No public memorials marked the lives of John Fields or Asbury Green. Court records rarely name the participants in the lynch mobs. The press, when it covered the lynchings at all, often framed the events as justified or inevitable.[251]

Yet beneath the silence, Black communities continued to resist. Churches, mutual aid societies, and small businesses persisted. Families remembered the victims even when the state refused to do so. The work of public historians, grassroots organizations, and statewide efforts like the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission have begun to bring long-buried histories into the light through the public hearing.

Additional details can be found in the case studies of John Fields and Asbury Green in Appendix B.

Somerset County

Isaac Kemp (1894)
William "Cuba" Andrews (1897)
James Reed (1907)
George Armwood (1933)

County Overview

Founded in 1666, Somerset County is Maryland's southernmost county on the Eastern Shore.[252] Bordered by the Chesapeake Bay and Virginia, its low-lying farmland, waterways, and distance from state political power made it both agriculturally rich and socially isolated. Somerset County was shaped by the plantation economy, slaveholding elite, and deep-rooted white supremacy that persisted well into the 20th century. Despite its small size, it is the site of more documented racial terror lynchings than any other county on the Eastern Shore—a brutal legacy that mirrors the depth of resistance Black residents faced at every level of society.

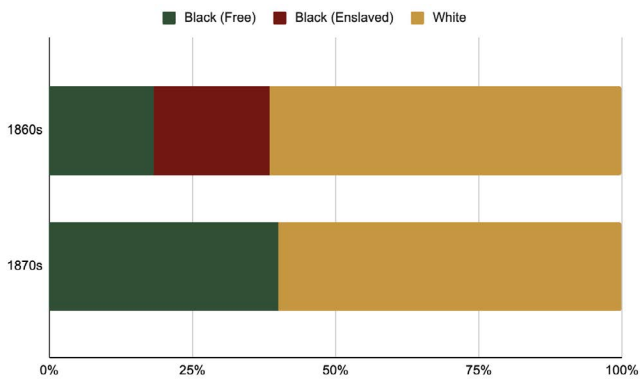
Racial Demographics

By 1860, Somerset County had a total population of approximately 24,992, of whom over 9,600—more than 38%—were Black. While the majority of Black residents were enslaved, Somerset also had one of the largest free Black populations in the state. According to the 1860 census, over 4,571 Black residents were free, a result of manumissions, religious convictions among Quakers and Methodists, and long-established Black communities on the lower Eastern Shore.[253]

After Maryland abolished slavery in 1864, the 1870 census recorded about 7,274 Black residents, still making up close to 40% of the population.[254] These newly freed families remained concentrated in rural areas like Princess Anne, Crisfield, and Deal Island, often living and working on or near the same land where they had previously been enslaved.[255]

Economic Foundations and Racial Stratification

Somerset County's economy was historically based on tobacco plantations, and later, seafood, lumber, and small-scale farming.[256] Its labor systems depended heavily on enslaved Africans and their descendants well into the 19th century. By the eve of the Civil War, Black Somerset countians—enslaved and free—made up close to half the population, with Blacks forming the backbone of both agricultural and domestic labor.



After emancipation in 1864, economic structures shifted slightly, but the racial hierarchy did not. Newly freed Black residents often remained on white-owned land, working as sharecroppers or tenant farmers in deeply exploitative arrangements.[257] Many whites in Somerset County—particularly in rural communities—regarded Black autonomy and political participation as direct threats to the racial order. Local leaders, including clergy and sheriffs, often aligned themselves with white supremacist values.[258]

Social and Political Climate

As historian John R. Wennersten details in *Strange Fruit: Racism and Community Life in the Chesapeake*, Somerset County was among the most racially repressive counties in the state. During Reconstruction and the decades that followed, Somerset County's white citizens fought vigorously to suppress Black education, voting, and economic mobility. As a result, schools for Black children were underfunded or denied outright. Black churches were subject to threats and surveillance. Armed white mobs formed in response to rumors of Black defiance.[259]

Local politics, particularly in and around Princess Anne, were dominated by white elites who regarded violence as a legitimate tool of racial control. This ideology manifested not just in policing, but in community rituals of racial terror—including lynching.

A Legacy of Racial Terror

Between 1894 and 1933, Somerset County recorded at least four confirmed lynchings of Black men. Each was carried out with community participation or approval, and none resulted in a conviction.

- In 1894, **Isaac Kemp,** a migrant strawberry picker born in the Bahamas, was lynched after being accused of leading a mob that led to the killing of a constable. A mob abducted him from the local jail and hanged him from a tree.
- Just three years later in 1897, **William Andrews,** an oyster dredger, was accused of assaulting a white woman and lynched.
- In 1907, **James Reed**, born in Choctaw Indian Territory, was lynched in Princess Anne after an accusation that he killed a police officer.
- The most widely publicized case occurred in 1933, when **George Armwood**, a farm laborer, was dragged from jail, beaten, mutilated, and hanged by a white mob—despite the Maryland governor's explicit attempt to protect him with state troopers.

As Wennersten writes, "The lynching of [George] Armwood was not the act of outlaws; it was the product of a whole social system of normalized racial violence."[260] Local officials, including the sheriff, failed to protect him. After George Armwood's murder, a Baltimore grand jury indicted no one. Even Governor Ritchie—who publicly decried the act—quietly dropped the investigation when local resistance mounted.[261] A young girl named Edna Broten was mowed down by a vehicle operated by Margaret Nelson and filled with individuals rushing to participate in George Armwood's lynching.[262] Edna Broten's killers were also never brought to justice.

These lynchings were not aberrations. They were part of a pattern of public spectacle, silence, and impunity, deeply embedded in Somerset County's civic life.

White Supremacy and Organized Resistance

Somerset County was also a hub for white supremacist organizing. During the 1920s and early 1930s, the Ku Klux Klan gained ground in the county, hosting rallies and burning crosses at night.[263] They targeted Black residents who demanded better wages, education, or law enforcement protection. Churches and community leaders were especially at risk.

Despite this, Black residents in Somerset County resisted. The Princess Anne Academy, founded in 1886, became the University of Maryland Eastern Shore, one of several historically Black colleges within the state university system.[264] Churches served as meeting spaces and schools. Community members testified to state officials and wrote letters to Northern allies. After the lynching of George Armwood, Black organizations

across Maryland held protests, petitions, and memorials—though few reached Somerset's rural white power centers.

Aftermath and Historical Silence

The sites where Isaac Kemp, William Andrews, James Reed, and George Armwood were murdered were left unmarked for decades—buried in collective silence. Today, advocacy by the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, the Somerset Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Project (a coalition in Somerset County), Somerset County NAACP, and other community organizations have held soil collection ceremonies for the four victims and annual remembrance tours in Princess Anne and surrounding communities. While there is no official state marker for George Armwood, the site and its memory are now publicly recognized through these acts of commemoration. The stories of Isaac Kemp, William Andrews, and James Reed remain largely absent from public discourse, even though they were part of the same continuum of racial terror.

Why Somerset County Matters

Somerset County is not only one of Maryland's deadliest counties for lynchings, but also one of its clearest examples of institutional complicity. From sheriffs to judges, teachers to clergy, the entire apparatus of local authority functioned to reinforce white dominance.[265]

Additional details can be found in the case studies of Isaac Kemp, William Andrews, James Reed, and George Armwood in Appendix B.

Wicomico County

Garfield King (1898)
Matthew Williams (1931)
Unknown Victim (1931)

County Overview

Founded in 1867 from parts of Somerset and Worcester Counties, Wicomico County lies at the heart of Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore. Its seat, Salisbury, developed rapidly during the 19th century into a commercial and industrial hub, benefiting from its strategic location along the Wicomico River, major rail lines, and nearby farmland.[266] While geographically small, the county would become the site of two of Maryland's most infamous racial terror lynchings, and a flashpoint in the broader story of white supremacy and Black resistance in the Chesapeake region.

Economic Context and Labor Systems

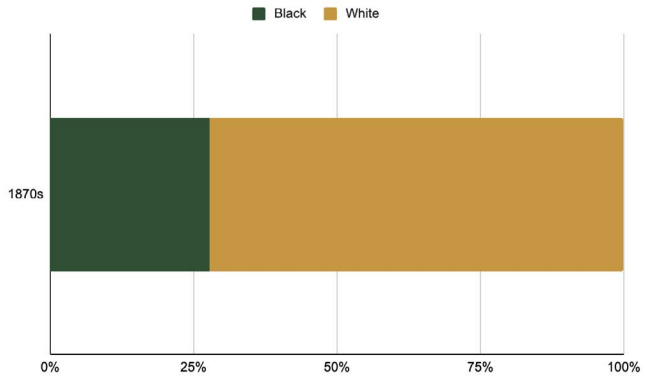
In the decades after the Civil War, Wicomico County's economy revolved around agriculture, lumber, seafood, and canning.[267] By 1870, Black residents comprised about 30% of the county's population, many of them formerly enslaved or descendants of freedpeople.[268]

The arrival of the railroad and refrigerated railcars allowed local farmers to export fresh produce—especially strawberries, melons, sweet potatoes, and corn—to markets in Baltimore and as far as Canada. Wicomico County was actually one of the nation's leading truck crop producers.[269] With the rise of these industries came a demand for cheap labor, and Black residents—many of whom were formerly enslaved or descended from the enslaved—provided much of that labor under harsh conditions.

Black laborers worked in canneries, sawmills, packing houses, railroads, and domestic service, often for low wages and under exploitative conditions.[270] By 1919, Wicomico County had 37 canneries operating simultaneously, and the region's sawmills, factories, and domestic work sectors relied heavily on Black labor.[271] In towns like Parsonsburg and Pittsville, Black men worked in timber and railroad-related trades. Black women worked as domestics and washerwomen, while men labored in fields, mills, and docks.[272]

Racial and Social Dynamics

Despite their labor being essential to the county's economy, Blacks in Wicomico County were systematically excluded from political power, segregated by law and custom, and physically relegated to undesirable, flood-prone neighborhoods. Communities such as Georgetown, Jersey, and California were designated for Black residents on low-lying land near the river—geographic "sink" zones where noise, pollution, and proximity to industry were common.[273]



The structure of segregation extended to nearly all areas of life, including education. One of the county's most powerful examples of Black self-determination was the establishment of a

new high school for Black students in Salisbury in 1930, built after a decade of community fundraising through bake sales, musical performances, and offerings collected in Black churches. The school's land was deeded to the Board of Education by Black residents, with the explicit stipulation that it be used for the education of "the African Race."[274]

Despite such efforts, white authorities often met Black progress with suspicion or outright hostility. Tensions were especially high during moments of Black activism or labor organization—pressures that would erupt violently on more than one occasion.

Lynching and Racial Terror

Wicomico County was the site of at least three known lynchings:

- In 1898, **Garfield King**, a member of one of the first prominent Black families to settle in Trappe District and graduate of the Princess Anne "Colored" Academy, was lynched by a white mob after being accused of killing a white man. No trial was held. His murder was justified publicly as "community defense," and no one was prosecuted.
- In 1931, **Matthew "Matt" Williams**, a 23-year-old Black laborer, was taken from a hospital by a mob, hanged, dragged through the streets, and burned in front of a crowd of hundreds. His death was a national scandal, condemned by Black leaders, journalists, and civil rights organizations—but no one was ever held accountable.
- In 1931, following the murder of Matthew Williams**,** the body of an **unidentified 33-year-old Black man** was found beaten to death near a railroad track in Salisbury. Evidence indicates that the man was killed by the same mob that lynched Matthew Williams just hours before.[275]

Legacy and Memory

Local and state efforts have begun to confront this past. In 2023, a historic marker honoring Garfield King, Matthew Williams, and an unidentified victim was installed in Salisbury through a partnership between the Wicomico Truth and Reconciliation Initiative—a coalition of the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project—and the Equal Justice Initiative. Earlier, in 2017, EJI and local partners conducted soil collections at lynching sites across the county to honor the victims' memory.

Additional details can be found in the case studies of Garfield King, Matthew "Matt" Williams, and the unidentified man in Appendix B.

Endnotes

190 Worcester County, also part of the Eastern Shore, had no known documented lynchings during the period of this report.
191 Equal Justice Initiative, *Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror*, 3rd ed., 2017, https://eji.org/reports/lynching-in-america.
192 Maryland State Archives, *Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender*, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html
193 Maryland State Archives, *"African American Population Statistics by County, 1870,"* in *Research: Census Records*, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
194 Sherrilyn A. Ifill, *On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the Twenty-First Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007), 24–30, 33.
195 John R. Wennersten, *Strange Fruit: Racism and Community Life in the Chesapeake—1850 to the Present* (Marlboro, NY: Marion Boyars, 2021), 29–78.
196 Michael L. Dixon, *An Investigation of Racial Terror Lynchings: Cecil County, MD* (Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, 2019), https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018342/images/An%20Investigation%20of%20Racial%20Terror%20Lynchings%2C%20Cecil%20County.pdf.
197 Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, "Known Lynchings by County," https://www.mdlynchingmemorial.org/known-lynchings.
198 For example, Window on Cecil County's Past, https://cecilcountyhistory.com/mount-zoar-an-african-american-community-near-conowingo/; Snow Hill African American Heritage Society, https://www.snowhillaahs.org/; Black people built an Eastern Shore Village. Why descendants want you to know it's here, Delmarva Now, https://www.delmarvanow.com/story/news/local/maryland/2022/03/22/san-domingo-maryland-free-black-people-built-community-wicomico-county/6898852001/
199 Trish McGee, June 22, 2025, Sumner Hall in Chestertown included on Reconstruction Era National HIstoric Network, *The Evening Enterprise,* https://theeveningenterprise.com/sumner-hall-in-chestertown-included-on-reconstruction-era-national-historic-network/; Sherrilyn Ifill, *On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the 21st Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007), pp 26-28, 71-73, 147-147.
200 Charles L. Chavis Jr., Today in History,: "*The Silent Shore," December 4, 2021 The Lynching of Matthew Williams,* https://www.pbs.org/wnet/exploring-hate/2021/12/04/today-in-history-the-silent-shore/
201 U.S. Freedmen's Bureau records, quoted in "Evidence of Forced Displacement and Dispossession," *Rediscovering Black History* (National Archives, February 2024). https://rediscovering-black-history.blogs.archives.gov/2024/02/07/envision-the-razing-of-all-these-structures-evidence-of-forced-displacement-and-dispossession/
202 Mencken column and response in Salisbury Times, December 7–8, 1931; Literary Hub, "How Small-Town Newspapers Ignored Local Lynchings,Sherilynn A. Ifill (June 2021) https://lithub.com/how-small-town-newspapers-ignored-local-lynchings/
203 Unitarian Universalist Association, *Breaking the Silence: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching*, presented at the UUA General Assembly, June 23, 2007, https://www.uua.org/ga/past/2007/confronting-legacy-lynching.
204 Henry Kokkeler, "The Lynching of George Armwood," *Boundary Stones / WETA*, March 1, 2022, https://boundarystones.weta.org/2022/03/01/lynching-george-armwood?utm_source
205 "Caroline County, Maryland," *Wikipedia*, last modified June 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caroline_County,_Maryland.
206 "Caroline County, Maryland," *Wikipedia*, last modified June 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caroline_County,_Maryland.
207 *Currents of Change: The Choptank River's Legacy in Slavery and the Pursuit of Freedom*, Caroline County Historical Society, https://carolinehistory.org/currents-of-change-the-choptank-rivers-legacy-in-slavery-and-the-pursuit-of-freedom/.
208 *Currents of Change: The Choptank River's Legacy in Slavery and the Pursuit of Freedom*, Caroline County Historical Society, https://carolinehistory.org/currents-of-change-the-choptank-rivers-legacy-in-slavery-and-the-pursuit-of-freedom/.
209 Maryland State Archives, *"African American Population Statistics by County, 1850,"* in *Research: Census Records*, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1850.html.
210 Maryland State Archives, *Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender*, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
211 *Currents of Change: The Choptank River's Legacy in Slavery and the Pursuit of Freedom*, Caroline County Historical Society, https://carolinehistory.org/currents-of-change-the-choptank-rivers-legacy-in-slavery-and-the-pursuit-of-freedom/.
212 Maryland State Archives, *"African American Population Statistics by County, 1870,"* in *Research: Census Records*, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
213 John Thomas Scharf, *History of Caroline County, Maryland*, originally published 1882, digitized by Wolfensberger.org, https://www.wolfensberger.org/pages/library/books/Maryland/historyofcarolin00nobl.pdf.
214 *Currents of Change: The Choptank River's Legacy in Slavery and the Pursuit of Freedom*, Caroline County Historical Society, https://carolinehistory.org/currents-of-change-the-choptank-rivers-legacy-in-slavery-and-the-pursuit-of-freedom/.
215 *Currents of Change: The Choptank River's Legacy in Slavery and the Pursuit of Freedom*, Caroline County Historical Society, https://carolinehistory.org/currents-of-change-the-choptank-rivers-legacy-in-slavery-and-the-pursuit-of-freedom/.
216 *Currents of Change: The Choptank River's Legacy in Slavery and the Pursuit of Freedom*, Caroline County Historical Society, https://carolinehistory.org/currents-of-change-the-choptank-rivers-legacy-in-slavery-and-the-pursuit-of-freedom/.
217 *Currents of Change: The Choptank River's Legacy in Slavery and the Pursuit of Freedom*, Caroline County Historical Society, https://carolinehistory.org/currents-of-change-the-choptank-rivers-legacy-in-slavery-and-the-pursuit-of-freedom/.
218 National Park Service, "Anna Murray Douglass," *Frederick Douglass National Historic Site*, https://www.nps.gov/frdo/learn/historyculture/anna-murray-douglass.htm.
219 Maryland State Archives, "A Madman's Deed: Gender and Lynching," *Maryland State Archives Special Collections*, SC3520-013744, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013744/tif/madmans-deed.pdf.
220 *Currents of Change: The Choptank River's Legacy in Slavery and the Pursuit of Freedom*, Caroline County Historical Society, accessed July 2, 2025, https://carolinehistory.org/currents-of-change-the-choptank-rivers-legacy-in-slavery-and-the-pursuit-of-freedom/.
221 "Cecil County, Maryland," *Wikipedia*, last modified June 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cecil_County,_Maryland.
222 "Cecil County, Maryland," *Wikipedia*, last modified June 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cecil_County,_Maryland.
223 Maryland State Archives, *"African American Population Statistics by County, 1790,"* in *Research: Census Records* https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1790.html
224 Maryland State Archives, *"African American Population Statistics by County, 1790,"* in *Research: Census Records* https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1790.html
225 "Snow Hill: A Free Black Community," *Cecil County Historical Society Archives*, https://cecilcountyhistory.com/snow-hill-a-free-black-community-in-cecil-county/
226 Cecil County History, *"Union Bethel AME Church,"* https://cecilcountyhistory.com/union-bethel-ame-church/.
227 Eric Mease, "Freedom Came Slowly for Cecil's Slaves." *Cecil Daily*, May 14, 2013. https://www.cecildaily.com/our_cecil/freedom-came-slowly-for-cecil-s-slaves/article_2b542794-bfee-11e2-b6bd-0019bb2963f4.html.

228 Eric Mease, "Freedom Came Slowly for Cecil's Slaves." *Cecil Daily*, May 14, 2013. https://www.cecildaily.com/our_cecil/freedom-came-slowly-for-cecil-s-slaves/article_2b542794-bfee-11e2-b6bd-0019bb2963f4.html.
229 Maryland Humanities Council, *History Matters! Interpretive Plan for the Lower Susquehanna Heritage Greenway, 2001: Civil War, Freedom, and the Industrial Revolution, 1861–1917*, 122–145, https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=d80332c60d1ca10d32c6fd3ce85d1e5f8a793edf ; and Pamela James Blumgart, ed., *At the Head of the Bay: A Cultural and Architectural History of Cecil County, Maryland* (Elkton: Cecil Historical Trust, 1996), 104–5, 108.
230 Michael L. Dixon, *An Investigation of Racial Terror Lynchings: Cecil County* (Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, Maryland State Archives, September 23, 2019), https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018342/images/An%20Investigation%20of%20Racial%20Terror%20Lynchings%2C%20Cecil%20County.pdf
231 "Kent County, Maryland," *Wikipedia*, last modified June 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kent_County,_Maryland.
232 Kent County Alliance, *Preliminary Cultural Landscape Assessment of Kent County, Maryland*, https://www.kentalliance.org/culturalLandscape/culturalLandscapeSmall.pdf.
233 Kent County Historical Society. "The Key to Kent County." https://kentcountyhistory.org/history/.
234 Maryland State Archives, *Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender*, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
235 For example, Slavery and Freedom at Washington College, Live After Slavery, Postwar Apprenticing, https://slaveryandfreedomatwashingtoncollege.org/life-after-freedom/; Theodore J. Davis, Jr., Socioeconomic Change: A Community In Transition, University of Delaware, https://www1.udel.edu/BlackHistory/socioecochange.html
236 *The Key to Old Kent: A Journal of the Historical Society of Kent County*, vol. 7 (2013), https://kentcountyhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/The-Key-to-Old-Kent-A-Journal-of-the-Historical-Society-of-Kent-County-Vol.-7-2013.pdf?utm_source=
237 Kent County Historical Society. *A History of Free Black Communities in Kent County*. Chestertown, MD: Kent County Historical Society, 2022. https://kentcountyhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/chs-book.pdf.
238 Chesapeake Heartland, "The Ways We Work in Kent County, Maryland — Free Black Craftsman Samuel Rogers,"https://chesapeakeheartland.org/blog/the-ways-we-work-in-kent-county-marylandfree-black-craftsman-samuel-rogers?utm_source=.
239 Community, Prosperity, and Resilience: African Americans in Chestertown, Maryland, 1700s to the Present, https://kentcountyhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/chs-brochure.pdf
240 Community, Prosperity, and Resilience: African Americans in Chestertown, Maryland, 1700s to the Present, https://kentcountyhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/chs-brochure.pdf; Lucy Maddox, January 24, 2024, Letter to The Members of the Chestertown Historic Commission, https://www.chestertown.gov/media/1056
241 In 1910, Baltimore passed the nation's first racial zoning ordinance, which became a model for other parts of the state and other cities around the U.S., *See*, George Fatheree, A Brief History of Racial Zoning and How to Reverse the Impact of Housing Discrimination, February 20, 2024, https://urbanland.uli.org/a-brief-history-of-racial-zoning-neighborhood-associations-and-municipal-zoning#:~:text=In%201910%20Baltimore%20passed%20the,neighborhoods%20throughout%20hundreds%20of%20cities.
242 Town of Chestertown, James Taylor Justice Coalition Report, February 20, 2024, https://www.chestertown.gov/media/5141
243 "Queen Anne's County, Maryland," *Wikipedia*, last modified June 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Queen_Anne%27s_County,_Maryland.
244 "Queen Anne's County, Maryland," *Wikipedia*, last modified June 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Queen_Anne%27s_County,_Maryland.
245 Kent Island Heritage Society, *"History of Kent Island"*, https://kentislandheritagesociety.org/kent-island-history/#:~:text=Kent%20Island%27s%20economy%20expanded%20in,of%20the%20expanding%20seafood%20industry.
246 Maryland State Archives, *Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender*, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
247 Maryland State Archives, *Poplar Grove Plantation – Legacy of Slavery in Maryland* (Queen Anne's County), https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/casestudies/poplar_grove.html.
248 *Struggle & Progress,* "The Johnson Family: Free Blacks of the Eastern Shore," https://struggleandprogress.com/2019/01/07/the-johnsons-a-free-black-family-of-the-eastern-shore/.
249 *Road to Compromise*, "Queen Anne's County school integration," https://roadtocompromise.wordpress.com/queen-annes-county-school-integration/.
250 Dennis Patrick Halpin, 2019, *A Brotherhood of LIberty: Black Reconstruction and Its Legacies in Baltimore, 1865-1920*, pp. 32-38
251 *"The Lynching of Green," Centerville Record*, May 16, 1891, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013739/images/cr18910516%283%29a.pdf; *A White Girl Seduced By A Slave," Baltimore Sun*, April 27, 1863.

252 "Somerset County, Maryland," *Wikipedia*, last modified June 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somerset_County,_Maryland.
253 Maryland State Archives, *Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender*, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
254 Maryland State Archives, *"African American Population Statistics by County, 1870,"* in *Research: Census Records*, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
255 John R. Wennersten, *Strange Fruit: Racism and Community Life in the Chesapeake—1850 to Present* (New Academia Publishing, 2021)
256 The Maryland State Archives, Maryland in Focus - Somerset County, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/speccol/photos/lowe/html/so_2.html; US Department of Agriculture, Part-Time Farming in the United States, Somerset Couty, Maryland, https://www.nass.usda.gov/AgCensus/archive/files/1935-Part-Time_Farming_in_the_United_States-MAPS-1550-Table-08.pdf
257 John R. Wennersten, *Strange Fruit: Racism and Community Life in the Chesapeake—1850 to Present* (New Academia Publishing, 2021), 32–34.
258 John R. Wennersten, *Strange Fruit: Racism and Community Life in the Chesapeake—1850 to Present* (New Academia Publishing, 2021), 32–34.
259 John R. Wennersten, *Strange Fruit: Racism and Community Life in the Chesapeake—1850 to Present* (New Academia Publishing, 2021), 32–34.
260 John R. Wennersten, *Strange Fruit: Racism and Community Life in the Chesapeake—1850 to Present* (New Academia Publishing, 2021), 32–34.
261 Sherrilyn A. Ifill, *On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the Twenty-First Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007), 57–63.
262 "Child is Killed As Mob Seeks Prey to Lynch," *The Afro-American,* Baltimore, Maryland, Sat, Oct 28, 1933, Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/article/the-afro-american-afro-oct28-1933-pg/170048539/
263 Salisbury University Libraries, "Southern Maryland & Eastern Shore Archival Resources," *Library Research Guide*, https://libraryguides.salisbury.edu/c.php?g=1056210&p=8227629; and John R. Wennersten, *Strange Fruit: Racism and Community Life in the Chesapeake—1850 to Present* (New Academia Publishing, 2021), 29–76.

264 Maryland State Archives, “University of Maryland Eastern Shore: Origin & Functions,” Maryland Manual On-Line, https://www.msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/25univ/umes/html/umesf.html
265 John R. Wennersten, *Strange Fruit: Racism and Community Life in the Chesapeake—1850 to Present* (New Academia Publishing, 2021), 29–76.
266 “Wicomico County, Maryland,” *Wikipedia*, last modified June 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wicomico_County,_Maryland.
267 “Black Workers in Eastern Wicomico County: Their Contributions to Rural Shore Society,” *Salisbury University Archives*. https://www.beachesbayswaterways.org/storyways/black-workers-in-eastern-wicomico-county-their-contributions-to-rural-shore-society?utm_
268 Maryland State Archives, *Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender*, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
269 *Episode 1004*, *Maryland Farm & Harvest*, PBS, https://www.pbs.org/video/episode-1004-ejcj1w/?utm_source.
270 “Segregation Lingers in Wicomico County,” *Wicomico River Project*, Salisbury University Faculty Website, https://faculty.salisbury.edu/~mllewis/wicomico_river/chapter_four.htm.
271 Snowhill AAH Society, “Tin, Sweat, and Survival: African Americans in the Canning Industry on Maryland’s Lower Eastern Shore,” https://www.snowhillaahs.org/post/tin-sweat-and-survival-african-americans-in-the-canning-industry-on-maryland-s-lower-eastern-shor?utm_source; and BeachesBaysWaterWays, “Black Workers in Eastern Wicomico County: Their Contributions to Rural Shore Society,” https://www.beachesbayswaterways.org/storyways/black-workers-in-eastern-wicomico-county-their-contributions-to-rural-shore-society.
272 Black Workers in Eastern Wicomico County: Their Contributions to Rural Shore Society, https://www.beachesbayswaterways.org/storyways/black-workers-in-eastern-wicomico-county-their-contributions-to-rural-shore-society
273 “Segregation Lingers in Wicomico County,” *Wicomico River Project*, Salisbury University Faculty Website, https://faculty.salisbury.edu/~mllewis/wicomico_river/chapter_four.htm.
274 Sherrilyn A. Ifill, On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the Twenty-First Century (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007), 26-28.
275 “Mystery Death Believed to be Second Mob Victim | SHORE LYNCHERS MAY HAVE HAD SECOND VICTIM,” The Afro-American (Baltimore), December 12, 1931, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576402/.

“What we need is awareness, we can’t get careless.”

Public Enemy
“Fight the Power” (1989)

Southern Maryland

Southern Maryland

Overview

Southern Maryland—including Calvert and St. Mary's counties[276]—occupies a distinct position in the story of racial terror in Maryland. Long regarded as the state's oldest colonial region, this part of Maryland carried forward some of its most deeply entrenched systems of racial hierarchy, rooted in early plantation slavery, the Catholic Church, and economic isolation.

The first enslaved Africans in Maryland were brought to St. Mary's City in 1642 and during the 19th and early 20th centuries, Southern Maryland was defined by a small population, rural geography, and overwhelming reliance on Black labor, both before and after emancipation. The counties' relative isolation allowed white supremacy to flourish with limited oversight and little public accountability. The lynchings of **Charles Whitley** (1886) in Calvert County and **Benjamin Hance** (1887) in St. Mary's County—both occurring after Black freedom and mobility began to challenge white control—demonstrate how racial violence was used to enforce fear and reestablish boundaries of power.

Racial Demographics and the Legacy of Slavery

Southern Maryland had some of the highest percentages of Black people in the state, particularly before the Civil War:

- In 1860:
  - Calvert County: Approximately 62% Black (6,450 of 10,447 residents)
  - St. Mary's County: Approximately 55% Black (8,415 of 15,213 residents)[277]

Most of these individuals were enslaved, working in tobacco agriculture and living under systems governed by elite planters and religious institutions, particularly the Catholic Jesuits in St. Mary's County.[278]

- In 1870, after emancipation:
  - Calvert County decreased to around 56% Black
  - St. Mary's County decreased slightly to approximately 52% Black[279]

These numbers reflect not just a legacy of slavery, but a powerful continuity of Black presence, land attachment, and community formation across generations.

Labor, Land, and Economic Shifts

Southern Maryland's economy was historically dependent on enslaved labor for tobacco cultivation, and post-war economic transitions were slow and painful. With the end of slavery, Black residents became sharecroppers, tenant farmers, watermen, and domestic laborers—continuing to work land and waters they had known for generations, but without the legal protections or wages of full citizenship.[280]

In Calvert County, many Black families moved into fishing, crabbing, and oystering, forming strong water-based communities that fueled the growing canning industry along the Patuxent River.[281] In St. Mary's County, formerly enslaved people built Black settlements near plantations and church lands, especially in Oakville, Mechanicsville, and Great Mills, where they founded churches, benevolent societies, and fraternal organizations.[282]

Though Black landownership did emerge, most land and wealth remained concentrated in white hands. Even into the 20th century, the social order of Southern Maryland preserved

clear racial hierarchies—often under the guise of paternalism from both Protestant and Catholic elites.

Segregation, Suppression, and Racial Terror

Black schools were underfunded, with children often learning in one-room buildings with limited supplies. Local governments, controlled by white Democrats, imposed poll taxes, literacy tests, and informal intimidation to prevent Black political participation.[283] The absence of robust press or oversight meant these abuses were rarely documented or challenged.

Racial violence filled the gap where law and due process were denied. Both Calvert and St. Mary's Counties recorded racial terror lynchings during the 1880s—a decade marked by increasing Black assertion and rising white anxiety.

- **Charles Whitley** (1886) was lynched in Prince Frederick, Calvert County, after being accused of assaulting a white girl. He was taken from jail and hanged by a white mob.
- **Benjamin Hance** (1887) was lynched in Leonardtown, St. Mary's County, under similar accusations. He too was abducted from custody and murdered without trial.

Neither man was afforded due process. No one was prosecuted for either lynching. Both killings were justified by local papers and quickly forgotten by official accounts. They served their intended purpose: to instill terror in Black communities and reinforce racial control at a time when Black residents were beginning to assert basic rights.

Historical Silence and Recent Reckonings

Textbooks praised the Catholic missions, tobacco heritage, and maritime traditions, while the story of Black struggle and white violence remained buried. Through the work of the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, truth and reconciliation initiatives, local scholars, and county government, the names of Charles Whitley and Benjamin Hance have been recovered and honored through soil collections, remembrance ceremonies, and public hearings.

Conclusion

Southern Maryland's small size belied the scope of its racial injustice. Here, in the earliest colonial settlements, the systems of racial control—slavery, segregation, and lynching—were woven into the very foundations of local power.

But here too, Black communities endured. They labored on land they did not own, worshiped in churches they built themselves, and survived generations of exclusion and violence with dignity, culture, and faith. Their stories demand acknowledgment—not just as victims of racial terror, but as authors of one of Maryland's most enduring legacies of Black resilience.

“An individual lynching is not just an individual atrocity — it is a family atrocity, it is a community atrocity.”

Justin Hansford, Professor of Law and Director of the Thurgood Marshall Civil Rights Center, Howard University School of Law
Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Reckoning & Repair Public Hearing, Day 2 (2025)

Calvert County

Charles Whitley (1886)

County Overview

Formed in 1654 from parts of St. Mary's County and originally called Patuxent County, Calvert County occupies a long, narrow peninsula along the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay.[284] Historically isolated due to its geography, the county became heavily reliant on the labor of enslaved people to sustain its early tobacco-based economy and later shifted toward fishing, oystering, and canning in the late 19th century.

Despite its small size, Calvert County bore the full weight of Maryland's racial caste system, from its early plantation economy through the Jim Crow era. Like other counties in Southern Maryland, Calvert County was marked by deep racial divides, strict segregation, and a legacy of white mob violence—including the 1886 lynching of **Charles Whitley**, a Black man seized and murdered by a white mob in Prince Frederick.[285]

Racial Demographics and the Legacy of Enslavement

Calvert County's small but racially divided population made its Black residents particularly vulnerable to systemic exclusion and violence. According to the 1860 census, the total population was around 10,447, with over 6,400 Black residents (~62%), including 4,609 enslaved people and 1,841 free Black individuals.[286]

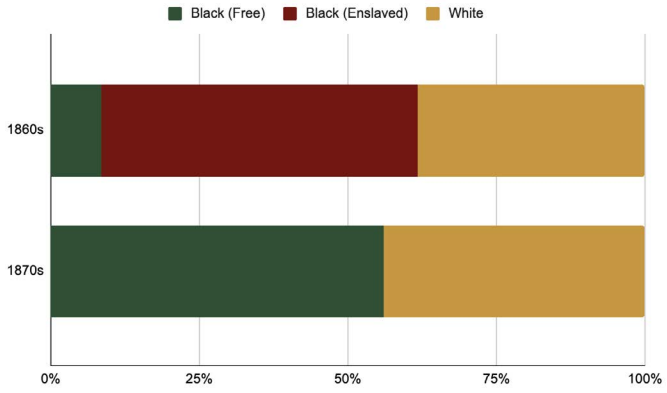
After emancipation in 1864, the 1870 census recorded 5,533 Black residents, roughly 56% of the total population.[287]

Despite this demographic strength, white landowners and civic leaders retained control of nearly all political and economic institutions.

Black Labor, Land, and Community Life

Calvert County's economy was historically driven by tobacco cultivation, which relied on the labor of enslaved people until emancipation. In the decades that followed, the county shifted toward a Chesapeake Bay-based economy, with Black labor powering its fishing, crabbing, oystering, and especially its canning industry.[288]

While few Black families held significant tracts of land, many found opportunity and dignity in the tight-knit maritime communities that dotted the Patuxent shoreline. Black watermen and their families developed generations-long traditions in seafood harvesting—often passed down father to son—and contributed substantially to the local economy.[289]



These families also built self-sustaining communities, anchored by churches, lodges, and schools. The Bayside churches, in particular, played a central role in Black civic life—offering education, mutual aid, and moral instruction in the face of entrenched discrimination.[290]

In the late 19th century, Black residents formed benevolent associations and fraternal organizations such as the Order of Galilean Fishermen, which provided insurance, funeral benefits, and solidarity for Black laborers in a segregated economy.[291]

Segregation and Racial Tension

As Black residents built institutions and slowly gained land and economic footing, white leaders responded with increased efforts to codify racial boundaries. Public schools were strictly segregated, with Black students attending classes in poorly funded church buildings or temporary structures.[292]

Opportunities for political participation were effectively blocked. White Democrats used poll taxes, literacy tests, and intimidation to suppress Black voting. Sheriff's offices and local judgeships remained virtually all-white well into the 20th century.[293]

White hostility was exacerbated by geography: Calvert County's relative isolation from state and federal oversight gave local powerbrokers nearly unchecked authority to enforce racial hierarchies through both policy and violence.

Lynching and Racial Terror: The Case of Charles Whitley (1886)

The fragility of Black safety in Calvert County was laid bare in 1886 with the lynching of **Charles Whitley**, a domestic servant accused of assaulting a white girl in the village of Prince Frederick. Charles Whitley was arrested and held in jail, but a white mob stormed the jail, dragged him from his cell, and hanged him from a tree without trial.

As in other Maryland lynchings, no one was held accountable, and local authorities claimed they were "overpowered" or unaware. Contemporary press reports either justified the lynching or downplayed it, reinforcing the notion that Black lives were expendable when white feelings of threat were aroused.[294]

Charles Whitley's lynching was not an isolated act—it was part of a pattern in Calvert County and across Southern Maryland where Black progress or perceived insubordination was met with mob violence and silence from local leadership.

Historical Silence and Ongoing Memory Work

For a century, local histories emphasized white religious institutions, antebellum estates, and waterfront heritage while ignoring the violence that undergirded the region's racial order and the lynching of Charles Whitley. Spurred by local initiatives, and support from neighboring counties, Calvert County has begun to publicly acknowledge the murder of Charles Whitley.

Conclusion

As we consider the story of Charles Whitley and the generations of Black laborers, oystermen, and educators who helped shape the county, we must also confront the conditions that made their achievements so precarious—and their resistance so courageous.

Additional details can be found in the case study of Charles Whitley in Appendix B.

St. Mary's County

Benjamin Hance (1887)

County Overview

St. Mary's County, founded in 1637, is the birthplace of colonial Maryland and the site of the first permanent English settlement in the state.[295] Its long history includes some of the earliest institutions of slavery and white-controlled religious communities and governmental systems in the Chesapeake region. The first enslaved Africans in Maryland were brought to St. Mary's City in 1642. By the 19th century, the county remained a deeply rural, plantation-dominated society where enslaved Black labor powered the local economy and where freedom came slowly and violently.[296]

Although geographically isolated at the southern tip of the Western Shore, St. Mary's County was central to the enforcement of white supremacy through law, culture, and violence. The 1887 lynching of **Benjamin Hance**, currently the only documented lynching in the county, offers a clear window into the region's racial tensions—and the price Black men paid for being perceived as a threat to the racial order.[297]

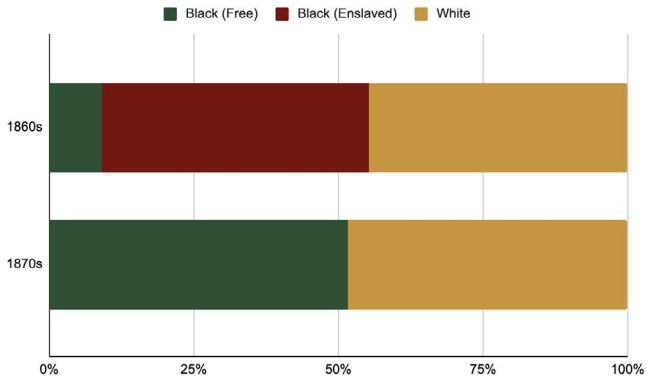
Racial Demographics and the Legacy of Slavery

In 1860, the total population of St. Mary's County was approximately 15,200, including over 8,400 Black residents (55%). Of those, roughly 6,500 were enslaved and over 1,800 were free Black individuals.[298] The economy was dominated by tobacco agriculture, with enslaved labor concentrated in the hands of Catholic planters and religious orders, especially the Jesuits, whose plantations formed the backbone of the local economy and spiritual life.[299]

Following Maryland's emancipation of enslaved people in 1864, the 1870 census recorded 7,726 Black residents—52% of the county's population.[300]

The Catholic Church, Enslavement, and Community Formation

Unlike other counties dominated by Anglican or Protestant elites, St. Mary's County was shaped by a uniquely Catholic slaveholding tradition, where religious institutions such as St. Inigoes and Newtown operated plantations and baptized enslaved people into the Church while denying them fundamental human rights.[301] The Jesuits not only enslaved Black men and women, but profited from their labor and sale—including the notorious 1838 sale of 272 enslaved people, many of whom came from Southern Maryland plantations.[302]



After emancipation, many formerly enslaved people remained in the county, forming settlements near the land they had worked. Black families built communities such as Oakville, Charlotte Hall, Great Mills, and Mechanicsville, often centered around churches like Immaculate Heart of Mary and St. Peter Claver, as well as mutual aid lodges and one-room schoolhouses.[303]

Labor, Land, and Economic Exclusion

Even after slavery ended, Black labor continued to sustain the county's tobacco-driven economy. Sharecropping and tenant farming remained dominant for decades, and Black farmers had limited access to land ownership or credit. Wages were low, schools were underfunded, and most public resources were routed to white residents.

Catholic paternalism often dictated the boundaries of opportunity for Black workers. While some priests encouraged education and moral uplift, they remained complicit in a system that excluded Black residents from political and economic power.[304] By the late 19th century, several Black residents gained modest landholdings, and churches became focal points for dignity and resistance. Still, segregation in schools, housing, and public facilities remained the norm.

Lynching and Racial Terror: The Case of Benjamin Hance (1887)

In 1887, **Benjamin Hance**, a 22-year-old Black man believed to have been born free in St. Mary's County, was accused of assaulting a white woman near Leonardtown. Though evidence was scant and no trial was held, Benjamin Hance was arrested and placed in jail. That same night, a mob of white men broke into the jail, dragged him from his cell, and hanged him from a nearby tree.

Local newspaper coverage, including from the *St. Mary's Enterprise*, portrayed the lynching as "justifyable" stating "if lynching is ever justifyable by a truly moral and religious sentiment, it is where, from force of circumstances a fiend escapes justice. To arise, in such emergencies and give security to the peace, happiness and virtue of the community, is, we think, the duty of every citizen."[305] News coverage showed little concern for legal procedure or truth and no one was ever arrested or charged for Benjamin Hance's murder.

Benjamin Hance's lynching followed the now-familiar pattern: a perceived threat to white womanhood, the failure of due process, and the use of public execution to enforce racial boundaries. His death also sent a clear message to the broader Black community: that legal status meant little when white fear dictated the terms of justice.

Erasure and the Long Silence

For over a century, there was no public marker, memorial, or educational mention of Benjamin Hance's murder in St. Mary's County. Churches and schools built by the Black community were celebrated for their longevity, but the terror that shaped those institutions' urgency and resilience was ignored. In recent years, the St. Mary's County Government Museum Division—working with local partners and neighboring communities in Calvert and Charles Counties—has led efforts to publicly acknowledge Benjamin Hance's story. A community soil collection was held in 2019, with one jar of soil incorporated into an exhibit at the Old Jail Museum in Leonardtown and another sent to the Equal Justice Initiative for inclusion in its national Soil Collection Exhibit and at the Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History & Culture. In 2021, a historic marker was erected in Leonardtown, accompanied by ongoing educational programs to preserve and share this history.[306]

Conclusion

St. Mary's County offers a powerful and painful case study in Maryland's history of racial hierarchy. Here, in the state's first county, enslavement was formalized by religious institutions, and freedom was defined by poverty, exclusion, and fear. The lynching of

Benjamin Hance was not an anomaly—it was the inevitable outcome of a system that treated Black dignity as a threat. And yet, the Black communities of St. Mary's County endured. They built churches, opened schools, farmed land, and passed down stories of survival. Their presence remains a living testament to the strength it took to exist, resist, and persevere under centuries of racial injustice.

Additional details can be found in the case study of Benjamin Hance in Appendix B.

Endnotes

276 Charles County is also a part of Southern Maryland with no documented racial terror lynchings during the time period of this report.
277 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
278 Rachel L. Swarns, The 272: The Families Who Were Enslaved and Sold to Build the American Catholic Church (New York: Random House, 2023).
279 Maryland State Archives, "African American Population Statistics by County, 1870," in Research: Census Records, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
280 Equity in History, "Maryland Emancipation Day & Its Impact on Southern Maryland," https://www.equityinhistory.org/article/maryland-emancipation-day-its-impact-on-southern-maryland/.
281 Water's Edge: Black Watermen of the Chesapeake, PBS, https://www.pbs.org/video/waters-edge-black-watermen-of-the-chesapeake-lo9iwq/?utm_source ; Maryland Sea Grant, "Black Men, Blue Waters," Maryland Sea Grant Magazine, https://www.mdsg.umd.edu/sites/default/files/files/MN16_2_BlackMenBlueWaters.PDF?utm_source ; and Calvert Marine Museum, A Race to the Pearl: History of Black Oyster & Clam Workers in Southern Maryland, https://www.calvertmarinemuseum.com/DocumentCenter/View/3938/RaceToThePearl_85x11?bidId=&utm_source
282 Visit St. Mary's County, "African American History & Heritage," https://www.visitstmarysmd.com/explore/museums-history/african-american/?utm_source
283 Sherrilyn A. Ifill, On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the Twenty-First Century (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007), 64.
284 "Calvert County, Maryland," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Calvert_County,_Maryland.
285 Equal Justice Initiative, Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror, 3rd ed., 2017.
286 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
287 Maryland State Archives, "African American Population Statistics by County, 1870," in Research: Census Records, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
288 Calvert Marine Museum, A Race to the Pearl: History of Black Oyster & Clam Workers in Southern Maryland, https://www.calvertmarinemuseum.com/DocumentCenter/View/3938/RaceToThePearl_85x11?bidId=
289 Water's Edge: Black Watermen of the Chesapeake, PBS, aired April 17, 2023, https://www.pbs.org/video/waters-edge-black-watermen-of-the-chesapeake-lo9iwq/ ; Calvert Marine Museum, Lore Oyster House: Oyster Shuckers at J.C. Lore & Sons, https://www.calvertmarinemuseum.com/191/Lore-Oyster-House
290 National Trust for Historic Preservation, "Understanding Black History along the Chesapeake Bay in Maryland,"https://savingplaces.org/stories/understanding-black-history-chesapeake-bay-in-maryland?utm_source
291 Maryland Commission on African American History and Culture. "The Common Good: Blacks in Secret Societies in Calvert County, Maryland." February 5, 2016. https://mdhistoricaltrust.wordpress.com/2016/02/05/the-common-good-blacks-in-secret-societies-in-calvert-county-maryland/.
292 Lyndsey Layton, "History Slipping Away: In Calvert, Few Black Sites Preserved," The Washington Post, December 22, 1998, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1998/12/23/history-slipping-away/0b2114d5-2bc6-4cbf-8f4d-ef91852872b3/?utm_source
293 Sherrilyn A. Ifill, On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the Twenty-First Century (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007), 51-54.
294 For example, a Calvert Gazette article bore a subheadline "Charles Whitley, The Ravisher Suspended From A Persimmon Limb. | An Atrocious Crime Avenged By A Band Of Masked Lynchers" ("Lynched by a Mob,"Calvert Gazette, June 12, 1886 https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013736/tif/calgaz18860612a.pdf) while another article wrote "A Horrible Offense–One of the most revolting crimes that has ever occurred in this community was enacted in this village…The details of the offense, as developed at the hearing of the accused before Justice Dalrymple on Wednesday, are of such a nature that we prefer no to publish them here." This coverage sensationalized Charles Whitley's alleged crime before he was given due process and served as justifications for his murder ("A Horrible Offense." The Calvert Gazette, 6 June 1886. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013736/tif/calgaz18860606.pdf)
295 "St. Mary's County, Maryland," Wikipedia, last modified July 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Mary%27s_County,_Maryland.
296 Maryland Historical Trust, "Regional: St. Mary's County," https://mdhistoricaltrust.wordpress.com/category/regional/st-marys-county/?utm_source
297 Equal Justice Initiative, Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror, 3rd ed., 2017.
298 Maryland State Archives, Legacy of Slavery in Maryland: Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
299 Rachel L. Swarns, "272 Slaves Were Sold to Save Georgetown. What Does It Owe Their Descendants?" The New York Times, April 16, 2016.
300 Maryland State Archives, "African American Population Statistics by County, 1870," in Research: Census Records, https://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1870.html.
301 "Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland," Georgetown Slavery Archive, https://slaveryarchive.georgetown.edu/.
302 Rachel L. Swarns, The 272: The Families Who Were Enslaved and Sold to Build the American Catholic Church (New York: Random House, 2023).
303 Visit St. Mary's County, "St. Peter Claver Church & McKenna Hall Museum," https://www.visitstmarysmd.com/directory/st-peter-claver-church-mckenna-hall-museum-historic-churches-religious-sites/?utm_source ; Visit St. Mary's County, "African American History & Heritage," https://www.visitstmarysmd.com/explore/museums-history/african-american/?utm_source ; St. Mary's College of Maryland, "African-American Historic Sites in St. Mary's County" (brochure), https://acrobat.adobe.com/id/urn:aaid:sc:US:a0018f01-02b5-4eb7-85f9-db785ad768cb
304 Mary Clement Jeske, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and the Enslaved Families at Doughhoragen Manor in Post-Revolutionary Maryland, Maryland Historical Magazine, pp. 185 - 226, https://www.mdhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/MdHM_117_2_Fall-Wtr_2022_FINAL.pdf
305 Hance Lynched." St. Mary's Enterprise, 18 June 1887. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/sme18870618.pdf
306 Soil Collection Ceremony to Memorialize 1887 St. Mary's County Lynching Victim on Maryland Emancipation Day, News Release, St. Mary's County Government, October 23, 2019, https://www.stmaryscountymd.gov/pio/docs/2019-225NewsReleaseSoilCollectionCeremony.pdf; Maryland Community Dedicates a Historical Marker, Nov 1, 2021,https://eji.org/news/maryland-community-dedicates-historical-marker/

"Lynching practices were well thought out, methodically planned, and facilitated by a range of institutions… law enforcement did not just idly stand by or turn a blind eye, but most often actively participated in the lynchings."

Dreisen Heath, Community Advocate and Activist for Racial Justice
Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Reckoning & Repair Public Hearing, Day 2 (2025)

C. Findings

While the geographic, political, and economic characteristics of Maryland's counties varied widely, the following themes surfaced repeatedly in places where racial terror lynchings occurred:

1. Accusations Without Due Process

Lynching victims were almost always accused—rarely convicted—of crimes, most often attempted sexual or physical assault of white women. These accusations functioned as social triggers, instantly mobilizing white vigilante action, often with no investigation, legal counsel, or evidence.[307] *Some Examples*: Charles Whitley (Calvert, 1886), James Carroll (Frederick, 1879), and Benjamin Hance (St. Mary's, 1887) were all lynched within days or hours of arrest.

2. Mob Violence Enabled by Law Enforcement

Across multiple counties, sheriffs, jailers, and local officials allowed mobs to seize prisoners from their custody without resistance (see **Appendix B** on the lynching of Matthew Williams). Some claimed to be "overpowered," while others collaborated with the mob or disappeared conveniently. *Some Examples*: The lynchings of Sidney Randolph (Montgomery, 1896) and William Burns (Allegany, 1907) occurred while the victims were in custody.

3. High Rates of Free Black Residents and Black Landownership

Many counties with documented lynchings had significant free Black populations before emancipation, and their communities had built churches, schools, and land-based legacies. In many places, Black prosperity was met with white resentment and backlash.[308] *Some Examples*: Caroline, Frederick, and Montgomery Counties all had strong Black civic institutions that predated or paralleled emancipation.

4. Segregation and Political Suppression Post-Emancipation

Following the Civil War and during Reconstruction, white political leaders across Maryland imposed poll taxes, literacy tests, and racial gerrymandering to limit Black voting and representation. As Black residents began to assert civic and economic power, white mobs turned to violence to reassert control.[309]

5. Geographic and Jurisdictional Isolation

In the isolated counties of Somerset, Wicomico, St. Mary's, and Allegany, physical distance from state oversight contributed to a culture of local impunity. In several instances, no outside law enforcement or press intervened, allowing white residents to manage "justice" on their own terms.[310]

6. Erasure from Public Memory

For decades, the names and stories of lynching victims were excluded from local histories, textbooks, and civic commemorations. In some counties, this silence persisted into the 21st century—only recently interrupted by memorial projects, soil collections, and community-led remembrance events such as classroom curriculum in Carroll and Montgomery Counties.

7. Resilient Black Communities

Despite the trauma of racial terror, Black Marylanders built, rebuilt and resisted. Homes, churches, mutual aid societies, historically Black schools, and fraternal orders like the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows and the Order of Galilean Fishermen provided stability and social capital in every county studied. *Some Examples*: Brownsville (Allegany) and Lincoln Park (Montgomery) all fostered strong multigenerational Black communities even in the wake of racial violence.

8. Maryland was a Southern State

Maryland's dual identity as both a border and Southern state shaped its history of racial terror. While publicly cultivating a reputation for moderation, Maryland enacted and tolerated racial violence–like lynchings–that aligned with the racial order of the South.

Maryland's Media and the Cultural Work of Lynching

Maryland's white newspapers—particularly local and regional outlets—played a central role in creating the atmosphere that enabled lynching. Their complicity took several overlapping forms:

1. Sensational Coverage and Dehumanizing Language

Victims were routinely referred to as "fiends," "brutes," or "negro ravishers," framing Black men as inherently criminal.[311] Reports often used vague or unnamed "respectable sources" to imply guilt while minimizing legal standards.

2. Justification and Editorial Approval

In dozens of cases, white newspapers not only reported lynchings but praised them editorially as appropriate community responses to alleged crimes. *Example*: After the lynching of Townsend Cook (Carroll County, 1885), local papers claimed justice had been served and that the white community approved of the lynching as "swift punishment …to deter others and prevent similar outrages," especially given the belief that a court trial could have taken as long as six months to resolve.[312]

3. Failure to Investigate or Condemn

Very few white Maryland newspapers called for justice or prosecution of white mobs. Most coverage was reactive, light on facts, and speculative—relying on rumor, community hearsay, or police statements.[313] Some even presented lynchings as spontaneous acts of passion rather than premeditated political violence.

4. Selective Silencing and Omission

In some counties, lynchings were underreported or not covered at all, especially when the victim was from a rural area or when local elites feared reputational harm. This silence allowed white citizens to move on without legal or cultural reckoning. *Example*: The lynching of Benjamin Hance (St. Mary's, 1887) was barely acknowledged outside the region.

5. Media as Mob Amplifier

Sometimes white newspapers telegraphed rumors of upcoming lynchings, spreading public sentiment or even inadvertently inciting mob action. In other instances, press silence during early arrests allowed vigilantes time to mobilize without interference.[314]

Conclusion

Maryland's history of racial terror lynchings cannot be fully understood without grappling with the structures that made them possible. The patterns across counties—law enforcement complicity, economic resentment, political suppression, and media normalization—reveal that lynching was never an isolated act of rage. It was a systemic tool of racial control, aided by public institutions and cultural gatekeepers.

And yet, Black Marylanders endured, resisted, and remembered. The final chapters of these stories are still being written—in classrooms, churches, courthouses, and on soil now marked with names once forgotten.

Endnotes

307 Equal Justice Initiative, Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror, 3rd ed. (Montgomery, AL: EJI, 2017).

308 U.S. Census Bureau, “Maryland County Demographics by Race and Status, 1860,” Historical Census Browser, University of Virginia.

309 Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, “County Reports,” https://www.mdlynchingmemorial.org/county-pages?utm_

310 Rachel L. Swarns, The 272: The Families Who Were Enslaved and Sold to Build the American Catholic Church (New York: Random House, 2023).

311 Some examples of newspaper headlines include: “A Brute’s End,” https://www.newspapers.com/image/756420796/; “The Description of a Brute,” https://www.newspapers.com/image/153956640/; Hellish Deed. A Negro Fiend Violates and Nearly Murders a Lady Sixty-Five Years of Age.” The Baltimore Sun, October 13, 1869, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018339/html/18339bio.html; “The Fiend Lynched,” https://www.newspapers.com/image/604931425/; “Mob Riddled Negro Ravisher with Bullets.”https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/12-21-1906capital.pdf; “Lynching a Ravisher” https://www.newspapers.com/image/649164146/

312 “The Lynching of Cook,” The Democratic Advocate, June 6, 1885. (https://acrobat.adobe.com/id/urn:aaid:sc:US:6b814b90-d713-4286-a315-5601e059b6d2)

313 Michael H. Cottman, “‘Printing Hate’ investigates historical links between newspapers, racial violence,” NBCU Academy, November 8, 2021, https://nbcuacademy.com/newspaper-archives-printing-hate/?utm_source

314 Michael H. Cottman, “‘Printing Hate’ investigates historical links between newspapers, racial violence,” NBCU Academy, November 8, 2021, https://nbcuacademy.com/newspaper-archives-printing-hate/?utm_source

Part II

Reconciliation

“U.S. society has come to terms with neither its original sin of enslavement nor the sequela of that sin, which includes lynching across the nation, including Maryland.”

Dr. Cheryl Grills
Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Reckoning & Repair Public Hearing, Day 1 (2025)

Introduction

While Part I of this report focused on uncovering the historical record of racial terror lynchings in Maryland between 1854 and 1933, Part II turns toward repair. It presents the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission's recommendations for how the State and affected communities can begin to confront this legacy, restore the dignity of victims, and offer a measure of justice and healing to the descendants of the 38 known victims of racial terror lynchings.

Lynching was not only a violent act against individuals—it was a form of racial terrorism against Black communities designed to instill fear, suppress progress, and maintain white supremacy. The trauma inflicted by these crimes, often carried out as public spectacles, reverberated through generations. Communities were left to live in the shadow of violence without recourse, justice, or recognition. The psychological, emotional, and social impacts remain deeply felt, contributing to long-standing and documented inequities and collective trauma.

The Commission's Reconciliation Committee has been guided by the tenet that when perpetrators are no longer living, justice needs to focus not on punishment but on acknowledging the truth, healing the victims' communities, and addressing the ongoing legacy of racial terror. In that vein, the Committee developed a framework for reconciliation and restorative justice that spans a spectrum—from simple acts such as public acknowledgments and apologies, to more transformative efforts like direct reparations, community investment, and institutional reform.

Maryland's history of racial terror lynching mirrors a national pattern of anti-Black violence during the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras. These acts entrenched racial hierarchies but also galvanized Black resistance—both visible and underground—that laid the groundwork for future civil rights movements.

The legacy of this violence is still with us: in intergenerational trauma, systemic inequality, and a collective memory shaped by silence and erasure. This section of the report offers a path forward—not only to honor those who were lost, but to move Maryland toward a more just, truthful, and inclusive future. Healing requires an honest reckoning with the past, and these recommendations are a step toward that goal.

1642

Slavery Begins in Maryland

First enslaved Africans arrive in Maryland at St. Mary's City.

1664

Slavery Legalized

Maryland General Assembly legalizes slavery and makes lifelong bondage mandatory for those of African descent.

1854

Statutory Beginning of MLTRC Review of Racial Terror Lynchings

Earliest documented racial terror lynching by the MLTRC (**David Thomas**–Denton, Caroline County–October 9, 1854).

According to the NAACP, a lynching was the illegal murder of a person by a group of people in support of white supremacy. Prior to the Civil War, slaveholders could kill enslaved people with legal impunity and not face charges of murder as the enslaved were considered chattel property. Many slaveholders recovered insurance payments for murdering an enslaved person, as in the case of **George** in Washington County in 1853.

1861-1865

U.S. Civil War

The United States militarily defeats the Confederate States of America.

1865

13th Amendment Ratified

Abolished slavery, except for those duly convicted of crimes.

1868

14th Amendment Ratified

Guarantees equal privileges and immunities, equal protection, and due process under the law for all citizens regardless of race.

1870

15th Amendment Ratified

Prohibits racial discrimination in voting.

1933

Statutory End of MLTRC Review of Racial Terror Lynchings

- At least 38 Black men and boys were lynched, the last one being **George Armwood** (Princess Anne, October 18, 1933).
- Maryland is complicit as local officials openly participate in or ignore lynchings and the media fuels racial terror.

Constitutional Violations:

- Maryland officials (sheriffs, judges, prosecutors) enable mob lynchings instead of protecting Black citizens in denial of their equal protection and due process rights (5th & 14th Amendments).
- Substitutes to slavery such as Black Codes, Convict Leasing, and Mass Incarceration take root, disproportionately affecting the descendants of the enslaved (13th Amendment).
- Denial of Privileges and Immunities through enforcement of Jim Crow laws (14th Amendment).
- Failure to guarantee republican form of government as Black voters are intimidated, attacked at polls, disenfranchised by state inaction (Article IV &15th Amendment).

1964 - 1968

Civil Rights Laws Passed to Address Constitutional Violations

- Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Voting Rights Act of 1965
- Fair Housing Act of 1968

1970s – Present

Modern Lynchings

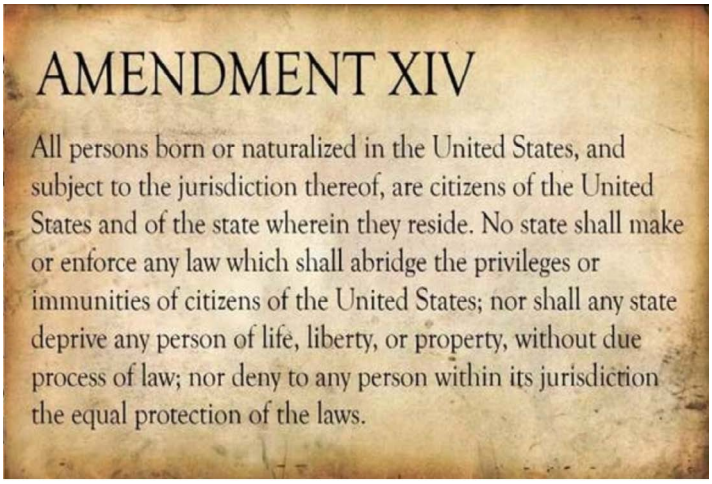
- Modern echoes of unconstitutional state violence ranging from wrongful prosecutions like **Eddie Conway** (1970) to wrongful deaths like **Freddie Gray** (2015).

- Death penalty discriminatorily applied until abolished in 2013.
- Black Marylanders descended from U.S. chattel slavery continue to constitute a disproportionate share of wrongful convictions, hate crime victims, incarcerations, and police killings.

1. Legal Foundation

A. Maryland Owes a Remedy to Black Marylanders who were harmed by Maryland's Persistent and Egregious Violations of the U.S. Constitution

In the United States, the Constitution is considered the supreme law of the land. On July 9, 1868, in the wake of the Civil War, the United States adopted the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in strong rebuke of the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Dred Scott v. Sandford,* 60 U.S. 393 (1857). The *Sandford* decision, drafted by Justice Roger Taney, a Marylander from a prominent family of enslavers in Calvert County, is often cited as a predicate to the Civil War. It held that people of African descent would never be citizens of the United States and had "no rights which the white man was bound to respect." In stark contrast, the 14th Amendment provided that there was only one class of citizenship in the United States of which Black Americans were included and that ALL citizens were entitled to due process and equal protection under the laws.



"Understanding the Constitution: The 14th Amendment, Part I." Source: Institute for Justice

See Amendment XIV Sect. 1.

Despite the explicit opprobrium in the 14th Amendment, individual states, including but not limited to Maryland, routinely violated both the language and intent of the 14th Amendment through the passage of countless racially exclusionary laws which abridged the privileges and immunities of Black Americans, deprived Black Americans of life, liberty, and property without due process, and denied Black Americans equal protection of the laws.

In "States' Laws on Race and Color," civil rights architect Pauli Murray catalogued hundreds of laws passed throughout the United States to maintain a system of racial hierarchy through *de jure* segregation in violation of the 14th Amendment. Maryland violated Black Marylanders civil rights by requiring private companies, individuals, as well as public institutions, to engage in racially discriminatory conduct in nearly every facet of life.[315] This is in addition to all of the racially-discriminatory local laws, ordinances and contracts that Maryland courts enforced for nearly a century after the enactment of the 14th Amendment that excluded Black Marylanders from jury participation, voting, education, employment and housing opportunities, among other basic citizenship rights. Additionally, Maryland's anti-miscegenation laws created an incentive for white people to lie about consensual sexual relations with Black Marylanders. Legendary journalist Ida B. Wells documented this phenomenon in her book *Southern Horrors*,[316] and also found that accusations were also frequently motivated by economic disputes.[317] Racially discriminatory laws contributed

to the dehumanization of Black Americans and fostered an environment in which they could be killed with impunity and without fear of retribution or accountability.
As these constitutional violations were occurring, the United States Supreme Court abdicated its responsibility to fairly uphold the law and instead frequently engaged in what has been referred to as "spurious interpretation" to subvert both the language and intent of the 14th Amendment.[318] The Supreme Court perverted the 14th Amendment to such a degree that corporations ended up with more protections under it than the descendants of enslaved Africans, for whom the Amendment was designed to protect.[319] Racial discrimination was finally and rightfully overturned by the Supreme Court in *Brown* v. *Board of Education,* 347 U. S. 483 (1954), albeit under the Interstate Commerce Clause instead of the more obvious 14th Amendment, but little has been done to address the harm that Black Americans suffered and continue to suffer from the Supreme Court's disregard of the law in those intervening years.

Notwithstanding the Supreme Court's numerous legally dubious and self-serving interpretations of the 14th Amendment which minimized the federal government's role in enforcing civil rights, it nevertheless made clear that it is the "very highest duty of States . . . to protect all persons within their boundaries in the enjoyment of these 'unalienable rights with which they were endowed by their Creator.'"[320] In dismissing federal indictments brought under the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1870 against white supremacists who participated in a massacre of over one hundred Black people defending their voting rights in Colfax, Louisiana, the Court held that it was primarily the State's responsibility to ensure its citizens' rights were protected.[321]

For nearly a century, Maryland allowed an epidemic of lynching to take root in which at least thirty-eight Black men and boys were deprived of their life, liberty and property without due process of law and Black Marylanders as a whole were denied equal protection of the laws. These lynchings frequently involved state actors including police, prosecutors, coroners, judges, and politicians and no perpetrator was ever held accountable despite there being numerous witnesses in most instances. Accordingly, Maryland failed to meet its high duty of ensuring that Black citizens received the same protection from the law as every other citizen and for that a remedy is owed.

B. Our Recommendations are Permissible Under the Law

The MLTRC is making a series of recommendations that would: 1) address the underlying dehumanizing conditions that gave rise to racial terror lynchings in Maryland; 2) remedy the harm caused by Maryland's legacy of racial terror lynching; and 3) enact policy changes to prevent similar injustices from occurring.

Racial terror lynchings had profound impacts on the on Black communities. Following a lynching, Black Marylanders often made the difficult and life-altering decision to flee their communities in search of a place where they may be better protected. This often resulted in them leaving land, businesses, and deep relationships behind, all of which continues to have a negative impact on the descendants of those communities today. While restitution to the family of lynching victims is necessary, it is also insufficient. With each lynching, the entire Black community suffered as their collective right to life, liberty, property and equal protection under the law was undermined.

Despite some conservative organizations' insistence that the very civil rights laws that were enacted to end centuries of racial discrimination in America prohibit the government from remedying the harm caused by those longstanding constitutional violations, that couldn't be further from the truth. Neither the Fair Housing Act, Title VI, Title VII, nor the

Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution prevent States from enacting remedies to address constitutional violations.

The existence of illegal discrimination justifies the imposition of a remedy that will "make persons whole for injuries suffered on account of unlawful . . . discrimination."[322] If the remedy involves a race-based policy, then courts will employ a strict scrutiny standard that asks whether the racial classification is used to "further compelling governmental interests," and second whether the government's use of race is "narrowly tailored," *i.e.,* "necessary," to achieve that interest.[323] However, if laws do not implicate a suspect classification or a fundamental right, then the more deferential rational basis standard will apply in which courts ask if the law is "rationally related" to a "legitimate" government interest, whether real or hypothetical.[324]

The Civil Liberties Act of 1988 is a prominent example of the government enacting legislation to compensate victims of past governmental misconduct.[325] Forty years after the forced internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II, Congress appropriated funds to provide restitution to them. Through this legislation, Congress apologized for the grave injustice that was committed, directed the Attorney General to identify, locate and pay each eligible individual $20,000 in tax free funds (equal to approximately $55,000 in 2025 dollars), and established a Civil Liberties Public Education Fund (the Fund) to educate the public about what happened to prevent repetition.

The MLTRC proposes recommendations similar to the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, however unlike the Japanese-Americans who were wrongfully interned, the Black victims of racial terror lynchings were murdered and thus the State of Maryland will bear the onus to identify, locate, and compensate direct lineal and collateral descendants, just as the 1988 Civil Liberties Act required the federal government to do. However similar to a wrongful death lawsuit, the descendants and relatives of the lynching victims are still alive, as are the descendants of Black people who were terrorized by living in the communities where racial terror lynchings occurred, and they should be eligible for any targeted relief.

It is important to note that on two occasions the Maryland General Assembly introduced bills to hold lynchers, officials, and jurisdictions where lynchings occurred accountable as well as provide monetary compensation to victims of lynching and their estates. The bill introduced by State Senator Stevenson A. Williams in 1898 following the lynching of William Andrews in 1897 would have made lynching a felony; subjected mob members to trial, conviction, and punishment for homicide, and 18 months to 10 years in prison; and "forever disfranchised and disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit in this State". (The full text of the bills is available in **Appendix C**.)

In 1933, following the lynching of George Armwood, four anti-lynching bills were introduced in both houses of the General Assembly. Highlights of the measures that were considered to end lynchings include:

Oliver Samuel Metzerott, House of Delegates Bill No.4, 23 November 1933:

- Defines a mob as five or more
- Lynching is a felony; any mob member subject to charge of murder, $100-1,000 fine ($2,500-$25,000 in 2025 dollars), and 1-5 years prison for each offense
- If the victim was taken from a state, county or municipal officer then county was subject to forfeit of $5,000 ($125,000 in 2025 dollars) and recovery for the use of victim's dependent family or estate; if not paid, a judge can compel payment of levy or tax via mandamus; failure to comply with court order subject to contempt.
- Officers from whom victims were taken are guilty of negligence, and the county compelled to pay damages can recover money from negligent officers

- Lynch mob participants or anyone who "has expressed any opinion in favor of lynching or in the justification or excuse thereof shall be disqualified to serve as a juror"

E. Milton Altfeld, Senate Bill No.57, 5 December 1933:

- If lynching results in death, mob members subject to death penalty or life imprisonment at court's discretion
- If lynching doesn't result in death, mob members subject to 5-18 year imprisonment.

E. Milton Altfeld, Senate Bill No.58, 5 December 1933:

- The County where a lynching occurred is liable to each victim or their estate for $2,000 to $10,000 ($50,000-$250,000 in 2025 dollars) recoverable via civil action in any State Court and plaintiff's court fees

Alexander Goodman, House of Delegates Bill No.101, 6 December 1933:

- Lynching is defined as "an act or acts of violence leading up to and resulting in the death or aggravated injury of a human being, whether they be acts of individuals or of officers of the law, when said act or acts of violence are directed against the injured person wholly or partly because of the supposed inferiority of the injured person on account of his race, color or nationality or wholly or partly because he is accused or suspected of a crime associated in public tradition with supposed inferiority of race, color or nationality"
- All mob members are considered "equally guilty as principals"; principals guilty of murder in the first degree.
- The jurisdiction in which the lynching occurred is liable to each victim or the victim's estate for $5,000 ($125,000 in 2025 dollars) and plaintiff's court costs recoverable via civil action; the amount recovered shall be exempt from all claims by creditors of the deceased or of the plaintiffs
- Sheriffs and peace officers so removed are permanently barred from holding office in the State
- Sheriffs and peace officers who failed to prevent the lynching are liable to victims or victim's estate for damages

Collectively these bills show that there was significant interest in eradicating racial terror lynching from the state and potentially effective means to do so by holding officials and jurisdictions accountable and financially liable. However, the opposition was sufficient to prevent their passage and signature into law by the governor. If the General Assembly had had the courage to enact and enforce Senator Williams' bill in 1898, would the harm that we are seeking to address today have been mitigated? Would Garfield King, Wright Smith, Lewis Harris, Henry Davis, James Reed, Robert Hughes, King Johnson, Matthew Williams, Unknown, and George Armwood have been lynched? The Commission strongly recommends that the General Assembly use the adjusted 2025 dollar amounts as a starting point for reparatory compensation for descendants of racial terror lynchings and the communities terrorized by such lynchings and also use this legislation as a model for how to hold law enforcement and other government actors accountable for violating people's civil rights.

The MLTRC has crafted recommendations to address Maryland's legacy of racial terror lynchings that are consistent with legal precedents. The majority of the recommendations contained in this report are policy changes that would apply to the general public without regard to race, and thus, the rational basis test instead of the strict scrutiny test would clearly apply to those remedies. Some remedies, however, are specifically designed to provide relief to the descendants of lynching victims and the community members impacted by racial terrorism. Maryland will need to engage in a process similar to the Japanese-American internment remedy to locate the family of lynching victims as well as

the descendants of Black community members who lived in communities where lynchings occurred at the time of the lynching. While the beneficiaries of the targeted remedies are Black Americans, they are not identified by their race, but rather by their common experience of suffering harm from Maryland's legacy of racial terror lynchings. Accordingly, the rational basis test instead of the strict scrutiny test should apply to these targeted remedies as well.

Maryland has both a legitimate (and compelling) interest in remedying the harm caused by its: (1) enforcement of racially discriminatory laws that abridged Black Marylander's privileges and immunities and dehumanized them amongst their fellow citizens; (2) failure to provide Black Marylanders with equal protection under the law; and (3) complicity in the deprivation of Black Marylanders life, liberty, and property without due process, all in violation of the 14th Amendment. Our recommendations are rationally related to that interest.

C. International Human Rights Law Further Supports Our Recommendations

The State of Maryland will not be the first jurisdiction to provide reparations to rectify historic injustices. Using international human rights law as our guiding framework, we recommend reparations based on five key elements:[326]

(1) Restitution involves measures that "restore the victim to the original situation before the gross violations of international human rights law and serious violations of international humanitarian law occurred. Examples of restitution include: restoration of liberty, enjoyment of human rights, identity, family life and citizenship, return to one's place of residence, restoration of employment and return of property.

(2) Compensation "should be provided for any economically assessable damage, as appropriate and proportional to the gravity of the violation and the circumstances of each case". The damage giving rise to compensation may result from physical or mental harm; lost opportunities, including employment, education and social benefits; moral damage; costs required for legal or expert assistance, medicine and medical services, and psychological and social services.

(3) Rehabilitation includes medical and psychological care, as well as legal and social services.

(4) Satisfaction includes a broad range of measures, from those aiming at cessation of violations to truth seeking, the search for the disappeared, the recovery and the reburial of remains, public apologies, judicial and administrative sanctions, commemoration, and human rights training; and

(5) Guarantees of non-repetition comprise broad structural measures of a policy nature such as institutional reforms aiming at civilian control over military and security forces, strengthening judicial independence, the protection of human rights defenders, the promotion of human rights standards in public service, law enforcement, the media, industry and psychological and social services. (See van Boven, T. United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law.)

There are numerous examples of successful reparations programs both domestically and abroad. Internationally, the Federal Republic of Germany paid Israel over $821 million in compensation to victims and survivors of the Holocaust and for the cost of resettling

numerous Jewish refugees from Europe. Canada and South Africa also made efforts to provide reparations in response to harm uncovered by their respective Truth and Reconciliation Commissions.

The U.S. federal government has engaged in the following efforts to provide restitution:

- Chapter 54 of the DC Compensated Emancipation Act of 1862 provided for the abolition of slavery in Washington, D.C. and compensated slaveholders who remained loyal to the Union up to $300 per freed enslaved person (c.$9,600 in 2025 dollars) and up to $100 per person for any emancipated person who chose to expatriate out of the United States (c.$3,200 in 2025 dollars). 930 petitions for compensation were approved for almost 3,000 emancipated persons (c.$896,000; c.$28.7 million in 2025 dollars). (No irony is lost on the fact that some slaveholders received compensation for losing the right to own people but no enslaved people received compensation for collectively enduring centuries of unpaid labor and abuse).

- As discussed, the Civil Liberties Act (1988) authorized compensation to Japanese American victims of internment during World War II, providing more than $1.6 billion to over 82,500 people ($20,000 per person).

- The Marshall Islands Nuclear Claims Tribunal (1986-2011) provided $1.1 billion to the Republic of the Marshall Islands as compensation for the damage caused by more than 40 years of nuclear testing in the Bikini and Enewetak atolls.

- The Energy Employees Occupational Illness Compensation Program Act (2000) provided compensation to current and former employees (or their survivors) of the Energy Department who suffered illness from exposure to radiation as part of their work in developing nuclear weapons. More than 136,000 individuals received over $22.6 billion in compensation.

At the state and local levels, Florida paid survivors of the 1923 Rosewood Massacre $150,000 each ($2.1 million) and the City of Tulsa has established a $105 million reparations fund for survivors and descendants of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre. Additionally, many colleges and universities in the United States, including Georgetown University, Brown University, Johns Hopkins University, and St. John's College have undertaken efforts to address the legacies of slavery and racial violence, which has included monetary compensation. As Yvette Carnell noted at the Commission's institutional hearing on reparations, "the reason America knows exactly what [reparations] looks like is because America has done it before.

D. Impact of Jim Crow Era Policies and Practices

Racial terror lynching was an extralegal means to enforce the ideology and practice of white supremacy when custom and legal methods of racialized oppression failed. The combination of racially discriminatory policies and practices had a disproportionally adverse impact on Black communities throughout the State of Maryland, and beyond.

Disparities between Blacks and whites in health, wealth, and involvement in the legal system have become endemic in the United States. Mortality rates for African Americans have been on average 30% higher than those for whites since 1950.[327] Over the same period, Black life expectancy has averaged approximately 9% less than that for whites.[328] From 1983 to 2022, Black infant mortality has been more than 200% than that for whites (c.230% on average).[329] The average median income for Blacks from 2002 to 2024 has remained around 56% of that of whites.[330] Although Blacks comprise 29% of Maryland's

population, they account for 71% of Maryland's prison population, whereas whites comprise 49% of the general population and only 23% of the prison population.[331] This brief sample of data clearly shows that Jim Crow era policies continue to have enduring negative impacts on Black communities more than 60 years after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. These harms to Maryland's Black communities require remedies of policy because they were caused by policies rooted in white supremacist ideology.

Conclusion

Maryland is far from the worst offender of racial terror lynchings in the United States, but that does not absolve its responsibility to correct its past misconduct. As the first lynching truth and reconciliation commission in the United States, the MLTRC is uniquely situated to propose recommendations that would remedy these historic wrongs while also lighting a path for truth, justice and reconciliation for other states with legacies of racial terror lynchings to follow. By accepting the recommendations in this report, the Maryland General Assembly has the opportunity to right some of its many past wrongs.

2. Recommendations

Consistent with federal law and both international and domestic precedents, the MLTRC specifically recommends the Maryland General Assembly enact legislation and support remedies in the following key categories:

- Apology and Acknowledgment of Responsibility;
- Material Reparations – proposing tangible investments to repair historical and ongoing harm;
- Criminal Justice – strengthening due process protections for the accused and addressing the absence of accountability and broader failures of the legal system;
- Community Healing – fostering spaces and practices for grief, remembrance, and resilience;
- Educational – integrating the history of racial terror into curricula and public education and expanding opportunities for communities impacted by this legacy;
- Mental Health – supporting culturally competent, trauma-informed services for descendants and communities;
- Symbolic Reparations – including apologies, memorials, and public acknowledgments to honor victims and affirm the truth;
- Media – promoting accurate, respectful storytelling to counter historical distortion; and
- Funding, Implementation, and Monitoring – ensuring recommendations are resourced, enacted, and assessed with transparency and accountability.

There is no single act or policy that can undo this history. But by confronting it with honesty and committing to meaningful repair, Maryland has the opportunity to lead. These recommendations are offered in that spirit: to restore what was taken, to remember what was lost, and to move—together—toward healing.

“What America has never done, which many countries in the world have done, but we had never done, is a truth process.”

Dr. Gail Christopher
Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Reckoning & Repair Public Hearing, Day 1 (2025)

Maryland's Apology & Acknowledgement of Responsibility (A)

A. Maryland's Apology and Acknowledgment of Responsibility

Recommendation 1:

Issue formal written apologies from the State of Maryland and from the jurisdictions where racial terror lynchings occurred.

To date, no jurisdiction has issued a formal apology to the families or communities of racial terror lynching victims in Maryland. Given the complicity of local, county, and state entities—including law enforcement agencies, state's attorneys' offices, and civic organizations—these institutions must be held accountable for their roles in these murders. As Bryan Stevenson of the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI) has emphasized, truth and reconciliation must be sequential steps toward justice.

Draft Apology:

We recommend the Maryland General Assembly issue an apology and acknowledgment of responsibility that includes the following language:

Whereas there are 38 documented cases of racial terror lynching in the State of Maryland between 1854 and 1933;

Whereas no one was ever held accountable for the commission of these crimes;

Whereas various State, county, and local government entities colluded in the commission of these crimes and conspired to conceal the identities of the parties involved;

Whereas the State of Maryland failed to protect Black people who descend from U.S. chattel slavery from being forcibly taken by lynch mobs and murdered without due process;

Whereas the State of Maryland failed to pass anti-lynching legislation in 1898 and 1933;

Whereas the only formal apology for a racial terror lynching in Maryland was issued by the State's Attorney for Calvert County at the Commission's hearing for Southern Maryland;

Be it now resolved that the General Assembly, on behalf of the State of Maryland:

1. Apologizes for its role in the murder of each of the victims in the 38 cases of documented racial terror lynchings, any additional racial terror lynchings which have yet to be discovered, and any attempted racial terror lynchings;

2. Apologizes for failing to provide Black Marylanders with equal protection under the law in violation of the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution;

3. Apologizes for failing to provide Black Marylanders with due process under the law in violation of the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution;

4. Apologizes for dehumanizing Black Marylanders by violating their privileges and immunities of citizenship through the enforcement of racially discriminatory laws in violation of the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution;

5. Apologizes for the role state actors played in facilitating racial terror lynchings in Maryland;

6. Apologizes for conspiring and colluding with State, county, and local government entities in the commission of these crimes to conceal the identities of the parties involved;

7. Apologizes for taking the tax dollars of Black Marylanders and not providing them with equal protection under the law nor equal representation in government;

8. Apologizes for the breakdown in trust that exists between many Black Marylanders and law enforcement and other governmental entities as a result of racial terror lynchings;

9. Apologizes for failing to hold perpetrators of racial terror lynchings accountable, which implied tacit approval of their actions and contributed to their sense of impunity;

10. Apologizes for the destruction of Black communities' health, wealth, and sacred cultural heritage spaces (Ancestral burial grounds and Black settlements) that resulted from racial terror lynchings;

11. Apologizes for its role in contributing to the separation of Black families during enslavement, through its support of the Maryland Colonization Society and the American Colonization Society, and through mass incarceration, all of which contributed to the dehumanization of Black Marylanders; and apologizes for contributing to the erasure of racial terror lynchings from public memory.

Endnotes

315 Maryland Ann. Code 1924, Art. 27, Art. 77

316 Ida B. Wells, Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases (1892; reprint, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997)

317 Miscegenation. Art. 27, Sec 445. – "All marriages between a white person a negro, or between a white person and a person of negro descent, to the third generation, inclusive, or . . . are forever prohibited, and shall be void; and any person violating the provisions of this Section shall be deemed guilty of an infamous crime, and punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary not less than eighteen months nor more than ten years."; Fornication with Negroes. Art. 27, Sec 493 – "Any white woman who shall suffer or permit herself to be got with child by a negro or mulatto, upon conviction thereof in the court having criminal jurisdiction, either in the city or county where such child is begotten or where the same was born, shall be sentenced to the penitentiary for not less than eighteen months nor more than five years. Maryland Ann. Code 1924, Art. 27

318 See Roscoe Pound, Spurious Interpretation, VII-6 Colum. L. Rev. 379, 381 (1907).

319 See Hall v. DeCuir, 95 U.S. 485 (1877) (holding that the interstate commerce clause prevented Louisiana from enacting legislation to prohibit businesses from engaging in racial segregation during the transportation of passengers, notwithstanding the mandates of the 14th Amendment); The Civil Rights Act Cases, 109 US 3 (1883) (holding that The Civil Rights Act of 1875, which prohibited private businesses open to the public from engaging in racial discrimination, exceeded Congress's authority under the 13th and 14th Amendments because the 14th Amendment required 'state action'); Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 US 537 (1896)(holding that even state-sanctioned racial segregation complied with the 13th and 14th Amendments).

320 See Cruikshank v. U.S., 92 U.S. 542, 91 (1875).

321 See Cruikshank 92 U.S. at91.

322 Albemarle Paper Co. v. Moody, 422 U. S. 405, 422 U. S. 418 (1975). See also Richmond v. J. A. Croson Co., 488 U.S. 469 (1989)("It would seem equally clear, however, that a state . . . has the authority to eradicate the effects of private discrimination within its own legislative jurisdiction"; "It is beyond dispute that any public entity, state or federal, has a compelling interest in assuring that public dollars, drawn from the tax contributions of all citizens, do not serve to finance the evil of private prejudice."); Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña, 515 U. S. 200, 227 (1995) (noting the unhappy persistence of both the practice and the lingering effects of racial discrimination against minority groups in this country is an unfortunate reality, and government is not disqualified from acting in response to it).

323 Grutter v. Bollinger, 539 U. S. 306, 326 (2004); Fisher v. University of Tex. at Austin, 570 U. S. 297, 311–312.

324 United States v. Carolene Products Company, 304 U.S. 144 (1938); Croson, 488 U.S. 469; Adarand Constr, 515 U. S. 200.

325 See, e.g., Pub.L. 100-383, 102 Stat. 903.

326 See United Nations General Assembly Resolution (December 16, 2005), p. 7-9. https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/2021-08/N0549642.pdf (Last accessed September 7, 2025). See also van Boven, T. on his discussion of the liability on non-State actors for their policies and practices at p. 3. https://legal.un.org/avl/pdf/ha/ga_60-147/ga_60-147_e.pdf (Last accessed September 7, 2025).

327 See the National Center for Health Statistics, National Vital Statistics System: www.https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/nvss/deaths.htm. See also, Hussain Abdilahi Bulhan, Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression, (New York: Plenum Press, 1985), 155-60; and Nicholas M. Creary, "Ubuntu, Social Liberation, and Public Policy with Implications for the Milwaukee Metropolitan Area", unpublished paper.

328 See the National Center for Health Statistics, National Vital Statistics System: www.https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/nvss/deaths.htm.

329 See National Center for Health Statistics, National Vital Statistics System Birth File, https://www.cdc.gov/maternal-infant-health/infant-mortality/index.html.

330 See U.S. Census Bureau, "Historical Income Tables", https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/income-poverty/historical-income-households.html.

331 See Prison Policy Initiative, "Maryland Profile", https://www.prisonpolicy.org/profiles/MD.html.

“True reconciliation requires a balancing of the ledgers. Where wealth and opportunity were stolen, justice requires their return.”

John Philip Williams
Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Reckoning & Repair Public Hearing, Day 2 (2025)

Material Reparations Recommendations (B)

B. Material Reparations Recommendations

Summary

Utilizing international human rights law as our guiding framework, we are recommending material reparations based on five key elements: (1) Restitution; (2) Compensation; (3) Rehabilitation; (4) Satisfaction; and (5) Guarantees of non-repetition.[332] Our recommendations focus on providing remedies for harms endured and prevention of future atrocious acts such as racial terror lynching that deeply offend the conscious mind, body, and spirit. We focused on three questions to achieve this end: (1) Who should be paid? (2) Why should they be paid and (3) How and what should they be paid? The recommendations below encapsulate making those who were harmed whole by providing tangible remedies and providing other requests that disrupt structural racism and its enduring legacy by recommending critical policies, funding requests, and governmental institutional action to support and create a just, dignified, and humane Maryland.

"The Commission also can specify ways in which the state can dismantle its own apparatus of structural racism. While full reparations for the harms that have been imposed is not feasible, ending the processes and mechanisms that have produced the harms certainly is practicable." --William Darity, Written Testimony to Commission

The State of Maryland should support and provide formal recommendations for reparations to the Maryland State Commission on Reparations and to the federal government. Reparations are a fundamental component of transitional justice, alongside truth-telling, accountability, and guarantees to prevent recurrence. Providing compensation acknowledges harm and supports healing for those affected by racial terror lynching. Maryland must also support true reparations at the federal level, the only level of government where true reparations can be achieved."--William Darity, Written Testimony to Commission

Recommendation B1:
Establish compensation and reparations funds for verified descendants of Maryland's racial terror lynching victims and those descended from Black people who lived in the community where the lynching occurred, modeled after Japanese American internment reparations and Holocaust survivor settlements. If possible, coordinate this relief with federal and local governments. Establish an interagency task force with various Maryland agencies led by Maryland archives to identify relevant descendants through census records, property records, tax records, and other available data.

Using anti-lynching legislation that was introduced in the Maryland General Assembly in 1898 and 1933 as a guide (see **Appendix C**), we recommend the General Assembly provide compensation up to $100,000 per living descendant of a lynching victim (or their next of kin if no direct descendants) up to a statutorily set maximum amount per lynching victim; and up to $10,000 per living descendant of a Black person who lived in the community at the time a lynching occurred up to a statutorily set maximum amount per family.

Identifying Black families affected by racial terror lynching—including those separated, displaced, who lost businesses, were denied the right to bury loved ones, or suffered physical and mental health impacts—is essential for reparatory justice. Compensation aligns with international human rights law recognizing financial and material redress as a key component of reparations.

Recommendation B2:
Provide families of Maryland's racial terror lynching victims with other forms of restitution and material supports such as restoration of land and familial artifacts. These funds should include direct financial payments and grants to families whose generational wealth was stripped by racial terror.

Determining appropriate restitution for the families of racial terror lynching victims requires a thorough assessment of the harms they endured. These include loss of life, forced relocation, separation from extended family, abandonment or neglect of family cemeteries, loss of property and financial resources, and lasting physical and emotional trauma. A just restitution program must take these multifaceted impacts into account.

Recommendation B3:
Expand the Maryland Victim Compensation Fund to provide increased support to the victims, or the closest living relatives of deceased victims, of police brutality, hate crimes, and lynchings. This expansion should include adjusting eligibility criteria and claim submission timelines to accommodate families of lynching victims.

Expanding the Maryland Victim Compensation Fund will provide necessary financial support and recognition to families affected by hate crimes, including lynching, helping to address historic and ongoing harms.

Recommendation B4:
Develop a comprehensive poverty reduction plan modeled after initiatives like The Marshall Plan and the Great Society to eliminate racial economic disparities rooted in Jim Crow-era policies and practices. This plan will address equitable, affordable and fair housing,[333] equitable access to mortgages and bank loans, equal employment opportunities, and equitable healthcare outcomes through the creation of grants, subsidies, and tax waivers.

Economic suppression of Black communities was a central feature of the Jim Crow era. Racial terror lynching served as a tool to maintain the deliberate economic underdevelopment of Black communities, forcing their members to contribute to the enrichment of White communities at their own expense. State, county, and local entities owe Black communities in Maryland a comprehensive economic development plan—similar to the 2021 HBCU settlement addressing ongoing de facto racial segregation.

Recommendation B5:
Support economic empowerment zones to develop Black businesses/industries in communities where racial terror lynchings occurred or where the descendants of those communities currently reside.

a. Conduct land and property audits to identify businesses, homes, and farmland lost due to racial terror.
b. Create legal pathways to restore titles, issue land grants, or compensate descendants where property was unlawfully seized or abandoned under duress
c. Establish a state-level claims process similar to wrongful takings commissions
d. Establish grants to fund start-up costs, training, and legal and licensing assistance
e. Support the creation of a credit union for the descendants of people affected by racial terror lynchings.

Economic success by Black individuals was often perceived as a threat to white supremacy—seen as Blacks "getting out of their place," as exemplified by the case of Matthew Williams. This perception frequently served as a pretext for racial terror lynching (see Chavis, *The Silent Shore* and Ifill, *On the Courthouse Lawn*). Given the role of local, county, and state entities in either directly perpetrating these crimes or allowing them to

occur through neglect, the state has a responsibility to support the development of Black businesses that were systematically denied equal opportunity throughout the Jim Crow Era (1877–1964).

Recommendation B6:
Provide targeted care and support services for elderly and disabled individuals who are descendants of victims of racial terror lynching. This includes access to housing, medical care, mental health resources, and other essential services to ensure dignity and wellbeing in later life.

Families descended from victims of racial terror lynching have endured generational emotional and economic harm. State-supported care for elderly and disabled descendants acknowledges the lasting burdens imposed by state-sanctioned racial violence and helps address the intergenerational impact of that injustice.

Recommendation B7:
Partner with the federal government to correct Census records for victims of racial terror lynchings and ensure those records are accessible to the public free of charge. In addition, state public and private agencies should amend death certificates to reflect accurate causes of death and restore original names that were changed out of fear of retaliation. Churches should also grant free access to records for families of lynching victims. The state should fund the digitization of historical records and provide free access to online genealogical services for families of racial terror lynching victims and for Black Marylanders descended from U.S. chattel slavery.

Public and private actors caused lasting harm to victims of racial terror lynchings and their families. Under international human rights frameworks on reparations, “satisfaction” is a key element—this includes the right to truth, memorialization, and the correction of official records. Ensuring accurate documentation and free access to genealogical information is a basic but meaningful step in addressing generations of harm inflicted on these families and on Black people descended from U.S. chattel slavery.

Endnotes

332 *See* United Nations General Assembly Resolution (December 16, 2005), p. 7-9. https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/2021-08/N0549642.pdf (Last accessed September 7, 2025). Also see van Boven, T. on his discussion of the liability on non-State actors for their policies and practices at p. 3. https://legal.un.org/avl/pdf/ha/ga_60-147/ga_60-147_e.pdf (Last accessed September 7, 2025).

333 The Maryland General Assembly passed legislation (HB0241, Chapter 147, 2024) expanding the concept of a "Just Community" to include historically underserved areas. To ensure equitable funding and support, this definition should be further expanded—through statutory or regulatory changes—to explicitly prioritize communities impacted by racial terror lynching. This would align state resource allocation with historical harm and support restorative justice. Source: https://mgaleg.maryland.gov/2024RS/chapters_noln/Ch_147_hb0241T.pdf

“Seeking equal justice under law for Black people is part of an American agenda—not a leftist one.”

Sherrilyn Ifill
“Letter to the Editor” *The New York Times* (2018)

Criminal Justice Recommendations (C)

C. Criminal Justice Recommendations

Summary

Maryland's failure to provide equal protection under the law to Black Marylanders resulted in a criminal justice system that frequently fails to hold those who harm Black people accountable and disproportionately disregards Black suspects' due process rights. Maryland's legacy of racial terror lynchings lives on through racial disparities in its criminal justice system including the fact that Black Marylanders constitute a disproportionate number of the victims of police-involved homicides, wrongful convictions, and hate crimes, and, before it was abolished, were disproportionately subjected to the death penalty.

1. Black Marylanders are being disproportionately killed by police.

Every year since Maryland began tracking police-involved deaths of civilians in 2021, the number of Black Marylanders killed by police has been double the number of White Marylanders and in 2024 eight times as many Black Marylanders were killed as white ones, despite the fact that white people make up almost half of Maryland's population and Black people are less than a third.[334] That's not even accounting for the dozens of misclassified homicides, which the Maryland Attorney General's Office recently discovered after conducting an audit of deaths in custody. OAG concluded the deaths were even more likely to be misclassified if the decedent was Black (rather than White).[335]

2. Black Marylanders are the majority of hate crimes victims.

Hate crimes that were motivated by race far outnumber any other motivating factor. In the most recent FBI data from 2023, there were almost three times as many racially motivated hate crimes than the second most common factor, religion or the third, sexual orientation.[336] In fact there are more hate crimes motivated by race in Maryland than every other category combined, which includes religion, sexual orientation, disability, gender and gender identity. And the majority of those racial incidents were anti-Black hate crimes.

3. Black Marylanders are the majority of people who are wrongfully convicted of crimes.

According to the National Registry of Exonerations maintained at the University of Michigan, more than half of the 3,300 people who were exonerated nationally between 1989 and 2022 were Black, despite the fact that Black people account for just 13.6% of the U.S. population. Indeed, one report found that innocent Black people were seven times more likely to be wrongly convicted of murder than innocent white people. According to the Exoneration registry, there have been 54 documented wrongful convictions in Maryland since 1989 in which people lost on average 14 years of their life. Whether through police or prosecutorial misconduct, judge or juror bias or for some other reason, the law failed these people, and unless we do something, the law is likely to fail many more. Substantive and procedural due process rights are designed to prevent these types of miscarriages of justice, so they are either not being applied equally to Black people or they are insufficient.

4. Black Marylanders were disproportionately sentenced to the death penalty.

Thankfully, Maryland abolished the death penalty in 2013 but prior to its abolition, it also reeked of racial discrimination. In fact, the Maryland Commission on Capital Punishment which recommended that the Maryland General Assembly abolish the death penalty found that: "the administration of the death penalty clearly shows racial bias and that no procedural or administrative changes to the processing of capital cases would eliminate

these racial disparities." Similar to lynchings, until the middle of the 20th Century, capital punishment was mostly administered through public hangings in the county where the alleged crimes occurred with the main difference being these hangings took place after a trial and conviction.

We commend Maryland for passing the Police Accountability Act of 2021, as well as other recent statutes, which takes significant strides towards addressing many of these injustices and provide additional recommendations to address remaining gaps and further remedy the harm caused by Maryland's legacy of racial terror lynchings. By reorienting Maryland's criminal justice system in this manner, Maryland will demonstrate its commitment to the presumption of innocence in equal measure regardless of the race of the accused and will prioritize accuracy in convictions.

Type of Reform: Police Accountability

Recommendation C1:
Remove qualified immunity from police officer(s)/correctional officers if the Maryland Police Training and Standards Commission or a court of law has found by a preponderance of evidence that the officer(s) caused physical or mental injury to another person through an act or omission in violation of police department training or policy. In the absence of qualified immunity, police officers will face personal liability for their wrongful conduct, which will increase accountability and reduce the likelihood that police will engage in activities that harm the public.[337]

This change will likely save Maryland taxpayers a considerable amount of money. Between 2010 and 2022, Baltimore, Maryland, which is just one city in Maryland, spent approximately $55 mill to settle cases concerning police misconduct. If police were instead held liable for their own violations of training and department policy, taxpayers would be relieved from subsidizing a significant portion of this burden. In addition to financial savings, Maryland will likely see more police officers adhere to their training and department policy, which will save countless lives.

Recommendation C2:
Require statewide integration of the agency-level Early Intervention Programs to track substantiated officer complaints and identify officers who are in need of or who have required intervention or discipline. Incorporate data from Administrative Charging Committees and Trial Boards.

Recommendation C3:
Require and train officers to report when fellow officers violate civilian's rights. Create a confidential reporting tool to facilitate compliance and discipline officers for failing to report misconduct. To restore trust, civilians must have faith that officers will adhere to department policy and face consequences if they do not.

Recommendation C4:
Create a public portal where civilians can easily submit video recordings from cell phones or otherwise that show questionable conduct by police officers and immediately investigate to determine if department policy or training was violated. Allow such recordings to be submitted either anonymously or with the civilian's contact information for follow up.

Recommendation C5:
Ensure that every police department has an independent community oversight review board with authority to conduct independent investigations of alleged police misconduct and overrule police discipline decisions if deemed too lenient. Compensate board

members appropriately. Establishing trust between Maryland law enforcement and its Black communities is necessary to remedy Maryland's legacy of racial terror lynchings. Providing a greater role for community oversight in policing will help build this trust.[338]

Recommendation C6:
Conduct an annual poll of community members within police department's jurisdiction to determine their satisfaction with services including whether they find the police reliable, trustworthy, helpful, friendly, approachable and disaggregate the results by race, age, religion, language, sexual orientation/identity, and disability status. Provide an opportunity to provide specific information about specific police interactions whether complimentary or negative. Hold an annual press release and town hall to discuss the results of the poll and announce a detailed plan to address any scores below 70% approval.

Type of Reform: Training

Recommendation C7:
Involve a diverse group of private citizens throughout police training programs to enhance cultural competency with different communities within that Department's jurisdiction. Compensate citizens appropriately.

Incorporating a diverse group of Americans, including Maryland's descendants of U.S. chattel slavery, along with people who speak different languages, or are different ages, sexes, sexual orientations, religions, and disability status, into police trainings will help strengthen officers' cultural competency and exposure to different types of people, which will improve their ability to interact with a diverse public in a manner that is guided by respect, compassion, and understanding. Minors and individuals with physical and/or developmental disabilities are specialized populations that require special care. Minors by virtue of their age and developing brains and capacities, disabled populations by physical limitations and/or diminished capacity require different types of engagement. Incorporate public defenders and defense counsel into trainings to increase police awareness of the most common ways citizens' rights are violated.

Recommendation C8:
Prohibit police from lying to suspects to obtain a confession.

The public should be able to have faith that police officers are honest and truthful in their interactions, as they are representatives of the government, which is funded by taxpayers. A possible exception may be allowed for officers involved in an undercover sting operation that is necessary to protect public safety.

Recommendation C9:
Require annual police training on the role police played in the lynching of descendants of U.S. chattel slavery in Maryland. The training should draw parallels with modern police shootings of unarmed civilians and should also cover police officers' historic roles as slave patrollers and in enforcing racial discriminatory laws, as well as provide training on how trauma-informed responses may influence how descendants of U.S. chattel slavery and other Blacks engage with the police.

Maryland police must have a firm understanding of the historic role police have played in oppressing descendants of U.S. chattel slavery and denying them and other Blacks their civil rights so that they are conscious or how to avoid engaging in similarly oppressive behavior. This will also help ensure that police are aware of the public perception many descendants of U.S. chattel slavery share about them and contextualize the importance of countering negative perceptions with positive community interactions and relationships.

Recommendation C10:
Prohibit officers from interrogating a minor or someone with apparent developmental disabilities without a parent, guardian, or attorney present. Classify any evidence obtained from speaking with these groups without such advocates present as inadmissible. Amend the Child Interrogation Protection Act of 2022 to replace the rebuttable presumption with an outright ban and extends protection to minors and adults with apparent developmental disabilities.

If police are perceived as taking advantage of vulnerable populations, then the public is less likely to trust the police, cooperate with them or believe they are acting in the public's best interest.

Recommendation C11:
Provide additional training to school resource officers on the rights of students, youth brain development, as well as what constitutes appropriate, positive, and safe interactions with youth. Limit school resource officers "police" powers while in schools and reassign any school resources officer responsibilities that pertain to school disciplinary issues that do not constitute serious criminal conduct to other school staff such as principals and counselors. Allocate funds to enhance school safety through alternative measures that prioritize student health and wellness. Create an avenue for community input on who serves as a school resource officer and feedback on how they are fulfilling their role.

By inserting police officers into school environments, school discipline issues can easily escalate unnecessarily to criminal matters. Maryland should fund more school counselors, behavioral specialists, and more teachers who can provide productive outlets to direct students' energy in a positive direction.

Recommendation C12:
Require implicit bias training as part of annual training requirements for criminal attorneys, both prosecutor and public defenders, and judges.

Prosecutors must recognize their own biases and learn strategies to mitigate them in order to serve as neutral and fair administrators of justice. Doing so will strengthen public trust—particularly within the Black community—in the criminal justice system. Similarly, defense attorneys should be aware of their own biases, as well as those of the individuals their clients will encounter throughout the legal process.

Judges exercise significant discretion in their roles—including decisions about admissible evidence, jury instructions, and sentencing. As all individuals have biases, it is essential that judges recognize and actively work to mitigate their own in order to serve as fair and impartial administrators of justice. This commitment to self-awareness and neutrality is critical to strengthening public trust—particularly within the Black community—in the fairness and legitimacy of the criminal justice system.

Type of Reform: Police Policy

Recommendation C13:
Require and provide funding for all police departments to staff a hate crimes task force that will report to the Maryland Commission on Hate Crime Response and Prevention.[339]

Hate crimes are message crimes intended to terrorize an entire community that shares the traits of the victim. A dedicated hate crimes task force in each police department is necessary both to prevent police from neglecting crime that targets descendants of U.S. chattel slavery and other Black people, and to build trust.

Recommendation C14:
Require and provide funding for all police departments to have community outreach programs to build trust with communities that have historically been discriminated against and underserved.

An increased prioritization of community policing and community outreach that reaches a wide array of community members through positive interactions and problem solving can help repair trust. Increased trust will further serve to reduce crime as more community members will choose to cooperate with police to help solve investigations. Conduct specific community outreach to proactively reach out to communities that are most likely to be the victims of hate crimes to understand their concerns and find out what more they can be doing to protect them similar to the federal United Against Hate program.[340]

Recommendation C15:
Create a hiring preference for police and prosecutors who live within their office's jurisdiction.

Police and prosecutors who come from the community where they serve will better understand the cultural mores and are more likely to have pre-existing relationships that provide a foundation for trust. These attributes will improve the police and prosecutor's ability to do their job and strengthen their respective offices as a whole.

Type of Reform: Prosecutorial Reform Recommendations

Recommendation C16:
Prohibit the introduction of scientifically unreliable forms of forensic evidence in court like hair follicle, bite mark, blood traces, and fingerprints, without independent corroboration. Certain types of forensic evidence have high indicators of unreliability and are the cause of a disproportionate number of wrongful convictions.

Prioritizing convictions over accuracy not only results in gross violations of individuals' civil rights, but also undermines public safety by allowing the true perpetrator to evade justice and continue causing harm.

Recommendation C17:
Require prosecutors to conduct additional due diligence in cases where allegations are based primarily on informant testimony and circumstantial evidence, including eye witness testimony, in order to determine whether the accused could reasonably have committed the crime prior to filing charges. Provide training and resources to support this process, and require prosecutors to document their findings. Require prosecutors to provide a copy of these findings to the defense counsel and the judge.

Eyewitness identification and informant testimony have high rates of unreliability and cause a disproportionate share of wrongful convictions. Accordingly, additional steps should be taken to confirm their reliability. Prioritizing convictions over accuracy not only results in serious violations of individuals' civil rights, but also compromises public safety by allowing the true perpetrator to evade justice and continue causing harm

Recommendation C18:
Require each State's Attorney's Office to establish a conviction integrity unit dedicated to reviewing claims of innocence. This unit should have the authority to reopen cases where a credible claim of innocence is presented, or where the credibility of a witness or the reliability of other evidence is called into question—even if such doubts arise from a subsequent, unrelated case.

Descendants of U.S. chattel slavery have the highest rate of wrongful convictions—a reality that underscores the consequences of failing to uphold due process and of prioritizing high conviction rates over accuracy. Many of these wrongful convictions could have been prevented through a stronger commitment to constitutional protections and evidentiary integrity. By thoroughly evaluating claims of innocence and proactively reviewing convictions that rely on untrustworthy witnesses or unreliable evidence, Maryland would take an important step toward addressing decades of injustice that have disproportionately harmed descendants of U.S. chattel slavery.

Recommendation C19:
Require prosecutors to present defense attorneys and the court with evidence of the most serious crimes that a defendant was charged with before accepting the defendant's guilty plea for a lesser crime.

As agents of the law, State's Attorneys—whose duty is to uphold justice fairly—must not abuse the inherent power imbalance between prosecutors and defendants to secure convictions based on weak evidence. Overcharging creates pressure on defendants to plead guilty, even to crimes they did not commit, to avoid the risk of harsher sentences. This practice not only undermines individual rights but also jeopardizes public safety by allowing the true perpetrators to evade justice and continue causing harm.

Type of Reform: Judicial Reform Recommendations

Recommendation C20:
Establish a public database that tracks bail decisions and criminal sentencing outcomes and includes, for each defendant, information such as race, age, sex, criminal history score, whether they pled guilty or were convicted at trial, type of legal representation (public defender, private counsel, or pro se), and any other relevant factors. Require judges to provide a written explanation when deviating substantially from average bail decisions or sentencing outcomes. Assign the Maryland Parole Commission to regularly review this database to identify any racial disparities in bail or sentencing decisions, and, where such disparities are found, authorize the Commission to reduce bail or individual sentences as appropriate to ensure that Black Marylanders receive equal justice under the law.

A public database that catalogs key information about defendants will promote greater transparency and accountability in bail and sentencing decisions. It will allow judges to engage in honest self-assessment regarding potential biases in their decisions and provide defendants with the ability to advocate for fair treatment by referencing how similarly situated individuals have been sentenced.

Recommendation C21:
The Chief Judge of each Circuit Court shall convene an annual meeting with representatives from the State's Attorney's Office, the Public Defender's Office, and private defense counsel who represented at least ten criminal defendants in that court during the prior year. The meeting's purpose is to review due process violations in cases from the preceding year and propose policy changes to prevent future violations. A written report summarizing findings and recommended reforms shall be published on the court's website and updated annually.

An annual meeting convened by judges, with participation from leading defense counsel and prosecutors, can help identify systemic shortcomings within the criminal justice system that are likely to result in violations of individuals' rights and miscarriages of justice.

When prosecutors are perceived as taking shortcuts, withholding exculpatory evidence, or abusing their authority, public trust in the justice system is significantly eroded. An annual meeting convened by judges, in consultation with leading defense counsel, will provide a vital forum for prosecutors and judges to identify and address shortcomings in their processes that could lead to violations of individuals' rights and miscarriages of justice.

Type of Reform: Addressing Systemic Racism

Recommendation C22:
Provide adequate funding for crime reduction strategies that operate independently of law enforcement, such as youth mentoring programs, job training initiatives, youth sports leagues, scholarship programs for technical schools, test preparation courses, college access programs, and prison reentry initiatives including educational enrichment and vocational training. Prioritize funding for programs in communities where a Maryland descendant of U.S. chattel slavery was lynched or where their descendants currently reside. Additionally, prioritize individual scholarship opportunities for descendants of U.S. chattel slavery who have generational ties to communities where a Maryland descendant of U.S. chattel slavery was lynched. Hire and train professional staff to work with target populations to identify potential funding sources, such as Second Chance Pell Grants (chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://www.ed.gov/sites/ed/files/about/offices/list/ope/pell-secondchance.pdf), and to collaborate with supportive organizations such as the Vera Institute of Justice (https://www.vera.org/).

Maryland should increase its investment in proactive crime reduction programs and prioritize their implementation in communities where lynchings occurred or where Black descendants of those communities currently reside. Historically, lynchings often forced Black Marylanders to flee their homes and communities out of fear, as these acts made clear that the state was unwilling to uphold its constitutional obligation to provide equal protection under the law. As a result, many descendants of U.S. chattel slavery across Maryland have generational ties to the very communities where such acts of racial terror took place.

Recommendation C23:
Conduct a comprehensive review of Maryland state statutes[341] to identify laws that either affirmatively enforced white supremacy or intentionally created a disparate negative impact on Black communities. Repeal such laws and enact new legislation aimed at repairing the harm they caused.

Maryland should undertake a thorough analysis to identify civil and criminal laws currently enforced that have roots in the state's racially discriminatory past. Such laws should be promptly repealed, and legislative remedies enacted to address the harm these laws have caused to Black communities.

Recommendation C24:
Prohibit employers from inquiring about arrests that did not result in conviction and cannot use this information in hiring/promotion decisions.

Eliminating unnecessary background checks will reduce employment biases against Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC), strengthening the economic foundations of Black communities and promoting greater equity in hiring practices.

Recommendation C25:
Remove permanent disqualification from jury service for people convicted of crimes who have served their sentences, including any term of parole or probation. Due process

requires that the accused are entitled to juries of their peers. Yet current law permanently disqualifies a person from jury service if they have been convicted of a crime and sentenced to more than one year in prison. By eliminating a significant portion of the jury pool in certain communities with higher incarceration rates, the accused is denied their due process rights. Furthermore, despite the Supreme Court ruling in 1880 that excluding people from jury service on account of their race violates the law, *Strauder v. West Virginia*, 100 U.S. 303, Black Marylanders have been and continue to be disproportionately excluded from jury service to this day. Once individuals have paid their debt to society, their citizenship rights should be restored which includes the right to serve on a jury. Removing this disqualification would eliminate one barrier to Black Marylanders serving on juries.

Recommendation C26:
Amend the hate crimes statute to prohibit:

1. Desecration of sacred burial sites or memorials related to civil rights history.[342]
2. Using an interactive computer service to knowingly engage in online harassment, the creation or dissemination of deepfakes, or the misuse of an individual's voice or likeness to promote racial stereotypes with the intent to cause harm, which directly leads to the individual who was targeted being harmed either physically, psychologically, financially, or reputationally as a result.[343]

Also establish criminal penalties and civil liability for internet and social media companies for failing to establish procedures to monitor and remove fake content within a reasonable period of time or upon request that is intended to harass individuals online using racial stereotypes if such harassment directly results in harm to the targeted individual. Coordinate with other states and the federal government, if possible, to pass more comprehensive legislation.

The internet is a powerful tool to spread content to a large number of people at a fast pace, but people are rarely held accountable when the messages they spread are hateful and lead to harm against real people. Hate crimes statutes should reflect how hateful messages that promote harmful racial stereotypes are most commonly spread in the modern era, online. Internet companies that provide a platform for these hateful messages should also be held accountable for their role in disseminating slanderous content that causes harm.

Demonstrating a commitment to justice and humanity—denied for racial terror lynching victims and their families—is essential to dismantling a culture of hate. Holding perpetrators of hateful acts accountable serves as a deterrent to future crimes and supports victims and their families in healing from these heinous acts.

Recommendation C27:
Enact legislation to restore parental rights for individuals wrongfully convicted of crimes. This legislation should also facilitate access to adoption records, provide reunion services, offer civil damages for loss of familial connection—including loss of earnings—and provide resources to support the education, trade training, and business opportunities for both the parent(s) and their child(ren).[344]

Black children are disproportionately represented in Maryland's child welfare system and face significant disparities at every stage of the process. Individuals wrongfully convicted of certain violent crimes often lose their parental rights permanently. Termination of parental rights is a form of civil death penalty in juvenile court proceedings, with very limited options for reversal. Restoring these rights and providing related supports is essential to addressing these injustices.

Endnotes

334 Independent Investigations Division, Annual Report 2024, Attorney General of Maryland, January 31, 2025, pdf, Maryland Attorney General, https://www.marylandattorneygeneral.gov/Reports/013125_IID_Third_Annual.pdf

335 Maryland Attorney General's Office, An Independent Audit of Restraint-Related Death Investigations, May 15, 2025, https://htv-prod-media.s3.amazonaws.com/files/051525-ocme-audit-report-final-68262ebacd46d.pdf

336 U.S. Department of Justice, "Maryland," Hate Crimes (Justice.gov), updated February 19, 2025, https://www.justice.gov/hatecrimes/state-data/maryland#stats-md

337 Citizens Policing Project and from the former Consent Decree local committee members non-law enforcement members. https://baltimorebeat.com/baltimore-finally-has-local-control-of-its-police-force-now-the-fight-for-accountability-can-begin/

338 See the Citizens Policing Project and from the former Consent Decree local committee members non-law enforcement members. https://baltimorebeat.com/baltimore-finally-has-local-control-of-its-police-force-now-the-fight-for-accountability-can-begin/

339 See Maryland No Home for Hate Commission, https://nohomeforhate.md.gov/pages/commission

340 See U.S. Department of Justice United Against Hate virtual forum, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RwC7J02WWGI (Feb. 16, 2024)

341 Pauli Murray's States Laws on Race and Color (1950) provides a list of racially discriminatory laws by state, including Maryland. Maryland should proactively repeal any racially discriminatory statutes even if nullified by subsequent civil rights legislation, and also review other statutes from that era that, while less explicit, may still reflect racial bias.

342 Annotated Code of Maryland, Criminal Law Article §§ 10-304 to 10-306.

343 See Expert Testimony of Chaz Arnett at Reconciliation Hearing on April 5, 2025.

344 Relevant statutes include the Annotated Code of Maryland, Family Law Article §§ 5-232(d) (termination of parental rights related to certain violent crimes) and 5-4B-02 (adoption search, contact, and reunion services). Additionally, the Code of Maryland Regulations (COMAR) §§ 07.02.07.11 and 07.02.07.12 address child abuse and neglect dispositions.

"When we speak we are afraid our words will not be heard nor welcomed. But when we are silent, we are still afraid. So it is better to speak."

Audre Lorde
The Black Unicorn (1978)

Community Healing Recommendations (D)

D. Community Healing Recommendations

Summary

The racial terror lynchings that occurred in Maryland, as well as across the United States, were intended to strike fear in the hearts of Black Americans and were part of a larger campaign to dehumanize and control Black people that has been ongoing since slavery began in Maryland in 1642. Maryland's refusal to hold perpetrators of lynchings accountable, even when well known, and prevent the extrajudicial murders of Black people from occurring makes the state complicit. Maryland's abdication of its constitutional obligation to provide Black Marylanders with equal protection under the law caused immeasurable harm to Black communities, which has reverberated through the decades and continues to have an impact today. Significant investments in communities where racial terror lynchings occurred or where the descendants of those communities currently reside are necessary to remedy the harm and prevent similar dehumanizing conduct from continuing to occur.

Type of Reform: Narrative Change

Recommendation D1:
Create grants to support community education, such as teach-ins, focused on Maryland's racial history including the impact of systemic racism, racial terror lynchings, and other issues impacting Maryland's descendants of U.S. chattel slavery. Create grants to support improved educational communication, including the use of primary documents and the elevation of courageous people in teaching about racial terror lynchings. Ensure public access to digital materials and other resources to support community education. These grants can also support truth-telling, restoration, and healing initiatives for other marginalized groups like Native Americans, who have also been dehumanized and subjected to indiscriminate violence without accountability. These efforts should aim to build relationships, address racial divides, and foster Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s vision of a "beloved community."

Acknowledging the truth about racial terror lynchings is essential for healing—whether individual, collective, or across racial divides—and for addressing trauma. True reconciliation requires honest truth-telling about past injustices and harms, ensuring these stories are shared and heard to build understanding and foster unity. Further, acknowledging Maryland's painful history is essential for healing and to prevent such atrocities from happening again to any community or racial group.

Type of Reform: Preservation of Black Communities

Recommendation D2:
Preserve and memorialize historically Black communities by protecting them from gentrification and commercial development by outside entities, and by providing state, county, and local financial support. Amend zoning and urban renewal policies to prevent further harm to historic Black communities and their institutions, such as churches, schools, and cemeteries.

Segregation laws, such as Article 27, Sections 440-445, forced Black Marylanders to establish separate communities apart from White communities. These historic Black communities deserve recognition, preservation, and support to protect them from gentrification and commercial development that disproportionately benefits outsiders. Amending zoning and urban renewal policies will protect historically Black communities

and their cultural institutions, helping to repair past damages and mitigate ongoing structural violence.

Recommendation D3:
Establish a right of return for the families of racial terror lynching victims who fled Maryland communities in the aftermath of violence, allowing them to return to neighborhoods that have since been rezoned and/or gentrified. For those who choose not to return, provide compensation in accordance with principles similar to Article 11 of UN General Assembly Resolution 194 (1948).

Facilitating a right of return and offering compensation to displaced families will help stabilize historically Black communities, promote equitable development, and address long-standing displacement. This may also contribute to reducing the systemic conditions that have led to over-policing and disproportionate legal system involvement.

Recommendation D4:
Protect, restore, and fund Black institutions and organizations dedicated to preserving historical, cultural, and heritage spaces—including cemeteries, churches, green spaces, and waterways. This includes prioritizing capital preservation funding for communities impacted by racial terror lynchings within the African American Heritage Preservation Program (a policy change that does not require statutory or regulatory amendment). Additionally, preservation funding should be directed to organizations such as Blacks of the Chesapeake, which works to preserve sites like Elktonia Carr's Beach, a historically segregated Black beach significant to descendants of U.S. chattel slavery in Anne Arundel County. Water holds cultural and healing significance for Black communities, whose ancestors were brought to America via the transatlantic slave trade. Historically, descendants of U.S. chattel slavery in Maryland owned substantial water-adjacent land, but much of this has been lost to privatization over the past century. To address this, Maryland should ensure that a portion of shoreline remains publicly accessible through expanded public lands, easements, or eminent domain if necessary.

Investing in the preservation of Black historical and cultural institutions addresses the longstanding impacts of systemic disinvestment and racial terror. These efforts help stabilize historically Black communities by reinforcing cultural identity, fostering economic development, and promoting public safety. By creating spaces for community engagement and historical reflection, such investments can reduce social dislocation, lower crime rates, and limit unnecessary encounters with the legal system.

Recommendation D5:
Establish a state-managed endowment to support the long-term preservation, programming, and operations of the Charles H. Chipman Cultural Center and other organizations with similar missions. The Charles H. Chipman Center is the last remaining structure of Salisbury's historic Georgetown community—a once-thriving Black neighborhood dismantled through decades of government-sponsored land dispossession following the 1931 lynching of Matthew Williams. Built in 1838 by freedmen, the former John Wesley Church now stands as a vital symbol of survival, memory, and resistance. Preserving this site is essential to honoring the legacy of racial terror victims and ensuring that Black history is neither forgotten nor erased.

A dedicated historic and cultural preservation fund should be created to provide sustained resources for these organizations' educational initiatives, exhibitions, and community engagement efforts.

The Charles H. Chipman Cultural Center should also be nominated for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places, and a historical marker should be installed through the Maryland Department of Transportation to protect the site from neglect, redevelopment, or erasure.

Recommendation D6:
Create a non-partisan redistricting commission with a mandate to consult directly with communities historically impacted by racial terror lynching. This will help ensure that the political representation of these communities is not diluted or silenced through gerrymandering or other discriminatory redistricting practices.

This will help ensure that Black and other BIPOC communities have meaningful representation in the creation of local, county, and state legislative bodies. Inclusive redistricting processes are essential to protect against the continued marginalization of communities historically silenced by racial terror and systemic disenfranchisement.

Recommendation D7:
Provide free job training and career development programs for formerly incarcerated individuals, with particular outreach to Black Marylanders who have been disproportionately impacted by mass incarceration and systemic discrimination.

Providing free job training for formerly incarcerated individuals will help eliminate employment biases against Black and BIPOC people who face disproportionate barriers to reentry. Enhancing access to skills and opportunities strengthens the economic foundation of Black communities, promotes equity, and reduces recidivism by supporting successful reintegration into society.

Type of Reform: Restoring Stolen Identities

Recommendation D8:
Facilitate access to state and local records to help Marylanders whose ancestors were lynched, impacted by racial terror violence, or enslaved in Maryland, learn about their family history.

Black Americans are the only U.S. ethnic group largely disconnected from their ancestral origins, including culture, language, religion, and true family names, due to the legacy of slavery. Most still bear the names of enslavers or chose new names after emancipation. This loss of identity contributes to dehumanization. Like all other humans, Black Marylanders have the right to know their family's history. If they choose to change their last names from those of enslavers to ancestral or place-of-origin names, Maryland should fully support and cover the costs of this process.

Maryland played a direct role in this cultural erasure through laws that upheld slavery from 1642 to 1864 and is therefore responsible for funding remedies to repair this harm. Maryland further disrupted the cohesiveness of Black families through their official support of colonialization efforts that sent Black Marylanders to various locations around the world, including places as far away as Maryland County, Liberia. Maryland should make every effort to repair the damage it has caused to Black families.

Recommendation D9:
Fund a birthright program that offers every Marylander descended from U.S. chattel slavery in Maryland a fully funded, two-week round-trip to their ancestral African country or up to three countries if applicable, covering flights, lodging, per diem, and inter-country travel costs. Make particular efforts to reconnect Maryland families separated by Colonialization

Societies that sent Black Marylanders to other countries like Liberia which even has a county called “Maryland County.”

Black Americans are the only U.S. ethnic group largely disconnected from their ancestral origins due to the crimes of slavery. This loss of cultural knowledge—of language, religion, and family names—has contributed to their dehumanization. Maryland played a direct role in this erasure through laws supporting slavery from 1642 to 1864 as well as supporting colonialization efforts to relocate Black Marylanders outside the United States primarily to Africa and the Caribbean. Therefore, Maryland has a responsibility to fund remedies that address and heal this historic harm.

Type of Reform: Recording History

Recommendation D10:
Provide funding to create a digital repository for oral histories from Marylanders born before 1964, documenting their experiences with racial segregation and racial terror lynchings. Install recording booths in public institutions like libraries and enable submissions from personal devices.

Like the Works Progress Administration (WPA) Slave Narrative Project, Maryland should document the stories of Jim Crow survivors who faced racial terror lynchings and systemic denial of rights. Creating a public repository will preserve these histories for research, education, and museum exhibits to raise awareness.

“Our ancestors don’t want us just to remember. They want us to act.”

Terri Lee Freeman, Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History and Culture
Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Reckoning & Repair Public Hearing, Day 1 (2025)

Educational Recommendations (E)

E. Educational Recommendations

Summary

The education system is a powerful tool to teach young people the full truth about Maryland's and the United States' history. This includes an acknowledgment of the disparate and discriminatory treatment that descendants of U.S. chattel slavery have experienced for centuries through enslavement, state-sanctioned discrimination, and diminished due process and equal protection of the laws in violation of the U.S. Constitution. It also includes an understanding of how the failures of the past as well as present-day racial discrimination contribute to Marylanders' lives today, which is necessary to produce an informed and cohesive citizenry. Further, unlearning harmful and stigmatizing stereotypes about descendants of U.S. chattel slavery that have been passed down for generations through both educational content and exposure to Black educators is necessary to break the cycle of hate and ignorance that leads to the continued dehumanizing treatment of Black people.

Type of Reform: Curriculum

Recommendation E1:[345]
Revise K-12 U.S. history curricula to address how systemic racism—including slavery, racial terror lynchings, as well as housing, education, economic, political, social, and other forms of discrimination—has shaped modern racial disparities, inequities, and inequalities in Maryland. Include content on how perpetuating racial stereotypes online can lead to violence against Black Marylanders. Develop separate courses focused on the experiences of descendants of U.S. chattel slavery, tracing their unique history from enslavement and Reconstruction, through Jim Crow segregation, to present-day movements for justice and equality.[346]

Educational institutions should be encouraged to engage in truth-telling by acknowledging acts of racial violence. Racial terror lynchings are currently not taught in Maryland's schools but should be. This requirement will ensure that all students in the state learn this important history. County, city, and state support of anti-racist curricula and truth-telling initiatives in schools are necessary to prevent the worst parts of Maryland's history from repeating.

Teaching about systemic racism will help students understand the government's role in perpetuating racial inequalities. This knowledge will empower them to become informed citizens, aware of how their votes affect others and society as a whole. It may also inspire them to contribute to building a more just society where everyone has the opportunity to thrive.

Teaching truthful history is essential for closing the educational divide, recognizing injustice, and understanding how the past shapes the present. Further, it will help ensure Black students are prepared for the world they will enter.

Recommendation E2:
Revise school curricula to incorporate more comprehensive African history—from ancient to modern times—into K-12 world history courses, ensuring it is taught alongside Indigenous, European, and Asian histories.

Africa is home to some of the most ancient and advanced civilizations in human history, yet it is often excluded from K-12 world history courses. This omission can lead students to mistakenly believe that Africa had little to contribute to human development,

implying that people of African descent are less worthy of respect. Incorporating African civilizations—from ancient times to the present—into all K-12 world history curricula will broaden students' understanding of Africa's global impact beyond the typical narratives of slavery and colonization. It will also enhance Black students' self-esteem and deepen their appreciation of their ancestors' contributions to the world. Excluding African civilizations diminishes the recognized contributions of Black people and perpetuates the conditions that enable hate crimes and lynchings.

Recommendation E3:
Provide professional development for teachers on how to teach about racial terror lynching and its legacies, in collaboration with partners including—but not limited to—the Maryland Center for History and Culture (MCHC), the Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History and Culture, the National Great Blacks In Wax Museum, the Maryland State Archives, and the Lillie Mae Carroll Jackson Museum.

Teacher professional development often avoids directly addressing issues of race. Providing targeted training on racial terror lynching and its legacies will equip educators with the tools and confidence to teach this difficult but essential history.

Type of Reform: Access to Education

Recommendation E4:[347]
Create legacy admissions preferences within the University System of Maryland (USM) for students who descend from Black residents of Maryland counties where racial terror lynchings occurred. Provide state-funded scholarships for these students at levels comparable to the aid historically provided to white students when Black students were legally and customarily excluded. Maintain these admissions preferences and financial aid for the same duration as the racial exclusionary policies existed—110 years—and offer academic support resources as needed.

On July 1, 2024, Maryland banned legacy preferences in state-funded college admissions. However, for over a century, Maryland offered legacy preferences to white students while Black Marylanders were legally and customarily excluded from these institutions. This contributed to systemic racial injustice and helped sustain the environment where lynchings occurred. Eliminating legacy preferences without addressing this history further entrenches racial inequities. To repair these harms, legacy preferences should be reinstated for descendants of Black Marylanders excluded from the University System of Maryland for 110 years. Access to higher education, long denied to their ancestors, is critical for justice. Additionally, Judge Blake's ruling in the HBCU lawsuit affirmed Maryland's de facto segregated higher education system requires remedy.

Recommendation E5:[348]
Establish scholarships for students who descend from Black residents of Maryland counties where racial terror lynchings occurred who want to become teachers in school districts with high Black student enrollment and low representation of Black educators.

It is important for Black students to see role models and mentors who look like them. Equally important is for White and non-Black students to see Black individuals in positions of leadership and authority, helping to counteract dehumanizing attitudes rooted in white supremacy—attitudes that enabled mobs to lynch with impunity.

Recommendation E6:
Establish scholarships for students who descend from Black residents of Maryland counties where racial terror lynchings occurred to attend any law school with a commitment to work in Maryland State's Attorneys' offices or as public defenders for at least five years.

Creating law school scholarships and requiring recipients to work for at least five years in Maryland State's Attorneys' offices or as public defenders will help diversify the populations and perspectives within these legal offices.

Recommendation E7:
Establish scholarships for students who descend from Black residents of Maryland counties where racial terror lynchings occurred to pursue licensure as mental health professionals (e.g., therapists, psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, and healthcare advocates), particularly those who commit to serving communities impacted by the legacy of racial terror lynching.

Investing in Black mental health professionals will help interrupt the cycle of intergenerational trauma in Black communities, particularly those affected by the legacy of racial terror lynching.

Recommendation E8:
Provide resources to support Black Male Retention Initiatives at both the K-12 and college levels.

Providing support for Black Male Retention Initiatives will increase persistence and graduation rates at both the high school and college levels, helping to disrupt the school-to-prison pipeline.
The victims of racial terror lynchings in Maryland and around the United States were almost exclusively Black males. Black males continue to be disproportionately represented in arrests, incarceration, and police brutality rates. To make amends for the government's role in allowing Black males to be disproportionately targeted, focused efforts should be made to reverse the harm caused by centuries of harmful discriminatory treatment.

Type of Reform: Resources

Recommendation E9:
Increase funding for K-12 schools and community colleges where at least 30% of the students are descended from Black people who lived in a county when a racial terror lynching occurred. This funding, which would be similar to the funds allocated through the HBCU lawsuit settlement on account of historic underfunding those institutions, would support tutoring services, after school programs, additional staff, field trips and additional enrichment activities. It should also support partner institutions that contribute to these educational efforts, including—but not limited to—the Maryland Center for History and Culture (MCHC), the National Great Blacks In Wax Museum, the Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History and Culture, the Maryland State Archives, and the Lillie Mae Carroll Jackson Museum.

This investment in K-12 resources will help counteract the legacy of de jure racial segregation during the Jim Crow era and the de facto segregation that persisted until the 2021 HBCU settlement.

Type of Reform: Policy

Recommendation E10:[349]
Enact a statewide anti-racism policy applicable to all schools in Maryland. This policy should acknowledge the historic and ongoing role of institutional racism in shaping education within the state and require each Board of Education to implement measures to reverse its impact.

This policy is necessary to counteract the repeal of anti-racist measures occurring in some Maryland counties, ensuring consistent and sustained commitment to equity across the state.

Endnotes

345 See High School United States History Social Studies Framework — Maryland State Department of Education (June 2025), https://marylandpublicschools.org/about/Documents/DCAA/SocialStudies/Framework/HSUS-A.pdf; and Grade 5 Social Studies Framework — Maryland State Department of Education (June 2025) https://marylandpublicschools.org/about/Documents/DCAA/SocialStudies/Framework/Grade5-A.pdf

346 At the conclusion of The Souls of Black Folk, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois asked, "Would America have been America without her Negro people?" , emphasizing that descendants of U.S. chattel slavery are a fundamental part of American society. Dr. Carter G. Woodson gave this idea lasting form by establishing National Negro History Week in February 1926, timed around the birthdays of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass. Accordingly, all K-12 social studies curricula in Maryland should regularly include Black history alongside the histories of other historically underrepresented groups, such as Indigenous, Latine, and Asian American histories. demonstrating that Black history is American history.

347 The Memorandum Decision in Coalition for Equity and Excellence in Maryland Higher Education v. Maryland Higher Education Commission, U.S. District Court (District of Maryland), https://lawyerscommittee.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Coalition-v-MHEC-memorandum-decision.pdf, and Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law's "Securing Justice For Four Historically Black Colleges and Universities in Maryland." https://www.lawyerscommittee.org/securing-justice-for-four-historically-black-colleges-and-universities-in-maryland/

348 "One of the problems that Wicomico County has, we don't have Black teachers. White teachers can't talk about how Blacks live because they're not Black. We have about 2% Black teachers. I had eight children in the school system, …and you can count on my hand how many Black teachers they saw. What do [Black retired teachers] have to lose now to step up to the plate to let us know what our children have gone through in the school system?" (Wicomico County Public Hearing 5:101 ¶ 239)

349 On August 7, 2025, the Calvert County Board of Education voted to repeal Policy 1018, an anti-racism policy adopted in 2020. This action highlights the urgent need for a statewide anti-racism policy to ensure consistent and sustained efforts across Maryland. (Please see: The BayNet, "Calvert Board of Education Repeals Anti-Racism Policy," August 11, 2025, https://thebaynet.com/calvert-board-of-education-repeals-anti-racism-policy/)

“The best way to examine such systemic issues is through the lens of historical trauma; failing to account for this trauma, I argue, renders social transformation a futile hope.”

Charles L. Chavis Jr.
The Silent Shore (2022)

Mental Health Recommendations (F)

F. Mental Health Recommendations

Summary

Racial terror lynchings left a legacy of emotional and mental anguish that has not been addressed. Elders who remember their loved ones silently struggle as generations pass and no justice has been served. They recount the memories of that day when their loved one was lynched, and for some, the memory of this lynching is etched in their memory, their soul forever. They find it difficult to erase the stain of its image while simultaneously observing their erasure from the genealogical family line because the younger generations have no memory of this precious loved one because, perhaps, the elders never told the story because it was too painful. Our recommendations center "truth-telling" around the injustice and dehumanization of victims of racial terror lynchings and their families to heal the historical and generational trauma endured by this atrocity. To restore the humanity and dignity of the victims, their families, and the Black community who were overwhelmingly descendants of U.S. chattel slavery, our recommendations anchor in confronting the historical past accurately and honestly to heal ourselves, our families, our communities, our Maryland, and our nation.

Type of Reform: Advanced Healing

Recommendation F1:
Create grants to fund initiatives aimed at healing historical (generational) trauma. Ensure resources are available for therapy and safe spaces to support both Blacks affected by racial terror lynchings and their descendants, as well as white Americans who witnessed these events and their descendants.

Acknowledging the truth about racial terror lynchings is essential for individual, collective, and cross-racial healing. True reconciliation requires honest truth-telling about past injustices and harms, ensuring these stories are both told and heard. Providing free mental health therapy will help interrupt the cycle of intergenerational trauma in Black communities impacted by racial terror lynchings.

Recommendation F2:
Support programs aimed at unlearning trauma-informed behaviors, particularly within K-12 schools. Supporting programs that help unlearn trauma-informed behaviors, especially in K-12 schools, can disrupt the cycle of intergenerational trauma in Black communities.

Type of Reform: Community Wellness Centers

Recommendation F3:
Establish and fund community wellness centers in Maryland's Black communities.[350]

Community wellness centers will promote culturally based wellness and resilience by providing opportunities to understand how historical, cultural, structural, and contemporary legacies of lynching affect Black life, community interactions, and overall well-being today.

Type of Reform: Anti-violence Prevention Programs

Recommendation F4:
Fund and expand community-driven anti-violence prevention programs at the family, school, and neighborhood levels within Black communities and existing community centers.[351]

Through its failure to prevent lynchings and other forms of racial violence, Maryland contributed to the devaluation of Black people's lives and contributed to the trauma within their communities. Trauma can lead to Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) which is associated with violent behavior.[352] Equipping individuals with better communication and conflict resolution skills as well as therapy and anger management could help reduce violent crime impacting the descendants of racial terror lynchings.

Type of Reform: Anti-Black Discrimination in Healthcare

Recommendation F5:
Create grants to address anti-Black discrimination in healthcare.

These grants will help reduce the legacy of racial violence by combating anti-Black bias and harm in present-day healthcare practices.

Type of Reform: Mental Healthcare for Black people impacted by the criminal justice system

Recommendation F6:
Create grants to meet the mental health needs of Black Marylanders involved in the criminal justice system. These resources should address mental health issues that may have contributed to criminal behavior, as well as trauma resulting from experiences such as wrongful conviction, loss of loved ones, and incarceration. Ensure tailored support is provided for both youth and adults.

Black Marylanders are disproportionately represented in the criminal justice system, resulting in widespread trauma among those impacted by crime, those accused, and their loved ones. Providing dedicated mental health resources is essential to breaking this cycle and promoting healing within the Black community.

Endnotes

350 “Wellness centers can play a role in creating space for the communal needs of the Black community to be met. These are spaces and places to be in community and to do the work of community building. We are a communal people and as the. . .proverb states, we are each other’s medicine. These wellness centers can ultimately build a culture of repair.” Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Reckoning and Repair Public Hearing, testimony of Dr. Cheryl Grills, Loyola Marymount University, April 4, 2025, p.80

351 “Recommendation 18 of the Institute of Medicine states, ‘Efforts to develop the next generation of preventive interventions must focus on building relationships with communities in the assessment of their needs and priorities. Models should be developed that encourage members of the community and researchers to work together to design, train for, and conduct such programs.’” Cheryl Grills, April 4, 2025, p.80; See California Reducing Disparities Project (https://cultureishealth.org/) and the Los Angeles Initiative, Ready to Rise (https://www.readytorise.la/).

352 See Trauma Exposure and PTSD Symptoms Associated with Violence in Inner City Civilians, J Psychiatr Res. 2016 Jul 31;83:1–7, available at https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC5107154/

“The way to right wrongs is to turn the light of truth upon them.”

Ida B. Wells
Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases (1892)

Symbolic Reparations (G)

G. Symbolic Reparations

Summary

There is a general misperception that reparations are only about monetary compensation. The first criterion of transitional justice is to acknowledge the truth that harm was done. Accordingly, symbolic actions such as: formal apologies from representatives of institutions that caused the harm(s), posthumous indictments of identified members of lynch mobs, establishing memorials to the victims of racial terror lynching, remembrance celebrations—including symbolic burials are significant actions that recognize and acknowledge the harms caused by racial terror lynching. These are necessary actions for meaningful reconciliation.

Type of Reform: Legal

Recommendation G1:
Authorize the State's Attorney in the jurisdiction where a racial terror lynching occurred to seek a posthumous indictment when there is clear and convincing evidence that an individual participated in a racial terror lynching.[353]

No individual has ever been held accountable for participating in racial terror lynchings in Maryland. By uncovering and publicly acknowledging the identities of those involved, Maryland can begin to lift the veil of anonymity that has long shielded the perpetrators. The Commission's research has identified the names and backgrounds of many responsible individuals, laying the groundwork for posthumous indictments.

When sufficient evidence exists that an individual participated in a lynching, Maryland should issue a posthumous indictment. Although the case cannot be tried—since doing so would violate the due process rights of the accused—such an indictment would serve to correct the historical record by affirming that Maryland recognizes there was probable cause to suspect the individual's involvement. This would also help end Maryland's role as a tacit accomplice in allowing lynching perpetrators to evade justice.

Recommendation G2:
Grant full exoneration to victims of racial terror lynchings.

Although five victims—David Thomas, Howard Cooper, Asbury Green, Jacob Henson, and William Andrews—were brought to trial, none of these proceedings met the constitutional standards guaranteed by the Sixth Amendment. Moreover, not all victims of racial terror lynching in Maryland have received posthumous pardons, underscoring the need for full exoneration.

Type of Reform: Renaming Buildings and Streets

Recommendation G3:
Rename buildings and streets that honor supporters of white supremacy and anti-Black racism—such as Byrd Stadium—and remove monuments to such individuals, including Confederate General John Winder. Replace these with names and memorials dedicated to those who fought for racial justice and equality in Maryland.

State, county, and local government entities should not honor individuals who engaged in felonious acts such as treason or racial discrimination. Just as post-war Germany does not celebrate members of the Nazi regime (see Isabel Wilkerson, Caste), and South Africa

does not memorialize apartheid officials, Maryland should similarly reject honoring those who upheld white supremacy and racial injustice.

Type of Reform: Cultural Remembrance Memorials and Celebrations

Recommendation G4:
Support and facilitate the efforts of the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project to create a permanent and public Maryland Lynching Memorial dedicated to the memory of all of Maryland's known and unknown racial terror lynching victims.

Recommendation G5:
Conduct symbolic actions that reclaim space by holding Juneteenth celebrations, preserving Black community structures and museums, and promoting initiatives that celebrate the diversity of towns.

The state should promote activities to encourage remembrance of the history and legacy of racial terror lynchings—similar to memorial events held on August 6 in Hiroshima, Japan—as well as other significant events in the march towards universal freedom to foster reconciliation.

Recommendation G6:
Declare November as "Remembrance and Reconciliation Month" in the State of Maryland, and designate Emancipation Day (November 1) as a state holiday.

Just as the United States recognizes significant historical moments like July 4 and Juneteenth, Maryland should designate Emancipation Day (November 1) as a state holiday and promote reconciliation throughout November.

Recommendation G7:
Stage soil collection ceremonies and purchase and erect markers or plaques for all victims of racial terror lynching in Maryland.[354] Send soil to the Equal Justice Initiative's (EJI) National Memorial for Peace and Justice. Collaborate with EJI to provide steel monuments for each Maryland county with documented cases of racial terror lynching, to be installed as permanent memorials. Additionally, create memory trails honoring and acknowledging victims and their families.

Establishing permanent memorials across Maryland honors the victims of racial terror lynching, acknowledges historical injustices, and ensures that their legacies are preserved for future generations.

Type of Reform: Burials/Memorial Services for Victims of Racial Terror Lynchings

Recommendation G8:
Stage symbolic burials and/or memorial services for victims of racial terror lynchings.[355] In recognition of the complicity and/or dereliction of duty by local, county, and state government entities, these services should be publicly funded.

Most victims of racial terror lynching in Maryland were never afforded proper burials. Holding symbolic burials or memorial services provides a measure of closure for their families and communities. In cases where the locations of victims' remains are generally known—especially through oral histories—Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) could be used to help locate burial sites and support reinterment in a respectful and appropriate location.

Type of Reform: Truth Telling

Recommendation G9:
Issue a resolution encouraging private and civic organizations to reflect on their historical complicity in racial terror lynchings.[356] Additionally, the state should create grant programs to support initiatives that foster dialogue between historic Black and White churches to promote racial healing and truth-telling.

As Bryan Stevenson has emphasized, truth and reconciliation must be sequential—there must first be acknowledgment and recognition that harm was done before any meaningful reconciliation can take place. Encouraging institutions to confront their historical roles in racial terror lynchings is a necessary step toward healing and building trust between communities historically divided by racial violence.

Endnotes

353 Refer to The Silent Shore by Charles L. Chavis and Appendix D for a list of some individuals involved in known lynchings. Additional supporting evidence can be found in Juliet Hinely's statement at the Baltimore County Hearing on June 4, 2022 in Appendix G. The Memorandum Decision in Coalition for Equity and Excellence in Maryland Higher Education v. Maryland Higher Education Commission, U.S. District Court (District of Maryland) (https://lawyerscommittee.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Coalition-v-MHEC-memorandum-decision.pdf) and Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law's "Securing Justice For Four Historically Black Colleges and Universities in Maryland" (https://www.lawyerscommittee.org/securing-justice-for-four-historically-black-colleges-and-universities-in-maryland/)

354 "Soil samples that have been collected from some of the sites where the lynching's occurred in Somerset County. These stories are in the collective memory of our family and friends, their stories in our minds and in our hearts." (Somerset County Public Hearing 2:81 ¶ 264 – 265)

355 "Garfield [King] was buried in an unknown land and never had a proper burial. As I mentioned earlier, my ancestors didn't even retrieve the body because of fear that something was going to happen to them. We, the family of Garfield King, would like to [exhume] his body and give him the burial he so deserves. The state of Maryland is ultimately responsible for the lynching and death of my ancestor, James Garfield King. No one to this day, 124 years later, has been held accountable. Who goes into a jail and is dragged out and lynched on the jail lawn, but nobody was identified?" (Wicomico County Hearing, p.39)

356 "Acknowledge, apologize for, take action to address, and make amends for past and ongoing injustices and oppression. Make it safe for descendants of lynching victims to testify without fear of repercussions. Eradicate systemic white supremacy in every institution. Support reparations on the personal and institutional levels. Connect the dots in order to see how history is repeating itself so that we can stop history from repeating itself never again, and we can finally stop racial terror." (Anne Arundel County Public Hearing 4:54 ¶ 138)

“The contemporary media went out of its way to justify lynchings… and to dehumanize the lynch victims.”

Brett Tyler, Heritage Associates
Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Reckoning & Repair Public Hearing, Day 2 (2025)

Media Recommendations (H)

H. Media Recommendations

Summary

The media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion by influencing how people perceive social, political, and cultural issues. It serves as a powerful tool for spreading information, raising awareness, and holding institutions accountable. Additionally, the media helps connect communities by providing a platform for diverse voices and perspectives to be heard. It is important for the media to take an active role in repairing the inaccurate historical characterizations of the State of Maryland's lynching history. Media reform should include journalism training, which fosters partnerships between Maryland-based publications and the state's four historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), media accountability and formal apologies for engaging in systemic racism in news coverage, showcasing Maryland-based media history that highlights Black journalists and periodic illumination of the humanization of the 38 known victims of racial terror lynching, and media policy, which encourages news organizations to present reporting that is fair and free of racial bias. Additionally, start-up funding to establish Black-owned news media companies and digitized Black press archives where Black communities' perspectives can be showcased are also recommended.

Type of Reform: Journalism Training

Recommendation H1:
Encourage partnerships between Maryland-based publications (i.e. *The Baltimore Sun, the Afro, Capital Gazette*, etc.) and Maryland's four HBCUs (Bowie State, Coppin State, Morgan State and UMES).[357] These partnerships will hinge on the development of a robust Student Journalist Internship Program.

Historic coverage by Maryland publications such as *The Baltimore Sun* and *The Capital Gazette* has been marked by negative representations of Black communities, particularly Black men, while Black-owned publications, which have fewer resources and smaller readership, have served a historically important function as oftentimes a lone bearer of truth.

Training students through these partnerships will equip prospective journalists with the skills to recognize and avoid racial bias in reporting. This education will help prevent the perpetuation of historical media misrepresentations and promote more equitable and accurate coverage of Maryland's diverse communities.

Type of Reform: Media Accountability

Recommendation H2:
Encourage Maryland-based publications that have repeatedly engaged in systemic racism in their news coverage to issue formal apologies.[358]

Encouraging formal apologies from Maryland-based publications will help acknowledge the role that some media outlets may have played in perpetuating racial biases and contributing to a climate that encouraged lynchings through the negative portrayal of Black Marylanders.

Recommendation H3:
Encourage Maryland-based publications to issue articles that correct the record of their past racially-biased coverage by investigating and reporting on the 38 known racial terror lynchings in Maryland State history. These publications should include a multi-week project

that identifies and humanizes the lynching victims, names the suspected perpetrators, including public systems and figures like lawmakers and law enforcement officers that allowed these egregious acts to take place, and describe its impact on the family of the victim and the Black community where the murders occurred.

There is currently no known effort in Maryland to incorporate the history of racial terror lynching and its victims into K-12 curricula. Periodic publications highlighting these stories will help fill this educational gap by raising public awareness and fostering a deeper understanding of this painful chapter in the state's history.

Type of Reform: Media History - The Journalists

Recommendation H4:
Encourage the periodic publication of articles by Maryland-based publications that highlight Black journalists from the Jim Crow Era.[359]

Currently, there is no known effort to incorporate the history and contributions of Black journalists from the Jim Crow Era into K-12 curricula in Maryland. Encouraging media coverage of this history can help fill this gap by raising public awareness and supporting educational efforts.

Type of Reform: Media Policy

Recommendation H5:
Encourage news organizations to develop standards to ensure fair reporting that is free from racial bias. This should include balanced coverage of positive and negative stories in communities across Maryland, efforts to interview informed citizens for reliable information, and a consistent, uniform policy regarding when suspected perpetrators of crimes are identified by name and photo.

While Freedom of the Press is a constitutional right, the public also has a right to expect responsible journalism that does not rely on falsehoods or harmful conjecture. Overemphasizing crime within Black communities while neglecting positive stories perpetuates damaging stereotypes that contribute to systemic racism and jeopardize Black individuals. To address this, journalistic societies and journalism schools should raise ethical standards and acknowledge their historic roles in contributing to racial violence, including lynching, as well as their ongoing role in stigmatizing Black communities today.

Recommendation H6:
Encourage media to develop, use and publish a racial bias checklist to help them identify and correct bias in reporting. For instance, media outlets could analyze articles and ask themselves: Are photos of suspects used consistently regardless of the race of the suspect and the victim? Are humanizing descriptions used equally as often to describe suspects and victims regardless of race? Is the presumption of innocence being applied equally to all suspects? Are similar crimes being treated with the same degree of severity regardless of the race of the suspect and victim? Ultimate test: If you replaced the race of everyone in the article, would the coverage remain the same?

Type of Reform: News Media

Recommendation H7:
Encourage news media to provide space—such as dedicated columns and coverage—for Black communities and their perspectives, fostering an environment where Black communities are respected and violence against them is not tolerated.

News media were responsible for contributing to a climate that supported and encouraged racial terror lynchings. Providing dedicated space for Black communities and their perspectives will help correct this legacy by ensuring descendants of U.S. chattel slavery and their communities are not targeted, vilified, or marginalized.

Recommendation H8:
Encourage news media to provide start-up funding to establish Black-owned and operated news media outlets.[360]

Black news media have always been underfunded, and this will provide Black voices to share their perspectives and counter narratives of Black criminality.

Recommendation H9:
Establish an ongoing fund to digitize and make publicly available Black press archives.[361]

Establishing this fund will help ensure Black press archives are as accessible and preserved as White newspapers. This is particularly important given the role the Black press has played on speaking truth to power particularly on matters of racial injustice.

Endnotes

357 For further context, see Charles L. Chavis's op-ed on the Black press: "On Making Amends: What the Baltimore Sun Must Learn from the Black Press," The Baltimore Sun, April 1, 2022, https://www.baltimoresun.com/2022/04/01/on-making-amends-what-the-baltimore-sun-must-learn-from-the-black-press-guest-commentary/

358 In 2022, The Baltimore Sun issued a formal apology for its history of racist media coverage. This sets an important precedent and demonstrates the potential for other Maryland-based publications to acknowledge their role and follow suit in making formal apologies. See also Charles L. Chavis' op-ed, "On Making Amends: What the Baltimore Sun Must Learn from the Black Press," highlights the need for mainstream media to reckon with their past and improve future reporting to avoid perpetuating racial bias, https://www.baltimoresun.com/author/charles-l-chavis-jr/

359 Rev. Frances Murphy Draper testified at the Reckoning & Repair Hearing on April 4, 2025 (pp. 58–60), highlighting the lack of incorporation of Black journalists' history from the Jim Crow Era into educational curricula in Maryland. (See Appendix G)

360 See Charles L. Chavis, "On Making Amends: What the Baltimore Sun Must Learn from the Black Press," The Baltimore Sun, April 1, 2022. https://www.baltimoresun.com/2022/04/01/on-making-amends-what-the-baltimore-sun-must-learn-from-the-black-press-guest-commentary/

361 "And I'm going to put a price tag on it, which is not nearly enough funding at the state level of at least $3 to $5 million dollars annually to sustain these vital, not one time, one and done, but to sustain these things." (MLTRC Reckoning and Repair Public Hearing, testimony of Frances Toni Draper, April 4, 2025, pp.59-60; see Appendix G for links to public hearings)

“Our resilience should not be used as a justification to not engage in reparatory justice.”

Dr. Cheryl Grills, Professor of Psychology, Loyola Marymount University
Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Reckoning & Repair Public Hearing, Day 1 (2025)

Funding, Implementation, & Monitoring Recommendations (I)

I. Funding, Implementation, & Monitoring Recommendations

Summary

Transparency and accountability are essential to ensure the credibility and legitimacy of state, county, and local efforts in implementing the Commission's recommendations. Accordingly, the General Assembly and Governor must establish the mechanisms necessary to ensure that initiatives stemming from recommendations are fully funded and implemented beyond token or merely symbolic levels.

Recommendation I1:
During the 2026 legislative session, the General Assembly and Governor should establish a permanent agency within the Department of Social and Economic Mobility dedicated to implementing the Commission's recommendations and monitoring progress toward their full realization. Staffing should include a director, associate/assistant directors for each of the seven areas identified by the Commission for reforms, and appropriate support staff. A centralized agency is essential to ensure that the Commission's recommendations receive proper funding, oversight, and implementation, preventing them from being reduced to mere symbolic gestures.

Collecting detailed, disaggregated data from descendants of lynching victims on issues such as mental health, education, employment, and financial well-being is essential to fully understand and address the ongoing impacts of racial terror lynching. This information will guide targeted interventions and policies to promote equity and repair harm.

Should the Maryland Commission on Reparations be established, the role of this agency could be expanded to provide oversight, harm assessment, and implementation of initiatives addressing the full extent of the disparate treatment of Black people who descend from U.S. chattel slavery.

Recommendation I2:
Within its first 90 days, the permanent agency should establish a publicly accessible dashboard and/or website to promote transparency and accountability in the implementation of the Commission's recommendations. Staffing should include at least two people with excellent technical knowledge and skills to establish and maintain the agency's public-facing digital presence. Transparency and accountability are essential to ensure the credibility and legitimacy of state, county, and local efforts in implementing the Commission's recommendations.

Recommendation I3:
The agency staff should have the same subpoena power as OAG personnel working with the Commission as well as the power to bring legal action against government agencies, private entities, and individuals who refuse to cooperate in implementing the Commission's recommendations. Staffing should include at least two licensed attorneys and adequate supporting legal assistants. Granting power to issue subpoenas and bring legal action will strengthen enforcement capabilities, ensuring compliance and accountability across state, county, and local institutions.

Recommendation I4:
Within a year of establishing the agency, it should contract with external monitors to track and audit implementation of recommendations on the dashboard–including payment for services rendered–akin to the function of the Yellowhead Institute and the Canadian Truth Commission. Staffing should include at least one procurement specialist and adequate support staff to conduct procurement processes. The external monitors should

submit semi-annual reports/evaluations for the first two years of the agency's existence and annual reports/evaluations thereafter. A contracted external monitor observing and tracking the implementation process will increase accountability and the likelihood that recommendations will be effected beyond the token or symbolic level.

Recommendation I5:
The General Assembly should allocate at least $10 million proactively to provide for costs to defend against legal challenges to the implementation of the recommendations. The agency's legal staff will oversee allocation and use of these funds. In light of the federal Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division's letter to the Buncombe County, NC Board of Commissioners threatening legal action for attempting to implement recommendations for reparations, the agency, General Assembly, and governor must be prepared to defend the recommendation herein in court and should appropriate sufficient funds to do so.

Suggested Timeline for Implementation:

2026:
- A (Apology)
- B.1 (Material: payments to victim descendants)
- C.10, C.15-17, 19, 21, 24-26 (Criminal Justice)
- E.10 (Education: anti-racism policy in schools)
- G.1-2, 6, 9 (Symbolic)
- H (Media)
- I.5 (Implementation: allocation to defend lawsuits)

2027:
- I.1-4 (Implementation: establish agency and accountability measures)
- C.1-9, 11-14, 18, 20, 22-23, 27 (Criminal Justice)
- E.1-9 (Education)
- G.4 (Symbolic: funding for Maryland Lynching Memorial)

2028:
- B.2-7 (Material)

2029:
- D.1-10 (Community Healing)
- F.1-6 (Mental Health)

2030:
- G.3, 5, 7-8 (Symbolic)

“Nobody’s free until everybody’s free.”

Fannie Lou Hamer
Speech at the National Women’s Political Caucus (1971)

3. Recommendations Table

This table is intended to help readers conceptualize the Reconciliation recommendations. The success metrics are not meant to be definitive but are a starting point for conversations. We recommend hiring a team of economists to provide more precise cost estimates and expect the individuals who are tasked with implementing the recommendations to develop more precise success metrics along with timetables with intermediate deadlines until completion.

Category	Recommendation	Success Metric	Applicability
A. Apology	1. Maryland and local governments Issue Apology	Issue the complete apology as detailed in the report	General
B. Material	1. Establish an interagency task force to identify relevant descendants. Provide compensation up to $100,000 per living descendant of a lynching victim (or their next of kin if no direct descendants) up to a statutorily set maximum amount per lynching victim; and up to $10,000 per living descendant of a Black person who lived in the community at the time a lynching occurred up to a statutorily set maximum amount per family.	85% identification of descendants of racial terror lynching victims, next of kin if there were no descendants, or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred; 100% reparations payment to the individuals identified	Eligibility limited to descendants of racial terror lynching victims, next of kin if there were no descendants, or the descendants of Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred. Benefits will be paid to living descendants in order of the closest generation to the lynching victim until allotted funds are exhausted.
	2. Provide descendants with other forms of restitution and material support.	Creation of a database where families can make claims about specific items, property lost as a result of a lynching; assignment of a team to review and pay claims	The aforementioned taskforce will seek to identify and provide compensation to living descendants of lynching victims or their next of kin; living descendants of a Black person who lived in the community at the time the lynching. Benefits will be paid to living descendants in order of the closest generation to the lynching victim until allotted funds are exhausted.

Category	Recommendation	Success Metric	Applicability
	3. Expand the Maryland Victim Compensation Fund.	25% increase in compensation provided to victims from the Maryland Victim Compensation fund	Available to victims, or the closest living relatives of deceased victims, of police brutality, hate crimes, and lynchings.
	4. Develop a comprehensive poverty reduction plan.	25% reduction in racial wealth gap in communities where racial terror lynchings occurred within a four-year period to be further reduced at predetermined intervals	Eligibility limited to descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred.
	5. Support economic empowerment zones.	25% increase in Black owned business in communities where racial terror lynchings occurred.	Eligibility limited to descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred.
	6. Provide targeted care and support services for elderly and disabled individuals.	50% of all health, housing, and medical needs met for descendants of racial terror lynching victims over the age of 65 up to 5 generations removed	Eligibility limited to descendants of racial terror lynching victims over the age of 70 up to 5 generations removed.
	7. Correct Census records for victims of racial terror lynchings and ensure relevant records are accessible to the public free of charge.	Correction of all racial terror lynching victims' records; 50% increase in public access to relevant records	General
C. Criminal Justice	1. Remove qualified immunity from police officers who violate training or policy.	A 25% drop in police complaints; a 50% drop in police-involved deaths; a 25% drop in lawsuits; and a 25% drop in settlements expenses within 1 year of implementation	General

Category	Recommendation	Success Metric	Applicability
	2. Statewide integration of the agency-level Early Intervention Programs.	A 25% drop in police complaints concerning the same officer; a 50% reduction in hiring or promoting officers with multiple complaints in the same or other police departments in Maryland	General
	3. Require officers to report when fellow officers violate civilian's rights.	25% increase in sustained complaints against officers who commit wrongdoing as more evidence is available	General
	4. Create a public portal where civilians can easily submit video recordings for review.	25% increase in sustained complaints against officers who commit wrongdoing as more evidence is available	General
	5. Give community oversight review board authority to conduct independent investigations and overrule police disciplinary decisions.	25% improvement in community trust in police as measured in an annual community poll	General
	6. Conduct an annual police satisfaction poll of community members.	Every year, at least a 5% improvement in each category in the poll	General
	7. Involve a diverse group of private citizens in police training programs.	25% reduction in excessive force complaints	General
	8. Prohibit police from lying to suspects.	25% reduction of complaints of police coercion and false confessions	General
	9. Add police's role in lynchings to annual training requirements.	25% reduction in complaints concerning discriminatory policing	General

Category	Recommendation	Success Metric	Applicability
	10. Prohibit officers from interrogating a minor or someone with apparent developmental disabilities without a parent, guardian, or attorney present.	25% reduction in coercive confessions from minors and people with special needs	General
	11. Provide additional training to school resource officers and additional funding for alternate school safety measures that prioritize student health and wellness.	25% reduction in criminal charges against juveniles; 25% reduction in detentions, suspensions and expulsions as the students behavior at school improves with greater mental health and academic support	Funding available in counties where racial terror lynchings occurred or where the descendants of those residents currently reside.
	12. Require annual implicit bias training for police, criminal attorneys, both prosecutor and public defenders, and judges.	25% reduction in complaints concerning racial profiling	General
	13. Require all police departments to have a hate crimes task force.	25% increase in reported hate crimes; 25% increase in hate crimes charges; and 25% improvement in community trust in police as measured in an annual community poll	General
	14. Require all police departments to have community outreach programs and conduct proactive community outreach around hate crimes.	50% improvement in community trust in police as measured in an annual community poll	General
	15. Create a hiring preference for local police and prosecutors.	25% improvement in community trust in police as measured in an annual poll	General
	16. Prohibit the introduction of scientifically unreliable forms of forensic evidence.	50% reduction in wrongful conviction cases and convictions overturned on appeal	General

Category	Recommendation	Success Metric	Applicability
	17. Require prosecutors to conduct additional due diligence in cases where allegations are based primarily on informant testimony and circumstantial evidence, document it and provide a copy to defense attorney and judge.	50% reduction in wrongful conviction cases and convictions overturned on appeal	General
	18. Require each State's Attorney's Office to establish a conviction integrity unit.	10% increase in approved innocence claims	General
	19. Require prosecutors to present defense attorneys and the court with evidence of the most serious crimes that a defendant is charged with before accepting the defendant's guilty plea for a lesser crime.	25% improvement in community trust in prosecutors as measured in an annual community poll	General
	20. Establish a public database that tracks bail decisions and criminal sentencing outcomes disaggregated by race and other relevant factors and require judges to provide a written explanation when deviating substantially from average bail decisions or sentencing outcomes.	50% reduction in racial disparities in sentencing and bail decisions.	General
	21. The Chief Judge of each Circuit Court shall convene an annual meeting with representatives from the State's Attorney's Office, and defense to discuss how to safeguard due process protections.	25% improvement in community trust in prosecutors as measured in an annual community poll	General
	22. Provide adequate funding for crime reduction strategies that operate independently of law enforcement.	10% annual decrease in violent and non-violent crime	Funding available in counties where racial terror lynchings occurred or where the descendants of those residents currently reside.

Category	Recommendation	Success Metric	Applicability
	23. Conduct a comprehensive review of Maryland state statutes to identify laws that either affirmatively enforced white supremacy or intentionally created a disparate negative impact on Black communities and repair the harm.	Repeal of 100% of Maryland statutes that were passed with a racist intent to uphold white supremacy; develop proposals to enact laws that reverse the harm caused by the racially discriminatory laws	General
	24. Prohibit employers from inquiring about arrests that did not result in conviction and cannot use this information in hiring/promotion decisions.	25% increase in employment for formerly incarcerated people; 25% reduction in criminal recidivism	General
	25. Remove permanent disqualification from jury service for people convicted of crimes who have served their sentences.	20% increase in how well the jury pool matches the racial, age, and sex demographics of the jurisdiction	General
	26. Add desecration of sacred burial sites or memorials related to civil rights history to hate crimes statute.	Hate Crimes statute modified: Annotated Code of Maryland, Criminal Law Article §§§10-304-306.	General
	27. Restore parental rights for individuals wrongfully convicted of crimes.	100% increase in restoration of parental rights for those wrongly convicted of crimes; 50% increase in family reunification; 25% increase in civil damages	General
D. Community Healing	1. Create grants to support community education focused on Maryland's racial history.	At least 1 event per county annually promoting an open dialogue on race relations amongst diverse members of the community	General
	2. Preserve and memorialize Historically Black communities.	Increase preservation and memorialization of historic Black spaces by 20%	Applies to historically Black communities.

Category	Recommendation	Success Metric	Applicability
	3. Establish a right of return for the families of racial terror lynching victims.	20% increase in Black-owned property by Black people whose ancestors lived in that county	Eligibility limited to descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred.
	4. Protect, restore, and fund Black institutions and organizations dedicated to preserving historical, cultural, and heritage spaces.	20% increase in budget/endowments of African American institutions and organizations that protect and preserve historical cultural and heritage spaces	Available for African American institutions and organizations that are protecting and preserving historical cultural and heritage spaces.
	5. Establish a state-managed endowment to support the long-term preservation, programming, and operations of the Charles H. Chipman Cultural Center and other organizations with similar missions.	Continued operation of the Charles Chipman Center and appearance on historical register, and other historical centers around the state	Applicable to Charles Chipman Center and other centers with similar missions.
	6. Create a non-partisan redistricting commission.	50% increase in equal representation where each person's vote carries the same weight in elections	General
	7. Provide free job training and career development programs for formerly incarcerated individuals.	20% reduction in unemployment in the formerly incarcerated	General
	8. Facilitate access to state and local records for Marylanders whose ancestors were lynched, impacted by racial terror violence, or enslaved in Maryland.	20% increase in access to state genealogical records by Black Marylanders	Eligibility limited to descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred.
	9. Fund a birthright program for Marylanders descended from U.S. chattel slavery.	Fund 10,000 trips per year until all living descendants of enslaved Black Marylanders have had an opportunity to visit the land of their ancestors.	Eligibility limited to descendants of people who were enslaved in Maryland.

Category	Recommendation	Success Metric	Applicability
	10. Provide funding to create a digital repository for oral histories from Marylanders born before 1964.	obtain oral testimony from 10% of Black Marylanders born before 1964	Available to Black people who lived in Maryland before 1964
E. Education	1. Revise K-12 U.S. history standards to address how systemic racism, including racial terror lynchings, has shaped modern racial disparities in Maryland.	5% year over year improvement in state testing results on this topic	General
	2. Revise school curricula to incorporate more comprehensive African history into K-12 world history courses.	5% year over year improvement in state testing results on this topic	General
	3. Provide professional development for teachers on how to teach about racial terror lynching and its legacies.	100% of social students teachers are trained in how to teach these subjects without causing additional trauma	General
	4. Create legacy admissions preferences and scholarships within the University System of Maryland (USM) for students who are descendants of Black residents from Maryland counties where racial terror lynchings occurred.	20% increase in college enrollment for descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred	Eligibility limited to descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred.
	5. Establish scholarships for students who are descendants of Black residents from Maryland counties where racial terror lynchings occurred who want to become teachers.	20% increase in Black teachers in school districts with more Black students than teachers	Eligibility limited to descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred.

Category	Recommendation	Success Metric	Applicability
	6. Establish scholarships for students who are descendants of Black residents from Maryland counties where racial terror lynchings occurred to attend law school.	20% increase in law school enrollment for descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred	Eligibility limited to descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred.
	7. Establish scholarships for students who are descendants of Black residents from Maryland counties where racial terror lynchings occurred to pursue licensure as mental health professionals.	20% increase in enrollment in mental health programs for descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred	Eligibility limited to descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred.
	8. Provide resources to support Black Male Retention Initiatives at both the K-12 and college levels.	20% increase in college retention for descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred	Eligibility limited to descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred
	9. Increase funding for K-12 schools and community colleges where at least 30% of the students are descended from Black people who lived in a county when a racial terror lynching occurred to support tutoring services, after school programs, additional staff, field trips and additional enrichment activities.	20% increase in high school graduation rate and enrollment in post high school education programs for descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred	Eligibility limited to schools attended by descendants of Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred.
	10. Enact a statewide anti-racism policy applicable to all schools in Maryland.	Require every school district to investigate and issue a report on how institutional racism has impacted their district and set forth a plan to reverse the impact.	General

Category	Recommendation	Success Metric	Applicability
F. Mental Health	1. Create grants to fund initiatives aimed at healing historical (generational) trauma that support therapy and safe spaces.	20% increase in access to mental health services for Black Marylanders	Eligibility limited to descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred.
	2. Support programs aimed at unlearning trauma-informed behaviors, particularly within K-12 schools.	20% increase in mental health services for children in schools who have experienced trauma at home related to crime including the incarceration of a close relative	Prioritize counties where racial terror lynchings occurred or where the descendants of those residents currently reside.
	3. Establish and fund community wellness centers.	Ensure there is at least one well-resourced community wellness center with capacity to serve at least 5% of the population in every county in Maryland where a racial terror lynching occurred or where their descendants currently reside	Funding available in counties where racial terror lynchings occurred or where the descendants of those residents currently reside but anyone can use the center regardless of race.
	4. Fund and expand community-driven anti-violence prevention programs.	20% increase in funding for community driven anti-violence programs	Grants available in counties where racial terror lynchings occurred or where their descendants currently reside.
	5. Create grants to address anti-Black discrimination in healthcare.	20% reduction in complaints about racial discrimination in health care	General
	6. Create grants to meet the mental health needs of Black Marylanders involved in the criminal justice system.	20% increase in funding to address the mental health needs of Black Marylanders involved in the criminal justice system	Eligibility limited to descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred.
G. Symbolic	1. Authorize the State's Attorney posthumous indictment for those who participated in a racial terror lynching.	A posthumous indictment issued in every county where the lynching of a Black person occurred	General

Category	Recommendation	Success Metric	Applicability
	2. Grant full exoneration to victims of racial terror lynchings.	100% exoneration for all 38 lynching victims passed by General Assembly and signed by the Governor	Applies to racial terror lynching victims.
	3. Rename buildings and streets that honor supporters of white supremacy and anti-Black racism—with names and memorials dedicated to those who fought for racial justice and equality in Maryland.	Rename 10 public buildings or streets per year until everything named after slave owners and Confederate soldiers is replaced with people who deserve to be honored.	General
	4. Support the efforts of the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project to create a permanent and public Maryland Lynching Memorial.	Dedicate funding in the budget to the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project's efforts.	General
	5. Conduct symbolic actions that reclaim space such as holding celebrations or commemorative events related to racial justice.	Annual celebrations of events like Juneteenth and Emancipation Day in every county in Maryland.	General
	6. Declare November as "Remembrance and Reconciliation Month" in the State of Maryland, and designate Emancipation Day (November 1) as a state holiday.	State declaration	General
	7. Stage soil collection ceremonies and purchase and erect markers or plaques for all victims of racial terror lynching in Maryland.	Marker and soil collection ceremony held for each of the 38 lynching victims	For victims of racial terror lynchings.
	8. Stage symbolic burials and/or memorial services for victims of racial terror lynchings.	Burial or memorial services held for each of the 38 lynching victims.	For victims of racial terror lynchings.

Category	Recommendation	Success Metric	Applicability
	9. Issue a resolution encouraging private and civic organizations to reflect on their historical complicity in racial terror lynchings.	General Assembly issues the resolution; 10% increase in private and civic organizations acknowledging the role they played in perpetuating racial injustices and their efforts to make amends	General
H. Media	1. Encourage partnerships between Maryland-based publications and Maryland's four HBCUs.	10% increase in Black students entering the field of journalism as interns or employees	Eligibility limited to descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred.
	2. Encourage Maryland-based publications that have repeatedly engaged in systemic racism in their news coverage to issue formal apologies.	Formal apologies issued by most read publications in each county where a racial terror lynching occurred and racially biased news coverage continues to be published	General
	3. Encourage Maryland-based publications to issue articles that correct the record of their past racially-biased coverage.	One or more news outlets to provide in-depth coverage of each of the 38 lynchings within one year of the passage of this legislation	General
	4. Encourage the periodic publication of articles by Maryland-based publications that highlight Black journalists from the Jim Crow Era.	10% increase in news articles highlighting the work of historic Black journalists, thereby lifting up stories and perspectives that remain largely unknown to the general public	General
	5. Encourage news organizations to develop standards to ensure fair reporting that is free from racial bias.	Major publications agreement to develop and abide by news standards and policies to reduce racial bias in media followed by a 25% reduction in racially-biased articles/stories	General

Category	Recommendation	Success Metric	Applicability
	6. Encourage media to develop, use and publish racial bias checklists to help them identify and correct bias in reporting.	Major publications agreement to develop and publish a checklist and a public facing rating system to identify racial bias in media	General
	7. Encourage news media to provide space for Black communities and their perspectives.	10% increase in news articles written by descendants of U.S. chattel slavery	Include the perspectives of descendants of racial terror lynching victims or Black people who lived in the county at the time the racial terror lynching occurred.
	8. Encourage news media to provide start-up funding to establish Black-owned and operated news media outlets.	20% increase in media owned by descendants of U.S. chattel slavery	General
	9. Establish an ongoing fund to digitize and make publicly available Black press archives.	20% increase in the digitalization of Black press articles	Limited to funding the digitalization of articles from Black-owned news outlets.
I. Implementation	1. Establish a permanent agency within the Department of Social and Economic Mobility dedicated to implementing the Commission's recommendations and monitoring progress toward their full realization.	Creation of a new agency to oversee the implementation of the recommendations, that is properly staffed and resourced, within 1 year of bill passage	General
	2. Establish a publicly accessible dashboard and/or website to promote transparency and accountability in the implementation of the Commission's recommendations.	Creation of a publicly accessible and up to date dashboard within 1 year of bill passage	General

Category	Recommendation	Success Metric	Applicability
	3. Provide agency staff with subpoena power and the power to bring legal action against government agencies, private entities, and individuals who refuse to cooperate.	Legislation grants subpoena power to new agency	General
	4. Require the agency to contract with external monitors to track and audit implementation of recommendations.	Agency contracts with external monitors with relevant subject matter expertise within 1 year of bill passage	General
	5. Allocate funds proactively to provide for costs to defend against legal challenges to the implementation of the recommendations.	Legislation is fully and successfully defended in court if challenged	General

Appendix A

Glossary of Terms

Appendix A: Glossary Definitions with Sources

Justice/Legal Framework Terms

Transitional justice - A framework of judicial and non-judicial measures implemented by societies to address legacies of past human rights abuses, including criminal prosecutions, truth commissions, reparations programs, and institutional reforms. The goal is to achieve accountability, serve justice, and facilitate reconciliation in post-conflict or post-authoritarian contexts. (United Nations, "Guidance Note of the Secretary-General: United Nations Approach to Transitional Justice," March 2010)

Truth and reconciliation - A process that seeks to uncover, officially acknowledge, and document historical injustices while promoting healing and social cohesion. Truth and reconciliation commissions typically combine fact-finding about past atrocities with efforts to foster understanding between victims and perpetrators, aiming to prevent recurrence of violence. (Hayner, Priscilla B. *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions*, 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2010)

Restorative justice - An approach to justice that emphasizes repairing the harm caused by criminal behavior through inclusive processes that engage all stakeholders—victims, offenders, and communities—in determining how to address the aftermath of an offense. Unlike punitive justice systems focused on punishment, restorative justice prioritizes accountability, healing, and restoration of relationships. (Zehr, Howard. *The Little Book of Restorative Justice*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 2002)

Reparative justice - A justice framework focused on providing remedies to repair historical and ongoing harms, particularly those stemming from systemic oppression. Reparative justice encompasses various forms of redress including restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction, and guarantees of non-repetition. (United Nations General Assembly, "Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation," Resolution 60/147, December 16, 2005)

Extrajudicial killing/murder - The deliberate killing of a person by governmental authorities or organized groups without the sanction of any judicial proceeding or legal process. These killings violate the right to life and due process protections guaranteed under international human rights law and domestic constitutions. (Amnesty International, "Extrajudicial Executions," *Amnesty International Report*, 2023)

Message crimes - Violent acts committed not only against individual victims but intended to send a threatening message to an entire community or group that shares the victim's characteristics. Hate crimes and lynchings function as message crimes, using violence against one person to terrorize many. (Perry, Barbara. *In the Name of Hate: Understanding Hate Crimes*. New York: Routledge, 2001)

Legal lynching - A term describing executions carried out through ostensibly legal judicial processes that are fundamentally unjust, typically involving denial of due process rights, all-white juries, inadequate legal representation, coerced confessions, or predetermined outcomes. The phrase acknowledges that state-sanctioned executions can serve the same terroristic function as extralegal lynchings. (Equal Justice Initiative, "Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror," 3rd ed., 2017)

State-sanctioned violence - Violence that is authorized, condoned, or enabled by government authorities, either through explicit policy, tacit approval, or failure to prevent or punish such acts. This includes both direct violence by state actors (police, military) and indirect violence that occurs when the state deliberately fails to protect certain populations. (Nagengast, Carole. "Violence, Terror, and the Crisis of the State," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23, 1994: 109-136)

State complicity - The involvement of government entities in human rights violations through direct participation, authorization, acquiescence, or willful blindness. Complicity can include active collaboration, providing material support, or failing to fulfill the state's duty to protect citizens from violence. (International Law Commission, "Draft Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts," 2001)

Analytical/Conceptual Terms

Concentric circles of conspiracy - An analytical model describing the layers of participation and responsibility in acts of racial terror, particularly lynching. The innermost circle consists of direct perpetrators, surrounded by active participants, then passive observers who failed to intervene, followed by community members who created the climate enabling such violence, and finally institutions that failed to hold perpetrators accountable. (Sherrilyn A. Ifill, *On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the Twenty-First Century*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2007)

White supremacy - An ideology and system of power that asserts the inherent superiority of people classified as white and justifies the domination, exploitation, and marginalization of people of color. White supremacy operates through both explicit beliefs and structural arrangements in social, political, economic, and cultural institutions. (Feagin, Joe R. *The White Racial Frame: Centuries of Racial Framing and Counter-Framing*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2013)

Systemic racism - Racism that is embedded and operating within the policies, practices, and procedures of societal institutions, producing racially disparate outcomes regardless of individual intent. Systemic racism encompasses discriminatory laws, biased resource allocation, and institutional practices that perpetuate racial inequality across generations. (Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America*. 6th ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021)

Structural racism - The normalized and legitimized range of policies, practices, and cultural representations in multiple institutions that routinely produce cumulative and durable racial inequalities. Structural racism operates across interconnected systems (education, housing, employment, criminal justice) to maintain racial hierarchies. (Powell, John A. "Structural Racism: Building upon the Insights of John Calmore," *North Carolina Law Review* 86, 2008: 791-816)

Institutional racism - Discriminatory treatment, unfair policies, and inequitable opportunities embedded within established institutions, resulting in the exclusion or advancement of certain groups based on race. Unlike individual prejudice, institutional racism operates through organizational rules, norms, and standard operating procedures. (Jones, Camara Phyllis. "Levels of Racism: A Theoretic Framework and a Gardener's Tale," *American Journal of Public Health* 90, no. 8, 2000: 1212-1215)

Anti-Black racism - Racism specifically directed at people of African descent, rooted in the legacy of slavery and characterized by unique forms of dehumanization, violence, and systemic exclusion. Anti-Black racism encompasses both historical atrocities (slavery, lynching, Jim Crow segregation) and contemporary manifestations (police violence, mass incarceration, health disparities). (Dumas, Michael J. and Joseph Derrick Nelson. "(Re) Imagining Black Boyhood: Toward a Critical Framework for Educational Research," *Harvard Educational Review* 86, no. 1, 2016: 27-47)

Displacive summaries - Summaries of copyrighted works that are so detailed and comprehensive that they substitute for or diminish the market value of the original work, potentially violating copyright protections by reducing the need to access the original

source. (Samuelson, Pamela. “The Copyright Principles Project: Directions for Reform,” *Berkeley Technology Law Journal* 25, 2010: 1175-1245)

Cultural erasure - The systematic elimination or suppression of a group’s cultural practices, language, history, and identity, often through deliberate policies of assimilation, destruction of cultural artifacts, or historical revisionism. Cultural erasure can constitute a form of cultural genocide when conducted with intent to destroy a group’s distinct cultural identity. (UNESCO, “Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions,” 2005)

Research/Documentation Terms

Primary source evidence - Original historical documents, records, artifacts, or firsthand accounts created at the time of the events being studied or by individuals with direct knowledge of those events. Primary sources include letters, court records, photographs, newspapers, official documents, oral testimonies, and physical evidence. (Society of American Archivists, “Describing Archives: A Content Standard,” 2nd ed., 2013)

Oral history - A method of historical documentation that records personal recollections, perspectives, and interpretations of historical events through recorded interviews with individuals who experienced or witnessed those events. Oral histories capture perspectives often absent from written records and are particularly valuable for documenting marginalized communities’ experiences. (Oral History Defined: Oral History Association, https://oralhistory.org/about/do-oral-history/)

Case study - An in-depth examination of a particular instance, event, individual, or phenomenon within its real-world context, using multiple sources of evidence to develop detailed understanding. Case studies allow researchers to explore complex issues and generate insights applicable to similar situations. (Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods*. 6th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2017)

Soil collection - A memorial practice developed by the Equal Justice Initiative in which earth is gathered from sites where racial terror lynchings occurred. The collected soil is preserved in jars labeled with victims’ names and displayed in museums or memorial spaces, serving as physical evidence of historical violence and honoring victims who were denied proper burials. (Equal Justice Initiative, “Community Remembrance Project,” https://eji.org/projects/community-remembrance-project/)

Historical marker - A permanent sign, plaque, or monument installed at historically significant locations to commemorate events, people, or places and educate the public about their historical importance. Historical markers serve educational purposes and help communities acknowledge often-overlooked or suppressed histories. (National Park Service, “Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Historical Markers,” Technical Preservation Services, 2019)

Genealogical records - Documentation used to trace family lineages and relationships across generations, including birth certificates, marriage licenses, death certificates, census records, church records, wills, land deeds, and other documents establishing familial connections. For descendants of enslaved people, genealogical research often requires specialized techniques due to incomplete record-keeping. (National Archives, “Genealogy Research in the National Archives,” https://www.archives.gov/research/genealogy)

Archival records - Historical documents, photographs, audio recordings, and other materials that have been selected for permanent preservation due to their enduring value for research, legal purposes, or historical documentation. Archives maintain these records

using professional standards to ensure their authenticity, integrity, and accessibility. (Society of American Archivists, "Core Values Statement and Code of Ethics," 2020)

Demographics/Population Terms

Free Black residents - African Americans who were not enslaved prior to the Civil War and general emancipation. Free Black populations existed in both Northern and Southern states, though their rights and freedoms were severely restricted through discriminatory laws known as "Black Codes." Many obtained freedom through manumission, self-purchase, or birth to free parents. (Berlin, Ira. *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*. New York: The New Press, 1974)

Enslaved population - People held in chattel slavery, a system in which human beings were treated as property that could be bought, sold, and inherited. In the United States, the enslaved population consisted primarily of people of African descent and their descendants, held in hereditary bondage from 1619 until abolition in 1865. (Baptist, Edward E. *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*. New York: Basic Books, 2014)

Manumission - The formal legal act by which an enslaver freed an enslaved person from bondage. Manumission could occur through various means including inclusion in a will, payment for self-purchase, or voluntary release. Many Southern states imposed increasingly restrictive requirements for manumission during the antebellum period to limit the growth of free Black populations. (Schweninger, Loren. "The Fragile Nature of Freedom: Free Women of Color in the U.S. South," in *Beyond Bondage: Free Women of Color in the Americas*, edited by David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004)

Demographic majority/minority - Statistical terms describing the relative size of different population groups within a given area. A demographic majority constitutes more than 50% of the population, while minority groups collectively comprise less than 50%. These categories are context-dependent and can shift over time or vary by geographic scale. (U.S. Census Bureau, "About Race," https://www.census.gov/topics/population/race/about.html)

Per capita - A Latin phrase meaning "per person" or "for each head," used in statistical analysis to calculate averages by dividing aggregate figures by population size. Per capita measurements allow meaningful comparisons between areas or groups of different sizes. (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, "Glossary of Statistical Terms," https://www.oecd.org/content/dam/oecd/en/publications/reports/2008/09/oecd-glossary-of-statistical-terms_g1gh9ad7/9789264055087-en.pdf)

Economic/Social Terms

Economic subordination - The systematic creation and maintenance of economic disadvantage for specific groups through discriminatory policies, unequal resource allocation, wage suppression, restricted access to education and employment, and barriers to wealth accumulation. Economic subordination produces persistent racial wealth gaps across generations. (Oliver, Melvin L. and Thomas M. Shapiro. *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality*. 10th Anniversary Edition. New York: Routledge, 2006)

Racial wealth gap - The substantial disparity in assets, property ownership, investments, and overall accumulated wealth between white households and households of color, particularly Black households. This gap results from centuries of discriminatory policies including slavery, Jim Crow laws, redlining, employment discrimination, and unequal

educational opportunities. (Darity, William Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen. *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020)

Economic exploitation - The unjust or unfair extraction of labor, resources, or value from workers or communities, typically involving inadequate compensation, unsafe working conditions, or denial of economic opportunities. Economic exploitation particularly affected formerly enslaved people through systems like sharecropping, convict leasing, and wage theft. (Lichtenstein, Alex. *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South*. London: Verso, 1996)

Sundown communities - Towns, neighborhoods, or counties that excluded Black people and other minorities through formal or informal policies requiring them to leave by sunset. These communities used intimidation, violence, discriminatory ordinances, and restrictive covenants to maintain racial exclusion, particularly between the 1890s and 1960s. (Loewen, James W. *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism*. New York: The New Press, 2005)

Restrictive covenants - Contractual agreements written into property deeds that prohibited the sale, lease, or occupancy of real estate by specific groups, most commonly African Americans, Jews, and other minorities. Though declared unenforceable by the Supreme Court in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), restrictive covenants had already shaped decades of residential segregation. (Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. New York: Liveright Publishing, 2017)

Redlining - A discriminatory practice in which financial institutions, insurers, and government agencies systematically denied services or charged higher rates to residents of specific neighborhoods based on racial and ethnic composition. The term originated from color-coded maps created by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation in the 1930s that marked predominantly Black neighborhoods in red as "hazardous" for lending. (Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985)

Gentrification - The process by which higher-income residents move into historically lower-income neighborhoods, leading to increased property values, displacement of long-term residents, changes in neighborhood character, and loss of affordable housing. Gentrification disproportionately affects communities of color and often follows decades of disinvestment. (Hyra, Derek S. *Race, Class, and Politics in the Cappuccino City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017)

Urban renewal - Government-sponsored programs from the 1950s-1970s that demolished urban neighborhoods deemed "blighted" and replaced them with highways, commercial developments, or public housing. Urban renewal programs disproportionately targeted Black neighborhoods, destroying thriving communities and displacing hundreds of thousands of residents, earning the nickname "Negro removal." (Fullilove, Mindy Thompson. *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It*. New York: New Village Press, 2016)

Criminal Justice Terms

Mass incarceration - The unprecedented expansion of the U.S. prison and jail population beginning in the 1970s, characterized by harsh sentencing laws, racial disparities, and the incarceration of over 2 million people—a rate far exceeding other nations. Mass incarceration disproportionately affects Black and Latino communities and functions as a continuation of racialized social control. (Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press, 2010)

School-to-prison pipeline - A disturbing pattern whereby children—disproportionately students of color and students with disabilities—are funneled out of public schools and into the juvenile and criminal justice systems through harsh disciplinary policies, police presence in schools, and criminalization of minor infractions. (ACLU, "School-to-Prison Pipeline," https://www.aclu.org/issues/juvenile-justice/school-prison-pipeline)

Wrongful conviction - The conviction of a person for a crime they did not commit, typically resulting from factors such as eyewitness misidentification, false confessions, inadequate legal representation, prosecutorial misconduct, or flawed forensic evidence. Studies show that Black defendants are disproportionately represented among exonerees. (National Registry of Exonerations, University of California Irvine Newkirk Center for Science & Society, University of Michigan Law School, and Michigan State University College of Law, annual reports, https://www.law.umich.edu/special/exoneration/Pages/about.aspx)

Police brutality - The use of excessive, unnecessary, or unlawful force by law enforcement officers against civilians. Police brutality includes physical violence, verbal abuse, psychological intimidation, and unjustified deadly force. It disproportionately affects Black Americans and other communities of color. (Chaney, Cassandra and Ray V. Robertson. "Racism and Police Brutality in America," *Journal of African American Studies* 17, 2013: 480-505)

Crisis intervention - Specialized training and response strategies designed to de-escalate situations involving individuals experiencing mental health crises, substance use disorders, or developmental disabilities. Crisis intervention teams pair law enforcement officers with mental health professionals to provide appropriate, non-violent responses. (Watson, Amy C. and Anjali J. Fulambarker. "The Crisis Intervention Team Model of Police Response to Mental Health Crises: A Primer for Mental Health Practitioners," *Best Practices in Mental Health* 8, no. 2, 2012: 71-81)

Implicit bias - Unconscious attitudes, stereotypes, and associations that affect understanding, actions, and decisions, often in ways that contradict explicitly held beliefs. Implicit racial biases can influence behavior in criminal justice, healthcare, education, and employment settings even among individuals who consciously reject prejudice. (Greenwald, Anthony G. and Linda Hamilton Krieger. "Implicit Bias: Scientific Foundations," *California Law Review* 94, no. 4, 2006: 945-967)

Cultural competency - The ability of individuals and organizations to effectively interact with and provide services to people from diverse cultural backgrounds. Cultural competency requires awareness of one's own cultural worldview, knowledge of different cultural practices and perspectives, and skills for cross-cultural communication and interaction. (Cross, Terry L., et al. "Towards a Culturally Competent System of Care," Georgetown University Child Development Center, 1989)

Educational Terms

Segregated schools - Educational institutions separated by race, enforced by law (*de jure* segregation) or practice (*de facto* segregation). In the United States, state-mandated school segregation was declared unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), though many schools remain effectively segregated due to residential patterns and policy choices. (Anderson, James D. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988)

Educational equity - The principle that all students should have access to the resources, opportunities, and educational experiences they need to succeed, regardless of race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or other characteristics. Educational equity requires addressing systemic barriers and providing differentiated support based on individual

student needs. (Ladson-Billings, Gloria. “From the Achievement Gap to the Education Debt: Understanding Achievement in U.S. Schools,” *Educational Researcher* 35, no. 7, 2006: 3-12)

Curriculum integration - The incorporation of diverse perspectives, histories, and contributions into educational content across subject areas, ensuring that curricula reflect the experiences of all students and counter dominant narratives that marginalize certain groups. Effective integration goes beyond superficial inclusion to fundamentally reshape how knowledge is constructed and presented. (Banks, James A. “Approaches to Multicultural Curriculum Reform,” *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives*, 9th ed. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2019)

Professional development - Ongoing education and training for educators designed to improve teaching practices, deepen content knowledge, and enhance student learning outcomes. Effective professional development is sustained, collaborative, and directly connected to teachers’ classroom practice. (Darling-Hammond, Linda, et al. “Effective Teacher Professional Development,” Learning Policy Institute, 2017)

Anti-racist pedagogy - Teaching approaches that explicitly identify and challenge racism in educational content, classroom practices, and institutional structures while promoting equity and justice. Anti-racist pedagogy moves beyond multicultural education to actively dismantle racist systems and empower students to become agents of social change. (Kendi, Ibram X. *How to Be an Antiracist*. New York: One World, 2019)

Health/Wellness Terms

Intergenerational trauma - The transmission of trauma’s effects across generations through biological, psychological, social, and cultural mechanisms. When traumatic experiences like slavery, genocide, or systematic oppression remain unaddressed, their psychological and physiological impacts can affect descendants, influencing stress responses, mental health, and physical health outcomes. (DeGruy, Joy. *Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome: America’s Legacy of Enduring Injury and Healing*. Portland, OR: Joy DeGruy Publications, 2005)

Trauma-informed care - An approach to service delivery that recognizes the widespread impact of trauma, understands potential paths for recovery, and actively resists re-traumatization. Trauma-informed care emphasizes physical, psychological, and emotional safety for both providers and survivors and creates opportunities for survivors to rebuild a sense of control and empowerment. (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, “SAMHSA’s Concept of Trauma and Guidance for a Trauma-Informed Approach,” HHS Publication No. (SMA) 14-4884, 2014)

Mental health equity - The right of all people to access quality mental health services, achieve optimal mental health outcomes, and live free from structural barriers that produce mental health disparities. Mental health equity requires addressing systemic factors including discrimination, poverty, trauma exposure, and unequal access to care. (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, “Racial/Ethnic Differences in Mental Health Service Use among Adults,” HHS Publication No. SMA-15-4906, 2015)

Community healing - Collective processes through which groups recover from shared traumatic experiences by acknowledging harm, creating spaces for grief and remembrance, rebuilding trust, and working toward justice and reconciliation. Community healing recognizes that trauma affects entire communities and requires collective, culturally grounded responses. (Ginwright, Shawn. “The Future of Healing: Shifting From Trauma Informed Care to Healing Centered Engagement,” Medium, May 31, 2018)

Memorial/Commemoration Terms

Truth-telling - The process of openly acknowledging historical injustices and their ongoing impacts, countering official narratives that minimize, justify, or ignore past atrocities. Truth-telling is essential for reconciliation, as meaningful healing cannot occur without honest confrontation of difficult histories. (Hayner, Priscilla B. *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2010)

Public acknowledgment - Official recognition by governmental bodies, institutions, or communities of historical wrongs and their continuing effects. Public acknowledgment validates victims' experiences, educates the broader public, and demonstrates commitment to preventing recurrence. (International Center for Transitional Justice, "What is Transitional Justice?" https://www.ictj.org/what-transitional-justice)

Symbolic burial - A memorial service conducted to honor individuals whose remains are not present, either because their burial location is unknown, their bodies were not recovered, or they were denied proper burial rites. Symbolic burials provide families and communities an opportunity for closure and public recognition of loss. (Equal Justice Initiative, "Community Remembrance Project Handbook," 2021)

Memorial service - A ceremony held to honor and remember deceased individuals, allowing communities to grieve collectively, celebrate lives, and find meaning in loss. Memorial services for lynching victims serve to restore dignity denied through violence and historical erasure. (Doss, Erika. *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010)

Remembrance ceremony - A ritual gathering that commemorates historical events, honors those affected, and educates participants about past injustices. Remembrance ceremonies create spaces for collective memory, ensure historical events are not forgotten, and affirm commitments to justice. (Young, James E. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993)

Historical reckoning - The process of collectively confronting difficult histories, acknowledging their ongoing impacts, and taking concrete actions toward repair and reconciliation. Historical reckoning requires moving beyond acknowledgment to substantive reforms that address systemic inequities. (Coates, Ta-Nehisi. "The Case for Reparations," *The Atlantic*, June 2014)

Policy/Reform Terms

Legacy admissions - College and university admission policies that give preferential consideration to applicants whose family members (typically parents or grandparents) attended the same institution. Legacy preferences have been criticized for perpetuating advantages for predominantly white, wealthy families and disadvantaging students of color whose ancestors were excluded from these institutions. (Kahlenberg, Richard D. *Affirmative Action for the Rich: Legacy Preferences in College Admissions*. New York: Century Foundation Press, 2010)

Hate crime enhancement - Legal provisions that increase criminal penalties when offenses are motivated by bias against the victim's race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity, or other protected characteristics. Enhanced penalties recognize that hate crimes harm not only individual victims but entire communities through intimidation and fear. (Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Hate Crime Statistics," annual reports, https://www.fbi.gov/services/cjis/ucr/hate-crime)

Voter suppression - Strategies and tactics designed to discourage or prevent specific groups of people from exercising their right to vote, including restrictive voter ID laws,

polling place closures, voter roll purges, reduced early voting periods, and felony disenfranchisement. Voter suppression disproportionately affects communities of color, low-income voters, and young voters. (Berman, Ari. *Give Us the Ballot: The Modern Struggle for Voting Rights in America*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015)

Disenfranchisement - The revocation or denial of the right to vote, either through formal legal restrictions (such as felony disenfranchisement laws) or through discriminatory practices that prevent eligible voters from casting ballots. Historical disenfranchisement of Black Americans occurred through poll taxes, literacy tests, grandfather clauses, and violence. (Keyssar, Alexander. *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*. Revised edition. New York: Basic Books, 2009)

Early warning system - A data-driven monitoring mechanism that identifies patterns of concerning behavior—such as excessive force complaints against police officers—to enable timely intervention before serious problems escalate. Early warning systems aim to prevent harm through proactive management rather than reactive discipline. (Walker, Samuel, Geoffrey P. Alpert, and Dennis J. Kenney. "Early Warning Systems: Responding to the Problem Police Officer," National Institute of Justice Research in Brief, July 2001)

Community oversight - Civilian involvement in monitoring, reviewing, and providing input on law enforcement or other government agency operations. Community oversight structures—including civilian review boards and independent monitors—aim to increase transparency, accountability, and community trust in public institutions. (Finn, Peter. "Citizen Review of Police: Approaches and Implementation," National Institute of Justice, March 2001)

Subpoena power - The legal authority to compel individuals to provide testimony or produce documents relevant to an investigation or proceeding. Entities granted subpoena power can require cooperation under penalty of contempt, though certain privileges (attorney-client, doctor-patient) may limit what can be compelled. (U.S. Courts, "Subpoenas," https://www.uscourts.gov/about-federal-courts/types-cases/civil-cases)

Appendix B

Case Studies

ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY LYNCHING CASES

Case Study: John Simms
(Anne Arundel County)

Basic Information

Full Name: John Simms

Date of Birth: Unknown

Place of Birth: Reported to be in Richmond, VA

Occupation/Background: Farmer

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- There is no known information on John Simms' family or personal background.

Additional Background Information:

- There is no known additional background information on John Simms.

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime:

Description of Alleged Crime: John Simms was accused of attacking Adeline Jackson, the daughter of John Jackson, near Odenton, MD, prior to June 7, 1875, when Simms was arrested.

Victim of Alleged Crime: Adeline Jackson, an 18-year-old white woman

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime:

Witness Statements or Claims: The newspapers of the time reported that John Simms was "captured near Stony Run cooking his breakfast" and when he saw his captors, exclaimed, "You've catched me." Reportedly, John Simms' captors walked him to the home of John Jackson to be identified by his daughter, who recognized him as her attacker.

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: An accusation that John Simms attacked Adeline Jackson

Role of Authorities: John Simms was arrested, shackled, and jailed in Annapolis.

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: Unknown

Date and Time: June 14 or 15, 1875 after 3:00 a.m.

Description of Alleged Crime: John Simms was accused of attacking Adeline Jackson, the daughter of John Jackson, near Odenton, MD.

Location of Lynching: In the dark woods outside of Annapolis; precise location reported to be Perry Gate, 1.5 miles from Annapolis, according to an 1875 article in the Philadelphia Inquirer.

At what point did the lynching take place? The people in the lynch mob were painted in black and wearing masks. They went to the jailhouse where John Simms was being held. When the white mob tried to secure John Simms, he attempted to fight them off unsuccessfully. At about 3:00 in the morning, John Simms was dragged from the jail to the dark woods where he was hanged on a tree.

Method of Lynching: Hanging from a tree

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

Public/Private Nature: The lynching was reported to be private in nature

Physical Condition of Victim: Unknown

Additional Details: N/A

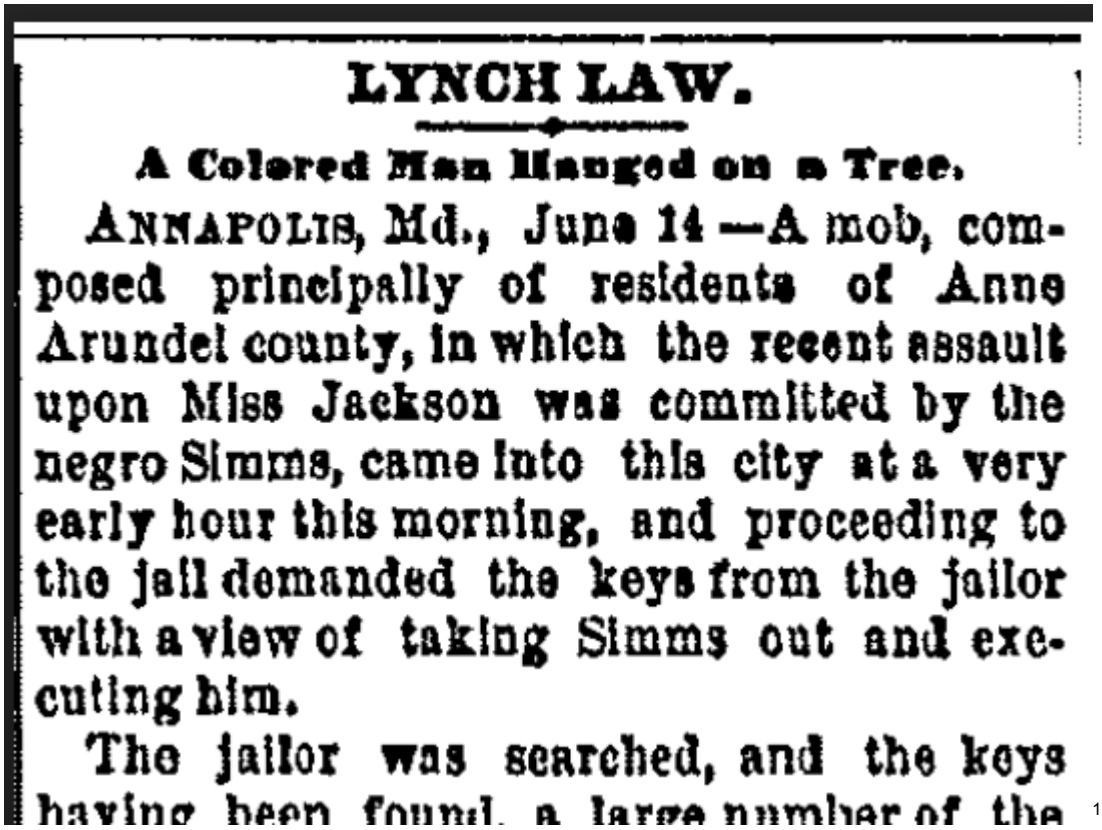
<u>Aftermath</u>

Reaction from the Community: Unknown

Media Coverage:

- The incident was reported by the Alexandria Gazette, the Philadelphia Inquirer, the Evening Capital (in 1884), and the Baltimore Sun (in 1906).
- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Unknown

Headlines



LYNCH LAW.

A Colored Man Hanged on a Tree.

ANNAPOLIS, Md., June 14.—A mob, composed principally of residents of Anne Arundel county, in which the recent assault upon Miss Jackson was committed by the negro Simms, came into this city at a very early hour this morning, and proceeding to the jail demanded the keys from the jailor with a view of taking Simms out and executing him.

The jailor was searched, and the keys having been found, a large number of the [1]

Legal/Political Consequences:

- Unknown; as late as 1906, it was reported that no arrests were made and that Simms's lyncher's identity was apparently unknown to authorities.

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: a 1906 Baltimore Sun article stated that the place where John Simms was lynched was known as Simms Crossing after the lynching.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? Unknown

Memorialization/Commemoration: Unknown

Ongoing Influence: Unknown

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

- The spelling of John Simms' name may be incorrect
- A later article in The Evening Capital dated November 29, 1884 said the lynching occurred near Best Gate about a half mile from Annapolis
- A person who wishes to remain anonymous reported the belief that Joseph "Zastrow" Simms is a descendant of John Simms. According to a local historian, Joseph "Zastrow" Simms has a son in California and there are siblings with

different family lines, different fathers. Mr. Zastrow Simms speaks to this fact in the documentary that was made about him called Pip and Zastrow. https://www.pipandzastrow.com/index.htm:

Joseph “Zastrow” Simms was born on May 15, 1934 in the Old Fourth Ward of Annapolis. His parents were Sherman and Beatrice Simms. His siblings were Rev. Charles Simms, Isaac Johnson (Marlene), Shirley Wells and Joyce Ann Forrester. He graduated from Wiley H. Bates High School in 1954. He was a member of Mount Olive AME Church in Annapolis. He died on April 15, 2013. At the time of his death, he was survived by his wife, Mary Lou Simms of Annapolis, daughter Desiree Simms of Annapolis, son Derrick Simms of Texas, and niece Stacy Gaskin. He is buried at Brewer Hill Cemetery.[2]

Other sources in the Maryland State Archives that are linked to this case study but not clearly cited anywhere include:

- *Alexandria Gazette*, 8 June 1875. “Capture of a Villain.”
- *Daily National Republican*, 15 June 1875. “Mob Law in Maryland.”
- *Daily Critic*, 7 June 1875. “Outraged by a Negro.”
- *Baltimore Sun*, 16 June 1875. “The Late Lynching Case.”
- *Alexandria Gazette*, 15 June 1875. “The Lynching of Simms.”

Case Study: George Briscoe
(Anne Arundel County)

Basic Information

Full Name: George Briscoe

Date of Birth: 1844

Place of Birth: Unknown

Occupation/Background: Unknown

Marital Status: Married, name unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- There is no known information on George Briscoe's family or personal background.

Additional Background Information:

- There is no known additional background information on George Briscoe.

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: The Stony Creek and Mountain Road areas of Anne Arundel County; no known specific dates

Description of Alleged Crime: Suspected of committing 14 robberies of homes and business establishments by lifting a shutter with a chisel and lifting the window off the hinges.

Victim of Alleged Crime: Fourteen homes and businesses

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: George Briscoe (Local, Male, Black, Adult)

Witness Statements or Claims: No known witnesses to the robberies

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: Prior to his arrest, a vigilante committee went to George Briscoe's house at 2:00 in the morning to demand that he leave the county. The group was reportedly surprised to find that Briscoe answered the door fully dressed. George Briscoe responded angrily to the threats, and someone in the crowd fired a shotgun into his home[3].

Role of Authorities:

- Justice Thomas S. Jacobs released a warrant against George Briscoe and he was arrested the afternoon of November 26, 1884, by Detective Drost and Cybold and taken to the Jacobsville jail.
- George Briscoe reportedly responded boldly at the preliminary hearing, and Judge Jacobs would later tell the *Baltimore Sun* that Briscoe's manner of language "were insulting to him and all who were present. The man was full of bravado at all

times." When Briscoe challenged Jacobs' authority at the preliminary hearing, the Baltimore Sun reported that Briscoe's words angered the people to such a pitch that there were mutterings of lynching him on the spot. Briscoe was bound with leather hamstrings and transported to the Annapolis jail at around 7:00 p.m. Briscoe had objected to this escort, Deputy Sheriffs, Grafton Boone, and Tip Wells. Deputy Boone later told the *Baltimore Sun* that during Briscoe's transport, he and Wells had been driving leisurely along towards Annapolis, not dreaming that any person desired to take the prisoner from them.[4]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 40 years old

Date and Time: Wednesday, November 26-27, 1884, at 2:00 a.m.

Location of Lynching: At the New Magothy Bridge in Anne Arundel County, outside of Annapolis.

When the deputies with George Briscoe had passed over New Bridge spanning the Magothy River, a band of white men descended from the woods along the road. Deputy Boone claimed that the men were heavily armed and had dragged Deputy Sheriff Wells from the carriage. The two deputies fled, leaving Briscoe with the lynchers. According to Boone, before he ran from the scene, he heard one of the lynchers say to Briscoe, "You're an innocent looking son of a gun, ain't you?" To which Briscoe reportedly said, "I don't know whether I am or not."

At what point did the lynching take place? After a suspect had been apprehended and detained, but before any trial. George Briscoe's lynching occurred during transportation to Annapolis.

Method of Lynching: George Briscoe was hung from a tree near the spot where the lynchers intercepted the carriage taking him to Annapolis.

Who Was Involved:

- Reportedly a party of masked men, number unknown.
- **What role did the local law enforcement play in the lynching?** Participatory (through action or inaction)
- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown, although there were threats of lynching at the preliminary hearing that white press reports claimed was due to George Briscoe's behavior and "manner of speaking"[5]
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local executive became involved)
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state law enforcement became involved)
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state executive became involved)

Public/Private Nature: The lynching occurred in a private setting, witnessed only by the perpetrators, but his body was hung in public and remained hanging for two days.

Physical Condition of Victim: The coroner found that George Briscoe's neck had been broken by the hanging, determining that he had died of strangulation. George Briscoe had also been shot several times. According to the coroner, the gunshot wounds looked as if they were a week old. The Baltimore Sun suggested that George Briscoe had been shot in a failed robbery the week before.

Additional Details: N/A

Aftermath

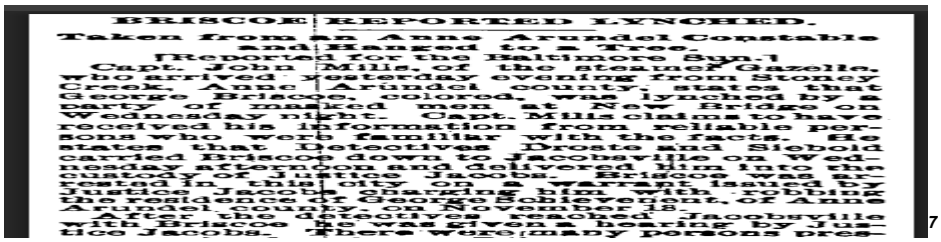
Reaction from the Community: A local Black minister, the Reverend William P. Ryder condemned the lynching from the pulpit 10 days later:

> "All such acts are in contravention of law. The law guarantees every man a trial. The law supposes him innocent until proved guilty. The men who hung Briscoe violated the sixth commandment. They are murderers. This act calls for investigation by the State authorities. Here in Maryland such lawlessness ought not be permitted to go unwhipped of justice.[6]

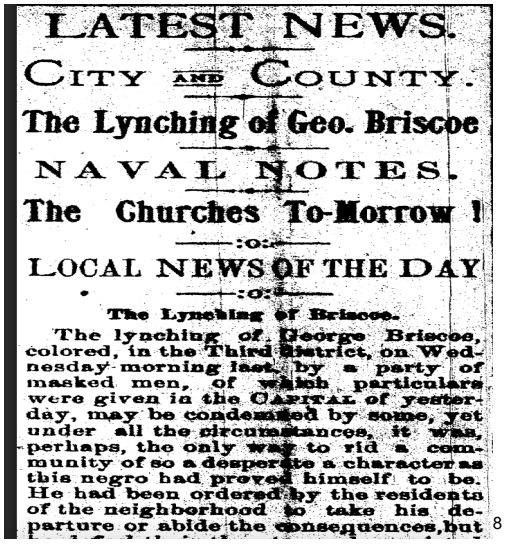
Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** The white press was disapproving yet understanding. The case was covered by the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Evening Capital*, and a newspaper in Frederick, MD. All of the outlets suggested that Briscoe had been defiant and had terrorized the community and that his lynching was justifiable.

Headlines


BRISCOE REPORTED LYNCHED.
Taken from an Anne Arundel Constable and Hanged to a Tree.
[Reported for the Baltimore Sun.]
Capt. John Mills, of the steamer Gazelle, who arrived yesterday evening from Stoney Creek, Anne Arundel county, says that George Briscoe, colored, was lynched by a party of masked men at New Bridge on Wednesday night. Capt. Mills claims to have received his information from reliable persons who were familiar with the facts. He states that Detectives Droste and Siebold carried Briscoe down to Jacobsville on Wednesday afternoon and delivered him into the custody of Justice Jacobus. Briscoe was arrested in this city on a warrant issued by Justice Jacobus, charging him with robbing Reynold Gregory, colored, of Anne Arundel county, on November 18. After the detectives reached Jacobsville with Briscoe he was given a hearing by Justice Jacobus. There were many persons pres-

[7]



LATEST NEWS.

CITY AND COUNTY.

The Lynching of Geo. Briscoe

NAVAL NOTES.

The Churches To-Morrow !

:o:

LOCAL NEWS OF THE DAY

:o:

The Lynching of Briscoe.

The lynching of George Briscoe, colored, in the Third District, on Wednesday morning last, by a party of masked men, of which particulars were given in the CAPITAL of yesterday, may be condemned by some, yet under all the circumstances, it was, perhaps, the only way to rid a community of so a desperate a character as this negro had proved himself to be. He had been ordered by the residents of the neighborhood to take his departure or abide the consequences, but [8]

Legal/Political Consequences:

- Deputy Sheriff Boone found the body an hour later when he returned to the road in search of his horses and carriage. But however, he did not cut the body down. George Briscoe's body remained there until the following afternoon. William D. Parsons was traveling on the road to Jacobsville and came upon George Briscoe's body and sent word to Justice Jacobs, Dr. George H. Crow, and others. They cut George Briscoe's body down at 2:00 pm. Justice Jacobs requested that Justice Thomas Boone summon a jury of inquest which included: J. L. Toddings, Percy Williams, A. Simon, A. J. Ashburn, James Meek, W. Posterweight, George A. Gray, Kelvin G. Chestnut, Hamilton T. Williams, Jacob Johnson, Thomas Burke, and E. L. Brooney. The inquest heard testimony from Justice Jacobs, who had examined the body the following morning after Deputy Sheriff Boone's initial discovery.[9] They determined that the perpetrator of the lynching was a person or persons unknown.

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: Unknown

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? Unknown

Memorialization/Commemoration: George Briscoe's father-in-law, William Boone, was informed of Briscoe's death. However, George Briscoe was buried by the state in a hastily-built pine coffin. His grave was dug out at the foot of a dogwood tree with a pine stake to mark it. It has been suggested that William Boone refused to accept George Briscoe's body as an act of Black resistance stating that since his son-in-law died in the custody of the state, the state was responsible for the expense of burying him.[10]

Ongoing Influence: Unknown

Additional Notes

- **Controversies or Discrepancies**: There are no known controversies or discrepancies that immediately followed the lynching of George Briscoe.

Case Study: Wright Smith
(Anne Arundel County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Wright Smith

Date of Birth: 1842

Place of Birth: the State of Virginia; lived in Baltimore in 1880

Occupation/Background: Laborer

Marital Status: Married to Margaret

Family and Personal Background:

- There is no known information on Wright Smith's family and personal background.

Additional Background Information:

- There is no known information on additional background for Wright Smith.

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: September 2, 1898, in the home of Captain James Morrison, near Jones Crossing or Jones Station on the Short Line Railroad, about seven miles from Annapolis.

Description of Alleged Crime: Accused of assaulting a white woman, Mrs. Mary Morrison, wife of Capt. Morrison, by entering the home at around 10:30 P.M. with the intent to commit robbery. Wright Smith reportedly found Mrs. Morrison and her sister, Hattie Rose, asleep and woke them with a demand to get out of bed. It was reported that Wright Smith then grabbed Mrs. Morrison, hit her over the head, and threw her down a stairway until the two women fought back and drove Wright Smith out of the house. Hattie Rose reportedly ran to a neighbor's house to get help[11]. Wright Smith was arrested on suspicion of having committed the assault. A trial was set for attempted assault.

Victim of Alleged Crime: Mary Morrison and her sister Hattie Rose (Outsiders; female, white, adult)

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Wright Smith (Outsider, Black, adult)

Witness Statements or Claims: Mary Morrison and her sister, Hattie Rose, positively identified Smith as the assailant following his arrest.

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: The Baltimore Weekly Sun suggested that the lynchers were motivated by the desire to spare the sisters from having to give their testimony on the witness stand at a trial. Mary had said that she did not like the thought of being forced to testify. The Baltimore Sun suggested that another reason for the lynching could have been because Wright Smith was reportedly a South Baltimore politician (likely Republican, due

to the politics of the time period) and that the efforts to secure his release on bail could have been made before the trial.[12]

Role of Authorities: Wright Smith was arrested, but it is unknown by whom. It is not known if any public authorities were involved in the lynching.

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 56

Date and Time: Wednesday, October 5, 1898

Location of Lynching: Northwest Street in Annapolis, MD

At what point did the lynching take place? Following Wright Smith's arrest

Method of Lynching: Shooting, following the original intention to hang Wright Smith

Who Was Involved:

- Unknown, but the October 6, 1898, Baltimore Sun estimated 40 participants in the lynching. The Annapolis Advertiser speculated that the white mob of lynchers probably consisted of Baltimoreans, as Captain Morrison and his family had resided in Baltimore until their move to Anne Arundel County.[13] The Baltimore Weekly Sun guessed that the lynchers were from Baltimore as well as various parts of Anne Arundel County.[14]
- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** The county commissioners offered a reward to identify and arrest the lynchers
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Governor Lloyd Lowndes expressed outrage at the lynching and declared his intention to offer a state reward for the arrest of the lynchers in the same amount as the county commissioners offered.

Public/Private Nature: The lynching was public. Alexander White McPherson, who was a resident of the Old Fourth Ward on Northwest Street witnessed the death of Wright Smith. Alex Zane, the fearsome[15], was also a witness to the lynching.

Physical Condition of Victim: Asphyxiation and riddled by gunshots

Additional Details:

At the early hour of 2:00 AM on October 5, 1898, a mob of about 30 white men forced their way into the Annapolis City Jail where Wright Smith was held. At gunpoint, the white mob took the keys from the night watchman, Thomas J. Duvall, and took the handcuffed Wright Smith out of the jail so quietly that Warden Perry and Deputy Warden, who were asleep in another area of the jail, did not wake up until Wright Smith was already outside. The lynchers led Smith onto Calvert Street with a rope in hand.

Wright Smith broke away from the white mob carrying a rope to hang him, and ran up Northwest Street yelling, “Help. Murder.” While the white mob of lynchers fired at his back with their pistols, Wright Smith was shot several times in the back of the head and fell dead in a vacant lot.

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community: Dr. William Bishop, a Black man, testified that at the inquest several days later after Black Alderman Wally H. Bates offered a resolution in the Annapolis City Council, condemning the lynching. But with only two votes in its favor, the resolution was defeated.[16]

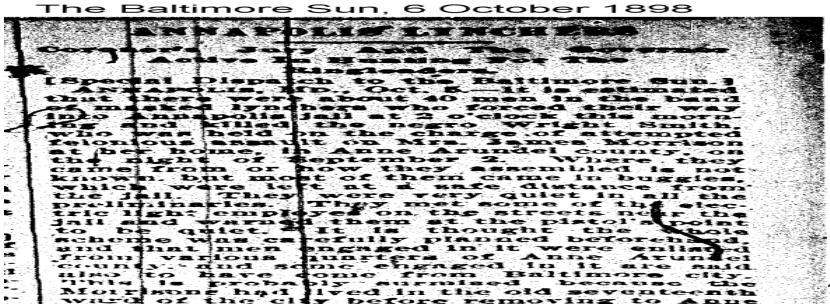
Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** The press was inclined to believe the accusers.
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Disapproving yet understanding

  The Annapolis Advisory and the Baltimore Weekly Sun speculated about the reason for Smith’s arrest, the motives of the lynchers, and the status of Wright Smith as a South Baltimore politician. The belief was that people outside of Anne Arundel County - possibly from Baltimore - were responsible for Wright Smith’s lynching.[17]

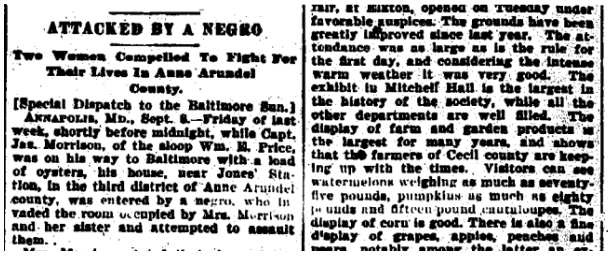
Headlines

The Baltimore Sun, 6 October 1898



18

The Baltimore Weekly Sun, 10 September 1898



ATTACKED BY A NEGRO

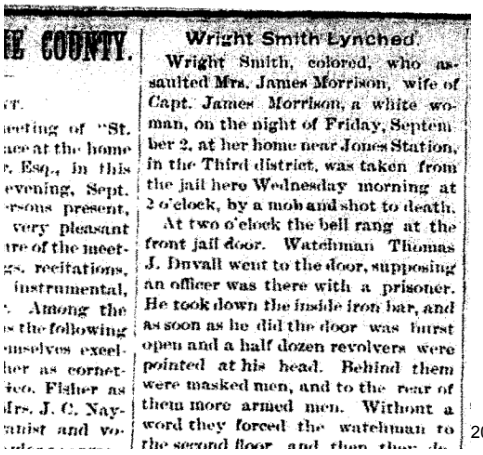
Two Women Compelled To Fight For Their Lives In Anne Arundel County.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.] ANNAPOLIS, Md., Sept. 8.—Friday of last week, shortly before midnight, while Capt. Jas. Morrison, of the sloop Wm. H. Price, was on his way to Baltimore with a load of oysters, his house, near Jones' Station, in the third district of Anne Arundel county, was entered by a negro, who invaded the room occupied by Mrs. Morrison and her sister and attempted to assault them.

FAIR, AT EASTON, opened on Tuesday under favorable auspices. The grounds have been greatly improved since last year. The attendance was as large as is the rule for the first day, and considering the intense warm weather it was very good. The exhibit in Mitchell Hall is the largest in the history of the society, while all the other departments are well filled. The display of farm and garden products is the largest for many years, and shows that the farmers of Cecil county are keeping up with the times. Visitors can see watermelons weighing as much as seventy-five pounds, pumpkins as much as eighty pounds and fifteen pound cantaloupes. The display of corn is good. There is also a fine display of grapes, apples, peaches and

19

The Annapolis Advertiser, 6 October



E COUNTY.

Wright Smith Lynched.

Wright Smith, colored, who assaulted Mrs. James Morrison, wife of Capt. James Morrison, a white woman, on the night of Friday, September 2, at her home near Jones Station, in the Third district, was taken from the jail here Wednesday morning at 2 o'clock, by a mob and shot to death.

At two o'clock the bell rang at the front jail door. Watchman Thomas J. Duvall went to the door, supposing an officer was there with a prisoner. He took down the inside iron bar, and as soon as he did the door was burst open and a half dozen revolvers were pointed at his head. Behind them were masked men, and to the rear of them more armed men. Without a word they forced the watchman to

20

Legal/Political Consequences:

- Governor Lloyd Lowndes arrived in Annapolis shortly after the lynching took place and declared his intention to offer a state reward for the arrest of the lynchers in the same amount as the county commissioners offered. Governor Lowndes said:

  "*I was shocked when I read the account [of the lynching], and I consider it an outrage. While the Governor has no power to act singly in the matter, I shall act promptly in conjunction with the local authorities. The commission of such a crime is made all the more outrageous by having taken place under the very dome of the capital and in the town where the judges of the Court of Appeals were at the very time present. Had the negro been convicted he would not have received the death penalty, as the charges preferred against him admitted that he did not accomplish his purpose. Lynchings are becoming too frequent, and the people display a want of confidence in the ability of the law to punish crimes*."[10]

- A jury of inquest was summoned on the following Friday, with nine witnesses. No evidence was obtained from the inquest, and no members of the white mob could be identified. No one was charged with the crime of the lynching Wright Smith.

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: The cultural and political significance immediately following Wright Smith's lynching is unknown

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? The legislative changes of social movements immediately following Wright Smith's lynching are unknown.

Memorialization/Commemoration: The body of Wright Smith was turned over to his wife in Baltimore City and presumably buried. Any other memorialization or commemoration immediately following Wright Smith's lynching is unknown.

Ongoing Influence: The ongoing influence immediately following Wright Smith's lynching is unknown.

Additional Notes

- **Controversies or Discrepancies**: The controversies or discrepancies immediately following Wright Smith's lynching are unknown.

Case Study: Henry Davis
(Anne Arundel County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Henry Davis

Date of Birth: Between 1876 and 1883[21]

Place of Birth: Anne Arundel County, Maryland

Occupation/Background: Laborer

Marital Status: Married, wife's name unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- A newspaper account identifies Henry Davis's mother as Eliza Reed, who stated that Henry was a child of her first husband.[22]

- Richard Davis, brother of Henry, was arrested for the assault of Maggie Hall, a Black woman and sentenced to three years in the penitentiary. Richard was described in newspaper accounts as mute.[23]

Additional Background Information:

- Henry Davis was also known as William Davis, Henry Chambers, and also had the nickname Toe and Foot due to the limp he had developed after a bout with frostbite. [24]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: December 14, 1906, at a country store in Inglehart station in Anne Arundel County.

Description of Alleged Crime:

Henry Davis was accused of assaulting Mrs. John Anna Reid, a white woman. One story states that Mrs. Reid was on her way to Annapolis when she was dragged from her buggy by a Black man limping along the road near Best Gates train station.[25]

Another account states that Henry Davis was seen fleeing Reid's Crownsville store by neighbors in the area who responded to Mrs. Reid's screams.[26] In both accounts, it was reported that Mrs. Reid was able to beat her attacker away with a horse whip. Mrs. Reid was left in such a condition that she was partly paralyzed and blinded in one eye.[27]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Mrs. Reid (white, woman)

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Henry Davis (Black, man)

Witness Statements or Claims:

- Henry Davis was positively identified as the attacker by a Black woman witness, Josephine Johnson of Parole, who picked Davis (Chambers) out of a lineup.[28] Johnson notes that she believed that Davis fit the description of the attacker and spotted him in the vicinity of Reid's store on the Friday afternoon of the assault.

- Mrs. Reid positively identified Henry Davis as her attacker when he was taken to her home a few days after the attack. It was reported that once Mrs. Reid identified him, Henry Davis allegedly made a full confession of the attack.[29]

- A woman named Mrs. Tucker placed Davis in the vicinity of the crime.[30]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: Henry Davis was accused of assaulting Mrs. Reed on December 14, 1906.

Role of Authorities: Sheriff Linthicum and Deputy Sheriff Byian pursued Henry Davis as he was running along the railroad tracks heading towards Annapolis. However, Henry Davis was able to avoid capture for several days until he was arrested in the city of Annapolis on December 16 or 17, 1906 on Northwest Street and put in jail, pending a trial. The Sheriff's Department stated it was doing all that was in their power to protect the prisoner until his trial.[31]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: Unknown, but reported to be between 23 and 60[32]

Date and Time: After 1:00 a.m. on December 21, 1906

Location of Lynching: On a bluff overlooking College Creek, near Brick Yard Hill, Annapolis, Maryland

At what point did the lynching take place? After Henry Davis was arrested and jailed, but before any trial.

Method of Lynching: A mob of 50 white men handcuffed and dragged Henry Davis from the jail where he was being held. Henry Davis was shot numerous times and hanged in a tree, after having been dragged a quarter of a mile to an open area near College Creek, and being questioned repeatedly about his guilt while being brutally assaulted.[33]

Who Was Involved:

- Deputy Sheriffs Ruben Smallwood and James Krause told the Evening Capitol that they were not willing either to shoot white men or lose their lives for the sake of "a brute who had confessed to the most outrageous crime in the history of the county."[34] When a mob of white men overtook four deputy sheriffs, Henry Davis was removed from the jail on Calvert Street and paraded through the town by the mob. It is reported that some students from St. John's College and the U.S. Naval Academy may have participated in the lynching, or were spectators.[35]

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** There had been talk of lynching Henry Davis in the town and Sheriff Linthicum stated that his department was doing all that was in their power to protect the prisoner until his trial.[36] Aware of the potential for mob violence the sheriff pleaded for a jury to be convened immediately. But Mrs. Reed had not yet recovered from her injuries and could not testify. Henry Davis was placed in the Annapolis jail.[37]

- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown

- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** It was urged by the community and repeated by State's Attorney Nicholas H. Green for the courts to

conduct a speedy trial in accordance with the law. But ultimately it was up to the courts to hold a special session for the trial of Mrs. Reed's attacker.[38]

- State's Attorney Green stated that he was not prepared to call for a special session of the court to try Henry Davis without the testimony of Mrs. Reed. Sheriff Linthicum felt that he had enough positive evidence in hand to try Davis even without Mrs. Reed's testimony and continued to urge the court to convene with the trial in order to avoid any resistance from the white community as it was well known, there was talk of lynching Henry Davis.[39]

- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Governor Warfield was reported to be asleep during the lynching, and was unaware of the event until reading the newspaper the next day, despite the proximity of the governor's home to the lynch site. He stated that, "I hope the grand jury of Anne Arundel County will immediately take steps to discover and punish the men participating in the affair. I greatly regret the occurrence and do not hesitate to deprecate and denounce such lawless acts."[40]

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Henry Davis's body lay on the hill after he had been lynched and riddled with bullets. His clothes were partly off his body and his face was mutilated.

Additional Details:

The lynchers marched from St. John's College to the Annapolis jail at the corner of Calvert and Clay. The leaders of the mob tried to trick the four guards by ringing the jailhouse bell around 1:50 a.m. claiming they were police officers with a prisoner. As the guard sensed a problem and refused to unlock the jail, the attackers pounded on the door, tearing a hole with a pick taken from a nearby blacksmith's shop and attacked with a sledgehammer.

The door quickly collapsed. Men holding revolvers asked the guards to put their hands up and hand over the keys to Henry Davis's third floor cell, which they did. Henry Davis was hauled from the jail down Calvert Street toward West Street. Black residents were terrified and stayed inside while many whites, awakened by the noise, joined the crowd as it turned onto West Washington Street and headed toward a neighborhood known as Brickyard Hill. They dragged Davis, who could not walk quickly because of his missing toes, to a bluff overlooking College Creek, continuing to hit him, according to reports in *The Baltimore Sun.*[41]

The report states that Davis supposedly admitted to the attack again, the crowd then slid a thin white rope around his neck and hoisted him up a large tree. Someone gave a signal to commence firing. The rope broke, but the shooting continued. More than 100 shots were fired. Davis was struck directly in his chest, his neck, hand, back of head, and face.

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community: Henry Davis's bloody body was left on the banks of College Creek, where hundreds of people, white and Black, came to look at the gruesome site[42].

Media Coverage:

What was the disposition of the press toward crime?

- It was reported in the Evening Capital that the punishment for an attempted assault was ten years in the penitentiary. However, the punishment for an actual assault is death by hanging.[43]

- The Maryland Gazette reported that two days after his arrest, Henry Davis was dragged to Annie Reed's house where she identified him as her assailant. Henry Davis then allegedly admitted to the assault.[44]

What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?

- The Evening Capital suggested that lynching might be an outcome of Henry Davis' reported confession.[45]

- An article in the December 20, 1906, Evening Capital indicated that the sheriff wanted to convene a grand jury for the purpose of indicting Henry Davis, suggesting that any other outcome would not be his responsibility.[46]

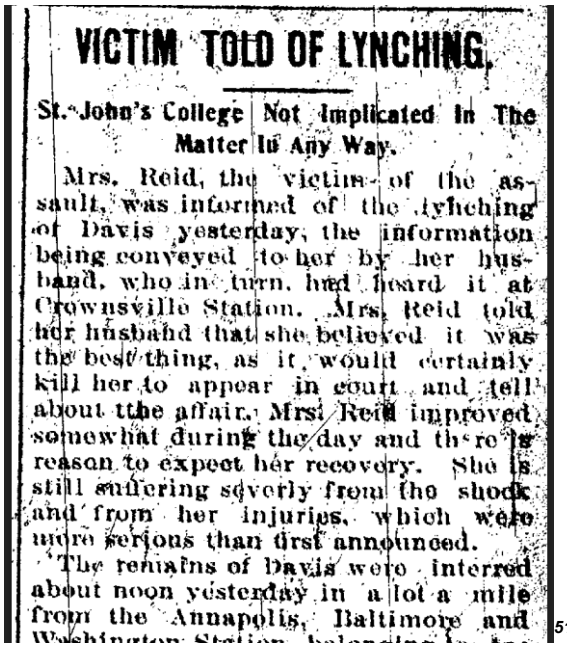
What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?

- An article in the Evening Capital dated December 21, 1906, and entitled, "The law too slow" justified Henry Davis's lynching by saying the law was too slow to act, so the citizens had to act.[47]
- An article in the Evening Capital dated December 22, 1906, indicated that Mrs. Reed approved of the lynching.[48]

- A Baltimore Sun article dated December 22nd, 1906, stated that a local photographer took pictures of Henry Davis's mutilated body as it lay on the embankment of College Creek, and printed postal cards as souvenirs.[49]

- An Evening Capital article dated December 22nd, 1906, entitled "Dr. Cloud's Comments," said that Dr. Washington Cloud, one of the most prominent physicians in this city, said that the fact that Henry Davis, "was more animal than man, made it probably better for the community to have gotten rid of him."[50]

Headlines



VICTIM TOLD OF LYNCHING.

St. John's College Not Implicated In The Matter In Any Way.

Mrs. Reid, the victim of the assault, was informed of the lynching of Davis yesterday, the information being conveyed to her by her husband, who in turn, had heard it at Crownsville Station. Mrs. Reid told her husband that she believed it was the best thing, as it would certainly kill her to appear in court and tell about tthe affair. Mrs. Reid improved somewhat during the day and there is reason to expect her recovery. She is still suffering severly from the shock and from her injuries, which were more serious than first announced.

The remains of Davis were interred about noon yesterday in a lot a mile from the Annapolis, Baltimore and

[51]

Legal/Political Consequences:

- During the April 1907, term, a jury of inquest was assembled in order to look at the details of the Henry Davis lynching. Associate Judge James Revell reminded the members of the jury that the lynching was a lawless act and must be investigated. He also said that the lynching was contrary to law and must be punished. However, he said those taking part in such affairs were not generally punished by the courts. The law allowed a person to shoot down a robber and that it was not remarkable that a person should take the law in their hands when a woman was robbed of that which was far dearer than any mere property.[52]

- The Sheriff later responded to criticism of his staff's lack of preparedness by stating that though he had heard rumors of a lynch mob forming, he had assumed no action would manifest. The state's attorney later stated that he would do all in his power to identify and prosecute the mob members.[53]

- After a month of investigating the crime, despite the amount of detailed information provided to reporters who covered Henry Davis's murder and to the coroner's jury, that jury later concluded that it was unable to "fix" the lynching to any one person or persons."[54]

Legacy and Impact

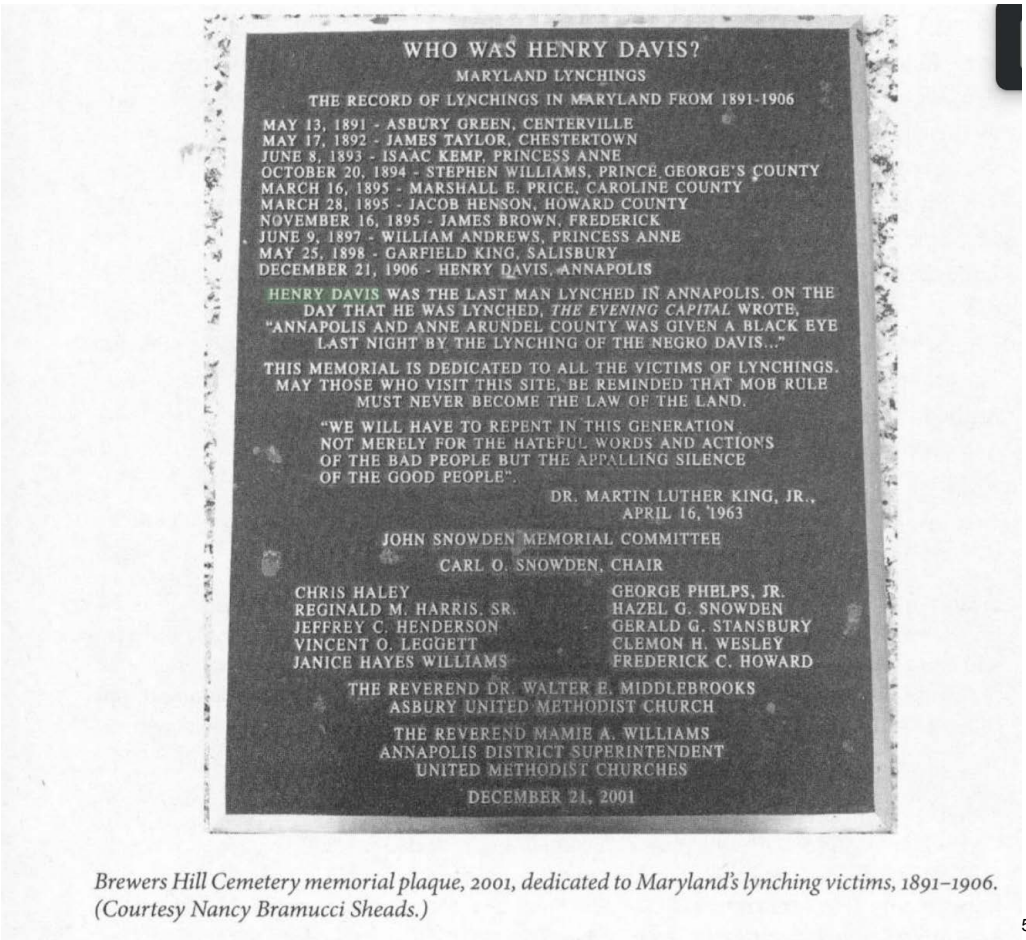
Cultural/Political Significance: There is no known cultural or political significance immediately following the lynching of Henry Davis.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There were no known legislative changes or social movements immediately following the lynching of Henry Davis.

Memorialization/Commemoration:

- At the time of his lynching, Henry Davis was buried in the smallpox section of Brewer Hill Cemetery in an unmarked grave and his exact final resting place is unknown.[55]

- Asbury United Methodist Church, and a number of the local clergy held the funeral for Henry Davis, on December 20, 2021. A plaque was dedicated at Brewer Hill Cemetery to honor Davis and other victims of white mob violence.[56]



Brewers Hill Cemetery memorial plaque, 2001, dedicated to Maryland's lynching victims, 1891–1906. (Courtesy Nancy Bramucci Sheads.)

57

Ongoing Influence: There is no known ongoing influence immediately following the lynching of Henry Davis.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

- Henry Davis's actual name is unknown, having gone by several names, including Henry Chambers when he was a 17 year-old and imprisoned for assaulting three Black women.[58]

Case Study: King Johnson
(Anne Arundel County)

Basic Information

Full Name: King Johnson (a.k.a. King Davis)

Date of Birth: 1884

Place of Birth: St. Mary's County, MD

Occupation/Background: Laborer at the Rosen Monumental Chemical Factory near Tyson's Wharf

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- Lived with a Johnson family in Fairfield, Maryland (near Brooklyn, MD) who were presumed to be family members[59]

Additional Background Information: Unknown

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: December 24, 1911, in the street outside of Miller's Saloon in Fairfield, Maryland

Description of Alleged Crime: King Johnson was accused of fatally shooting a white man, Frederick Schwab, following insults inside of the saloon and a scuffle outside.

Victim of Alleged Crime: Frederick Schwab, age 29, white

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: King Johnson

Witness Statements or Claims:

- Hubert Chase, King Johnson's friend, was at the saloon and fled the area with King Johnson after the shooting.
- Frank Schwab, brother of Frederick Schwab, and the person who insulted King Johnson during a pool game in the saloon.
- Thomas Gleason, a white man on the scene.[60]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: On a wet Christmas Eve afternoon, King Johnson and his friend Hubert Chase were playing pool at Miller's Saloon in Fairfield. King Johnson was playing Frank Schwab, a white Fairfield man, and both were drinking. Insults were hurled and Johnson and Chase left the saloon to avoid trouble, but Frank Schwab and his brother, Frederick, pursued them.[61]

King Johnson was approached by Frederick Schwab who was upset that King Johnson allegedly called his brother several previous encounters. When Frederick Schwab struck him, King Johnson brandished a pistol and fired several shots at Schwab.[62] There was a scuffle in the street and King Johnson shot Frederick Schwab, killing him instantly. The

next two shots were fired at Frank Schwab, over his brother's fallen body. Testimony from eyewitnesses, however, report that they did not see anyone strike King Johnson directly.[63] King Johnson and Hubert Chase fled.

Role of Authorities: Frank Schwab returned to Miller's saloon and called Chief Irwin of the Anne Arundel County Police. King Johnson and Hubert (Reedbird) Chase were arrested at Johnson's home in Fairfield. There was no reported resistance and King Johnson claimed self-defense as his only reason for being involved in the incident. King Johnson and Hubert Chase were both taken to the jail house in Brooklyn.[64]

At the jail, authorities discussed that the two men should be transported to Annapolis for safekeeping. However, the lateness of the coroner's trial, which ruled on the cause of Frederick Schwab's death, caused both men to be held in Brooklyn overnight.[65]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 28 years old

Date and Time: 2:00 A.M. December 25, 1911

Location of Lynching: Second Avenue, In the woods near Brooklyn, MD

At what point did the lynching take place? After a suspect had been apprehended and detained, but before any trial

Method of Lynching: Clubbed unconscious with an iron bar at the jail and then shot four times in the woods.

Who Was Involved:

- The Brooklyn patrolman stayed at the jail until 1 AM that morning, but later went home, leaving no one to guard the jail at the time of the lynching. They said there were no laws requiring them to stay with prisoners.[66]

- A group of eight masked men made their way up the street, spacing themselves to avoid detection, initially went to Hubert Chase's cell, and then grabbed King Johnson, and beat his head with an iron bar.[67] King Johnson's body was dragged down the stairwell and out of the building. King Johnson was then dragged almost 200 yards to Second Avenue, a newly built road in the community.[68]

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** As Brooklyn was not incorporated into Baltimore City at the time, and the lynching occurred in an Anne Arundel County, an investigation was led by Brooklyn Police Chief Thomas Irwin. Irwin spent the better part of January 1912 investigating the murder.[69]

- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown

- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown

- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** The outgoing Maryland Governor Austin Crothers was alarmed and called for an immediate investigation of King Johnson's killing in late December 1911.[70] Gov. Crothers' successor, Gov. Phillips Lee Goldsborough, also called for a broader investigation.

Public/Private Nature: Private

Physical Condition of Victim: King Johnson's body was found around 5:45 a.m. by William Miller and George Coulbourne, who delivered newspapers for the Baltimore Sun. King Johnson had been thrown into an embankment on the side of the road. His body was later viewed by Chief Irwin and Dr. Charles H. Brooke. [71]

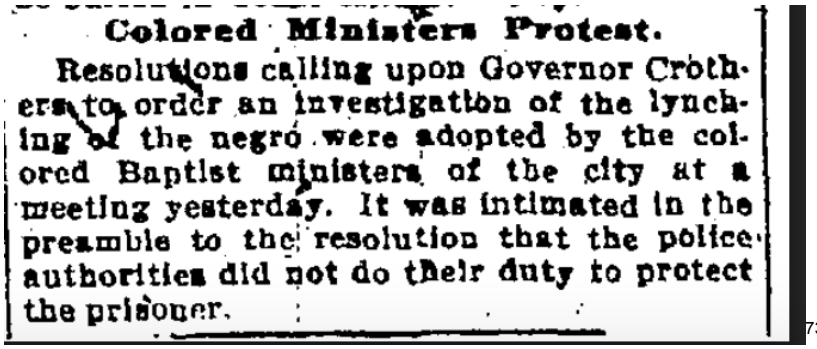
Additional Details:

- Unknown

<u>Aftermath</u>

Reaction from the Community:

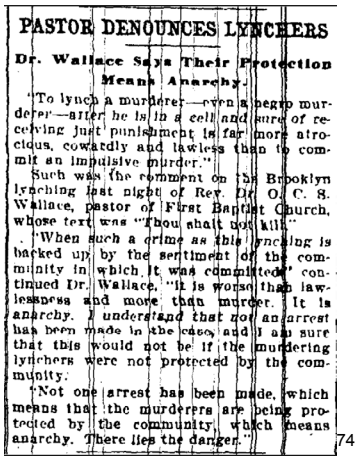
- Black ministers in the area protested the lynching of King Johnson, including the Rev. O.C. Williams of First Baptist Church.[72]



Colored Ministers Protest.

Resolutions calling upon Governor Crothers to order an investigation of the lynching of the negro were adopted by the colored Baptist ministers of the city at a meeting yesterday. It was intimated in the preamble to the resolution that the police authorities did not do their duty to protect the prisoner.

[73]



PASTOR DENOUNCES LYNCHERS

Dr. Wallace Says Their Protection Means Anarchy.

"To lynch a murderer—even a negro murderer—after he is in a cell and sure of receiving just punishment is far more atrocious, cowardly and lawless than to commit an impulsive murder."

Such was the comment on the Brooklyn lynching last night of Rev. Dr. O. C. S. Wallace, pastor of First Baptist Church, whose text was "Thou shalt not kill."

"When such a crime as this lynching is backed up by the sentiment of the community in which it was committed" continued Dr. Wallace, "it is worse than lawlessness and more than murder. It is anarchy. I understand that not an arrest has been made in the case, and I am sure that this would not be if the murdering lynchers were not protected by the community.

"Not one arrest has been made, which means that the murderers are being protected by the community, which means anarchy. There lies the danger."

[74]

- Officials criticized the police officers for not providing proper protection to those persons being held in the jail. Chief Irwin and the other officers on duty did admit to leaving the jail earlier than usual on that particular night, claiming they had no cause to be alarmed.[75]

- Eyewitness testimony given to the Sun papers was not well explored by the local investigation. Irwin focused his investigation on the Black residents of Fairfield and Kurtis Bay, but Irwin said he doubted any arrests would be made.[76]

- King Johnson's lynching was considered to be an open secret in the communities of Fairfield and Brooklyn. The most telling piece of evidence was an anonymous letter sent to Justice John Potie that described the events that night and named all the people involved, mostly friends and family of Frederick Schwab. No one in the community spoke up with evidence that supported these accusations.[77] Justice

Potie shared the letter with Chief Irwin and the impaneled grand jury, but it was discarded because it was anonymous.[78]

- Hubert Chase, the only witness to King Johnson's abduction from the jail was threatened into silence and refused to change his plea of ignorance during the investigation, claiming he was asleep and heard only sounds of what he believed were guards on duty.[79]

- The Reverend Samuel Mace appeared before Justice Potie and said his wife learned that "The Negro would be lynched." But the grand jury dismissed the testimony because they said it was indirect evidence. Six days after the grand jury was convened, their foreman said that they had probed the limit of what they could investigate and could not accomplish anything of consequence. Justice Potie dismissed the twelve members. There were no arrests, no indictment, and no trial for the lynchers.[80]

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** The press seemed outraged by the lynching[81]

Headlines

JOHNSON LYNCHED

Brooklyn Lock-Up Unprotected—Guards Gone and Mob Drags Accused Murderer From Jail.

WAS SHOT TO DEATH.

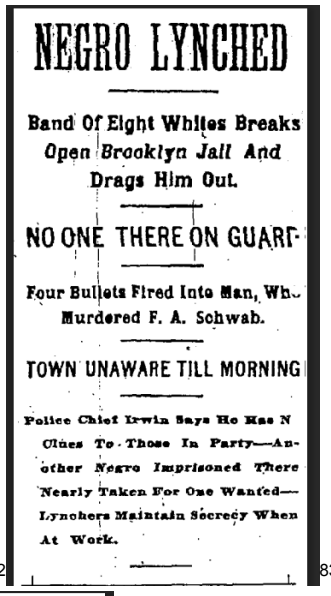
No Clue to Party—Lynchers Guard Secret—Deed Done Quietly.

Activity aplenty is manifested today by the officals of Anne Arundel county, whose headquarters are in this city, and who, by their busy actions, rather than by anything they stopped to say, indicate that they will leave no stone unturned to get to the bottom of the lynching of King Johnson, who was taken out of the lockup at Brooklyn yesterday morning and shot to death by a mob.

With the grand jury scheduled to re-assemble on Thursday of this week, State's Attorney Green and Sheriff Beasley, are working like Turks to gather strong evidence to present to that body, and there is every indication that the wheels of justice will move rather more swiftly than has been the case in the past when lynching occurred in Anne Arundel between regular terms of court.

The grand jury was ordered last

82



NEGRO LYNCHED

Band Of Eight Whites Breaks Open Brooklyn Jail And Drags Him Out.

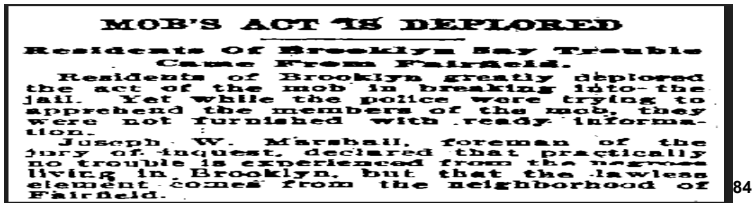
NO ONE THERE ON GUARD

Four Bullets Fired Into Man, Who Murdered F. A. Schwab.

TOWN UNAWARE TILL MORNING

Police Chief Irwin Says He Has N Clues To Those In Party—Another Negro Imprisoned There Nearly Taken For One Wanted—Lynchers Maintain Secrecy When At Work.

83



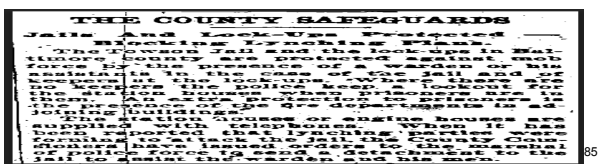
MOB'S ACT IS DEPLORED

Residents of Brooklyn Say Trouble Came From Fairfield.

Residents of Brooklyn greatly deplored the act of the mob in breaking into the jail. Yet while the police were trying to apprehend the members of the mob, they were not furnished with ready information.

Joseph W. Marshall, foreman of the jury of inquest, declared that practically no trouble is experienced from the negro-ites in Brooklyn, but that the lawless element comes from the neighborhood of Fairfield.

84



THE COUNTY SAFEGUARDS

Jails And Lock-Ups Protected

85

Legal/Political Consequences:

- Maryland Governor-elect Phillips Lee Goldsborough took immediate action, following the lack of action against the lynchers at the local level. Goldsborough had witnessed the injustice of mob rule while serving as state's attorney on Maryland's Eastern Shore. It is believed that the lynchings of William Andrews and Garfield King, murdered in 1897 and 1898, respectively, may have had a profound effect on him. Goldsborough was committed to putting an end to lynchings in Maryland. He secretly hired the Burns Detective Agency to investigate the King Johnson lynching. It was the first time that a sitting Maryland governor ever hired an outside agency to investigate a crime in the state. William J. Burns, a Baltimore native, had a reputation as a crime investigator and solved high profile cases across the country. He eventually became the first director of the U.S. Bureau of Investigation, which eventually became the FBI. Burns brought in a team of 15 detectives led by veteran investigator D.B. Shaw.[86]

- Shaw organized an elaborate undercover operation to investigate the crime. He put men undercover, including Black detective Archer Owens, who gathered critical information about the lynching. Owens started the investigation by taking a job at the Raised and Fertilizer plant where King Johnson had worked as a laborer. He got close to the workers there and gathered some information about the lynching. Because he could not gather all the information Burns needed at the plant, Shaw and Owens set up a fake secondhand store on the other side of the long bridge in Baltimore on Light Street. Owens invited plant workers he thought would know about the lynching to his other job and sold them goods cheap. The store was wired with buzzers to alert other detectives when unwitting informants were arriving. The undercover detectives then loaded wagons daily and went into Brooklyn and Fairfield to sell junk, find craps games, lose often, pay up quickly and make fast friends. Shaw also rented the house next door to the prime suspects, the Gleason brothers, on Duncan Alley in Baltimore. The Dunn family were a fake family of three that welcomed the Gleasons often and got them to talk about the lynching into a dictaphone, an early recording device.[87]

- Using a hidden microphone in the kitchen, the Gleasons' confessions were recorded, Burns said. The undercover work didn't stop there. Tom Gleason loved fortune tellers. So, the detectives offered up a fake Astrologer at the famed Emerson Hotel in Baltimore. And Gleason spilled yet more incriminating information about the lynching to the mysterious Dr. Dormis. In August 1912, William Burns met with Maryland Governor Goldsborough in New York. The Burns team had compiled the 700-page report of evidence, and they were ready to make their case. Days later, four men were arrested, the two Gleason brothers, Tom, and John, Frank Schwab, the brother of the man Johnson killed, and an African American man from Fairfield named Howard Herring. They were all jailed in Annapolis and held without bond. The arrests were covered by *The Baltimore Sun* with alternating stories supporting the Burns detectives and the Gleason brothers. And Brooklyn police chief Thomas Irwin and his entire Brooklyn force, they reported, were completely unaware that the investigation had happened under their noses. In November, the grand jury heard the evidence and there were leaks everywhere. The Sun papers published the accounts of the secret grand jury proceedings as if they were right there in the courtroom.[88]

- Evidence was presented from conversations at the fertilizer plant, in the junk shop, and with the fictional Dunn family. Tom Gleason's conversations with the fake fortune teller were told. Two days later, the judge released Frank Schwab and Howard Herring, citing a lack of evidence. The prosecution, led by Maryland

state's attorney, focused on the Gleasons. But a damaging blow to the state's case was made when the Burns detectives could not get the dictaphone to play their recorded audio. Detectives said the machine was broken.

- Without the recordings, the defense argued that all the other evidence was hearsay. The grand jury agreed, and the Gleason brothers were freed after the most famous lynching case in Maryland history ended without it ever making it to trial.

- William Burns tried twice to force another grand jury. He failed both times. Then three years later, Tom Gleason, now being called Michael, had his wife and another man arrested on a statutory charge. At that trial, she recanted her testimony from 1912 and implicated Gleason in the lynching of King Johnson. Burns again tried to reopen the case, even coming to Baltimore to interview Mrs. Gleason. But the case would not be reopened.[89]

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: There was no known cultural or political significance immediately following the lynching of King Johnson.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? The grand jury recommended that the county commissioners "hereafter designate an officer to be in charge of the lockup and on duty there at all hours when there are prisoners confided therein,[90]" but any other legislative changes or social movements are unknown.

Memorialization/Commemoration: There was no known memorialization immediately following the lynching of King Johnson.

Ongoing Influence: There was no known ongoing influence immediately following the lynching of King Johnson.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

- The initial investigation into the lynching was variously reported to last between six days and two weeks.[5]

- The 700-page report of 1912 created by the Burns Detective Agency on the death of King Johnson does not appear to have been archived in any public collection. Commissioned by Governor Phillips Lee Goldsboro, who came into office just after Johnson's lynching, the report was submitted to the Office of the Attorney General. However, there is no indication that the report was ever transferred as a permanent record into the custody of the archives. Created before there was a state archives and prior to the development of any retention schedule with the Office of the Attorney General, the state's copy of this report was either destroyed or otherwise lost. It is possible that it remains extant in a private company's archive, perhaps related to the Burns Agency, or in a descendant's private collection yet to be rediscovered.[91]

BALTIMORE COUNTY LYNCHING CASE

Case Study: Howard Cooper
(Baltimore County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Howard Cooper

Date of Birth: January, 1870

Place of Birth: Towson, Maryland – Baltimore County

Occupation/Background: Unknown. A Black school in Baltimore County opened in the 1880s but Howard was too old to enroll.[92]

Marital Status: Unmarried

Family and Personal Background:

- The Cooper family lived in the Rockland Village community of Towson.[93]
- At age 30, Henrietta Ireland married Joshua Cooper on April 15, 1869. Joshua Cooper, age 27, was a farmer from Harford County, Maryland and a Civil War veteran. The priest who married the couple was affiliated with the African United Methodist Protestant Church called St. John's in Ruxton. This church was founded by the Scott family, a prominent family in the area, who descended from free Blacks who settled the Bare Hills area near Falls Road.[94]
- Henrietta lived with her parents, David and Louisa Davis, and her sister Celeste at the time she gave birth to Howard and his twin brother Henry (who died in infancy).[95]
- Other family members included Abraham and Lucinda Hayes Cooper (Howard Cooper's paternal grandparents), and five paternal aunts and uncles
- The extended family included not only Coopers, but those with other surnames, such as Banks, Fisher, Preston and Millburn.[96]

Additional Background Information:

- Joshua Cooper was born in Harford County in 1842 to Abraham and Lucinda Hayes Cooper. Joshua was the middle child of six children and the eldest son. By 1860, he was living with his eldest sister and her family, working as a laborer. On February 3, 1864, Joshua went to Philadelphia and enlisted with company H, 25th regiment of the United States Colored Infantry of the Union army. Stationed at Camp William Penn, he was said to have deserted on March 10, 1864, and missed his unit's departure for the south. His absence can be explained by a warrant and arrest for him by the Harford County Sheriff's Office for theft. He was released and returned to his post on May 10, 1864. After the payment was made for his apprehension, Joshua Cooper rejoined his unit in Fort Pickens, Florida on November 7, 1864. He was discharged from the military in Philadelphia on December 6, 1865, and due to his desertion and a payment for reward, he was not eligible for any pension for himself or his family.[97]
- On May 27,1870, Joshua Cooper was convicted of larceny of a collar of sleigh bells and sentenced to three months in prison.

- In Late May 1870, Henrietta Cooper was sexually assaulted by a white man named William Bond. At the close of Bond's trial on June 20, 1870, the jury returned within moments of closing with a verdict of not guilty for the count of rape, but guilty for the count of assault with intent to rape. He was sentenced to the Maryland Penitentiary in Baltimore for ten years.[98]

- Howard Cooper was considered a youngster who engaged in many pranks.[99] He may also have had cognitive challenges.[100] When he was 12 years old, Howard Cooper was sent to the House of Reformation for Colored Children for behaviors like throwing rocks at the daughter of a prominent white family that employed his maternal aunt, Celeste, who provided his mother and maternal grandparents with a pension. Upon release, Howard Cooper faced three more charges, two for larceny and one for assault, and was found guilty of all three.[101]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: Thursday, April 2, 1885, at around 6:00 p.m. ET. Half a mile from Spring Hill Farm along Old Court Road in Rockland, Baltimore County.[102]

Description of Alleged Crime: Unsolicited non-fatal violence; sexual violence[103]

- On the evening of April 2, 1885 (around 6:00 p.m.) a young white woman named Katie Gray,16, was walking home from the Rockland train station when she encountered Howard Cooper. The two exchanged brief words and Katie Gray continued on her way home while Howard Cooper followed. Some accounts state that Cooper called to Katie by her by name, implying that he knew her and that she allegedly ignored him[104] while other accounts state that the two exchanged greetings and kept moving.[105]

- Shortly after their encounter, it was alleged that Howard Cooper, carrying either a piece of wood or a rock, jumped over a fence and overtook Katie Gray. Reportedly Howard Cooper pulled Gray into the woods where he assaulted her for allegedly two to three hours,[106] beating, raping, and threatening to kill her. Katie Gray claimed she grabbed a rock, striking Howard Cooper above his left eye. Reportedly, the attack ended when Katie Gray's dog chased Howard Cooper away.

Victim of Alleged Crime: Catherine ("Katie") Gray (local, female, white, teenager)[107]

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Howard Cooper (local, male, Black, teenager)[108]

Witness Statements or Claims:

- Gray claimed that Howard Cooper called her by name, implying that he knew her. She alleged that she ignored him.[109]

- Following the alleged attack, Gray reportedly walked home and collapsed on the front porch of her parents' home. Upon seeing his daughter, Daniel Gray immediately grabbed his shotgun to search for Howard Cooper, joined by friends and neighbors. On that same night, Katie was reportedly examined by Dr. Louis Naylor, who found her suffering from cuts to her upper lip and her face, her neck and breast bruised, and her back was injured. Gray's testimony was not published, but word quickly spread of the assault and mobs of white men scoured Rockland and Towson searching for Howard Cooper.[110]

- Baltimore County offered a $200 award for Howard Cooper's capture ($6,000 in 2022 dollars). On Monday April 6, two Black men, Ferdinand Young and Joshua Brown, and two white men, Frank Fanon and Edward Wall, turned Howard Cooper over to Sheriff Knight at the Towson jail. Crowds of up to 300 people surrounded the jail awaiting Howard Cooper's arrival.

- Newspapers reported that Howard Cooper confessed[111] to the crime, and his lawyers, William George Weld and A. Robinson White, reportedly believed him to be guilty, despite Howard Cooper's denials.

- Howard Cooper's case was tried in the Criminal Court of Baltimore City on May 20. The jury found Cooper guilty and the judge sentenced him to death by hanging on May 21. Governor Henry Lloyd issued the death warrant for Cooper, and he was scheduled to be hanged on July 3, 1885.

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

- Immediately after the alleged incident, Daniel Gray organized a search party for Howard Cooper. Upon Howard Cooper's capture in April 1885, there was a strong public desire to lynch him. Reportedly, when Daniel Gray heard the rumor of Howard Cooper's arrest, "He straightened his bent figure and exclaimed, 'Thank God!' He said it was the intention of the young men of the county to rescue Cooper from theTowson jail as soon as he was taken there and to carry him to the spot where the assault took place and lynch him. 'I will be the executioner myself,' he said 'and I think every father in Maryland will say it was right and it was just.'"[112]

- While in Sheriff Knight's custody, Howard Cooper was turned over to the Baltimore Central Police Station on Tuesday, April 7, presumably for his safety. While in prison, Howard Cooper was interviewed by the *Baltimore County Union* newspaper and reportedly admitted to attacking - but not raping - Katie Gray. News of Howard Cooper's movement from Towson jail to Baltimore City infuriated the white community and crowds not only gathered once again outside the Towson jail but some went to Baltimore supposedly to identify Howard Cooper to the authorities.[113] Reportedly, Baltimore County residents believed Howard Cooper should be jailed where he did his crime. On April 15, one week after his capture, Howard Cooper was secretly arraigned in Towson to avoid new angry crowds, and he pleaded not guilty.[114]

- Howard Cooper's mother petitioned the court to have her son's case moved to Baltimore City, citing the inability to have a fair trial in [Baltimore] county. Howard Cooper was safely removed from Towson and sent to Baltimore City Jail where he awaited trial.[115]

- Judge Stewart appointed two young lawyers, William George Weld and A. Robinson White, to represent Howard Cooper. One unverified report indicates that court granted the removal of the rape charge, but a second charge of assault remained.[116]

- Howard Cooper's lawyers, Weld and White, requested that Cooper's case be moved to the United States Circuit Court "on the ground that the jury laws in operation in the counties of Maryland discriminate against colored men in violation

of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States,"[117] but the judge denied the request. Weld and White also requested that the "not guilty" plea be changed to a plea in abatement–challenging the process of the procedures against Howard Cooper and giving them grounds for future review, but the judge denied that request as well.

- Howard Cooper's trial took place on May 21, 1885, from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. A guilty verdict was delivered in less than 1 minute of deliberation. Howard Cooper was sentenced to death by hanging. The date of execution was scheduled for July 31, 1885.

- Howard Cooper was returned to Towson jail and placed in the murderer cell where he awaited execution. Between the end of May and July 13, Black organizations like the Progressive Association - a group of Black waiters - and the Brotherhood of Liberty, galvanized prominent members of the Black community, such as Rev. Harvey Johnson, to raise approximately $25,000 (in 2022 dollars) to report Howard Cooper's case to the Supreme Court. On July 12, 1885, the groups secured enough funds for Howard Cooper's appeal and when this news was reported in Towson, a group of white men concluded that "the only way to save Ms. Gray from further mental suffering was to act promptly."[118]

Role of Authorities:

- Records show that Sheriff Knight recognized his duty to protect Howard Cooper, and he acted accordingly. Sheriff Knight and his deputy set off on foot and safely delivered Howard Cooper to Baltimore Central Police Station on Tuesday, April 7.[119]

<u>Details of the Lynching</u>

Age at Time of Lynching: 15 years old[120]

Date and Time: July 13, 1885

Location of Lynching: Towson, Maryland – Baltimore County

At what point did the lynching take place? After Howard Cooper had been convicted and sentenced, his case was being appealed by his lawyers.[121] Howard Cooper was originally held in a jail in Baltimore City from April 6 - June 30. He was then moved to Towson jail where his execution date had been set for July 31.[122]

Method of Lynching: Hanging

Who Was Involved: Local law enforcement: The sheriff was reported to be aware of his duty to protect Howard Cooper, yet accounts differ as to whether Sheriff Knight was at the jail when the lynch mob arrived and the vigor of his efforts to protect Howard Cooper.[123]

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local judiciary became involved)

- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local executive became involved)

- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state law enforcement became involved)
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state executive became involved)

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Strangulation

Additional Details:

- On July 10, small groups of men began to gather in Towson. By the afternoon of July 12, organizers of the lynch mob sent messages to gather that evening near the end of Chesapeake Avenue, just west of downtown Towson.[124] By evening and early morning of July 12 and 13, between 20-75 men wearing masks approached the jail where Cooper was being held. A group secured a 30-foot flagpole from Delaware avenue with the intention of battering down the doors of the jail. Only Sheriff Knight and his night watchman, William Nelson, stood in the way. The masked men went to the rear of the jail and began battering the door, and after several strikes, the door came down. Sheriff Knight and his wife were unsuccessful in stopping the men.[125]
- Because the sheriff was able to catch a glimpse of the faces of several of the lynchers yet claimed not to recognize them, *The Maryland Journal* reported that nearly all of the lynchers had come from outside of Towson and were probably not residents of Baltimore.[126] *The Baltimore County Union* reported that the men came from the third district, where the Gray family resided.[127] There is no evidence to substantiate either claim.
- The mob immediately put a rope around Howard Cooper's neck, tied his hands behind his back, and led him out through the back door into the jail yard, where Howard Cooper was hanged from the nearest sycamore tree.
- Howard Cooper died by slow asphyxiation. The leader of the mob ordered that the body not be brutalized. But later in the evening, someone fired a pistol into the body of Mr. Cooper. Some of the lynchers stayed on the scene as late as 3:00 a.m. on July 13, and by 8:00 a.m., men, women and children had gathered at the site. A small group of Black people stood back watching the crowd, and at 08:16 a.m., a Maryland Central railroad train slowed down as it passed through Towson, allowing passengers a better view.
- When Howard Cooper's body was taken down at 9:20 a.m., a well-known gentleman cut the rope into pieces and distributed them to the crowd as others called out for their piece of the rope. Howard Cooper's body was then placed on a board and carried back to the jail.
- Later that day, Howard Cooper's mother came for her son's body. She told reporters that she heard the horsemen rush by on their way to Towson and waited silently until they returned. She knew her son was dead.
- At the jail, Henrietta Cooper reportedly cried, "The men didn't wait until the law was done."[128]

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community:

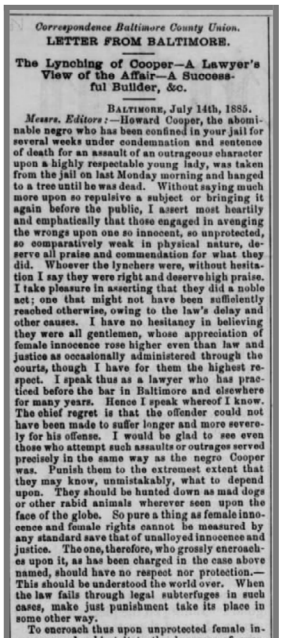
- The Black community's response to Howard Cooper's lynching, based on the limited available evidence, was that most seemed to accept his guilt, but steadfastly opposed his lynching.
- In particular, Black ministers courageously spoke out against those who took the law into their own hands. Reverend P. G. Walker of Baltimore's Metropolitan Colored Methodist Episcopal Church asked, "*What occasion is there for such things in a country of law like this? Men who want the protection of the law should let the law take its course".* [129]
- Reverend Robert Steele further lamented that the case highlighted the foolish expectation of a fair verdict against the white ravishers of Black women while white men took the law into their hands over mere allegations of rapes.[130]
- Judge Stewart reportedly received a letter from "a colored gentlemen of Washington" stating, "we demand justice," and "we will show the whites that we will protect our women and daughters." Black men who were asked to carry Howard Cooper's body from the tree to the jail refused, reportedly saying, "Let those who killed him carry him in." [131]
- The reaction to the lynching by members of the Black community was anger and disappointment that the argument for the violation of Cooper's of civil rights had been unheard in the U.S. Supreme Court. They condemned the lynching as part of a growing tide of violence, and regretted that Cooper's case was not used to bring attention to the necessity of including African American jurors to ensure fair trials.
- On July 14, approximately fifty people convened at Bethel A.M.E. Church in Hagerstown to draft a resolution condemning the "growing spirit of lawlessness toward the colored people of the State of Maryland." They also declared that "the great number of colored men accused as criminals who have been lawlessly slain in this State within the last few years is a stigma upon the fair name of Maryland."[132]
- Judge William Shepard Bryan of the Maryland Court of Appeals expressed little sympathy and condoned the circumvention of the courts by mob violence by reportedly saying "the summary disposition of the case would not have occurred if the friends of the condemned man had not resorted to the extreme measures they took to raise funds."[133]

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** A particularly heinous crime[134]
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Encouraged lynching (the Baltimore County Union)[135]
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Both congratulatory and disapproving yet understanding[136]

In the local press, the lynchers were portrayed as outsiders and heroes; in the non-local press, there were varied dispositions, in some cases portraying the lynchers as criminals.[137]

Headlines



Correspondence Baltimore County Union.

LETTER FROM BALTIMORE.

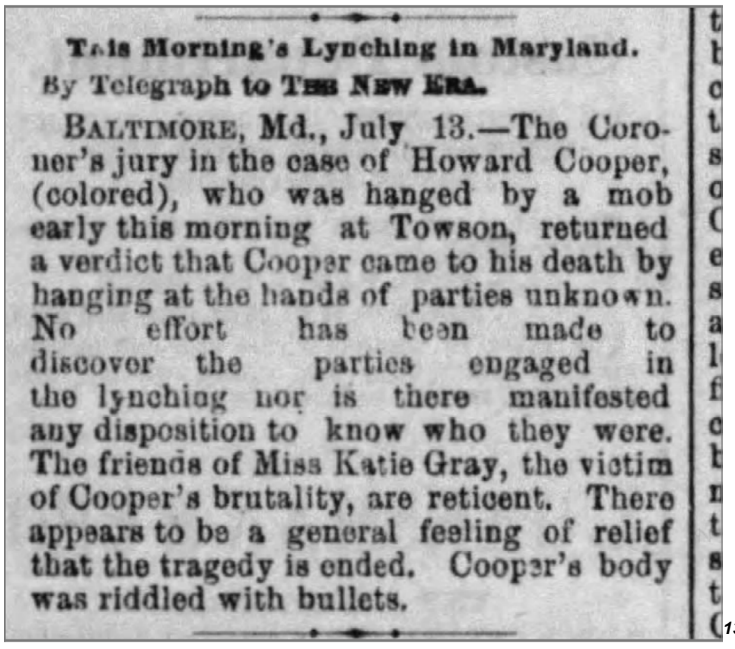
The Lynching of Cooper—A Lawyer's View of the Affair—A Successful Builder, &c.

BALTIMORE, July 14th, 1885.

Messrs. Editors:—Howard Cooper, the abominable negro who has been confined in your jail for several weeks under condemnation and sentence of death for an assault of an outrageous character upon a highly respectable young lady, was taken from the jail on last Monday morning and hanged to a tree until he was dead. Without saying much more upon so repulsive a subject or bringing it again before the public, I assert most heartily and emphatically that those engaged in avenging the wrongs upon one so innocent, so unprotected, so comparatively weak in physical nature, deserve all praise and commendation for what they did. Whoever the lynchers were, without hesitation I say they were right and deserve high praise. I take pleasure in asserting that they did a noble act; one that might not have been sufficiently reached otherwise, owing to the law's delay and other causes. I have no hesitancy in believing they were all gentlemen, whose appreciation of female innocence rose higher even than law and justice as occasionally administered through the courts, though I have for them the highest respect. I speak thus as a lawyer who has practiced before the bar in Baltimore and elsewhere for many years. Hence I speak whereof I know. The chief regret is that the offender could not have been made to suffer longer and more severely for his offense. I would be glad to see even those who attempt such assaults or outrages served precisely in the same way as the negro Cooper was. Punish them to the extremest extent that they may know, unmistakably, what to depend upon. They should be hunted down as mad dogs or other rabid animals wherever seen upon the face of the globe. So pure a thing as female innocence and female rights cannot be measured by any standard save that of unalloyed innocence and justice. The one, therefore, who grossly encroaches upon it, as has been charged in the case above named, should have no respect nor protection.—This should be understood the world over. When the law fails through legal subterfuges in such cases, make just punishment take its place in some other way.

To encroach thus upon unprotected female in-

138

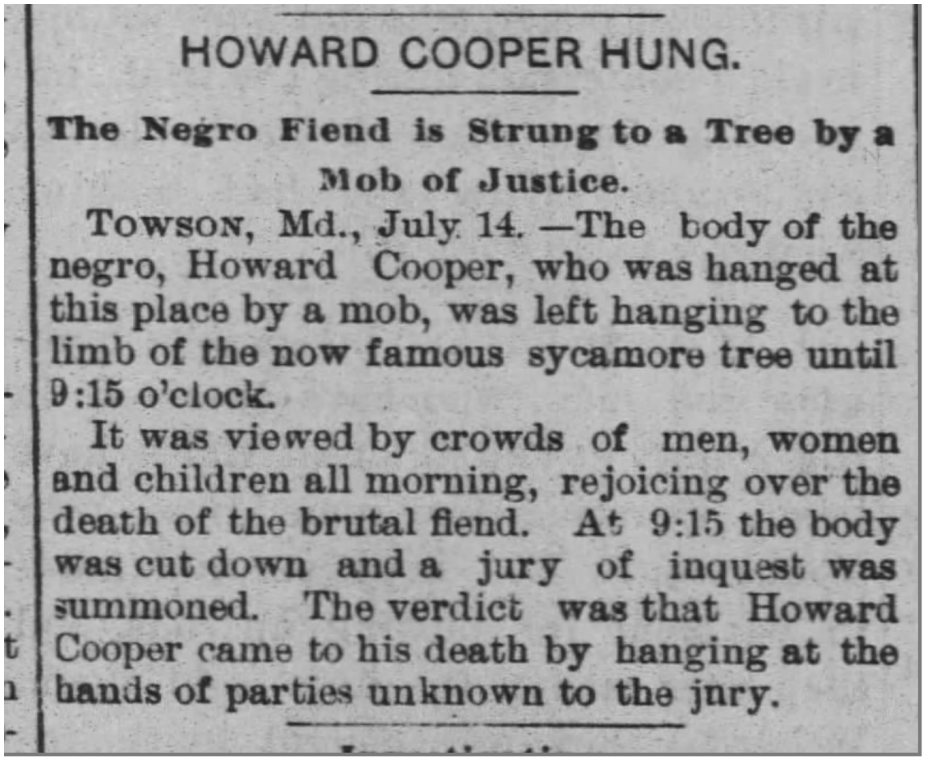


This Morning's Lynching in Maryland.

By Telegraph to THE NEW ERA.

BALTIMORE, Md., July 13.—The Coroner's jury in the case of Howard Cooper, (colored), who was hanged by a mob early this morning at Towson, returned a verdict that Cooper came to his death by hanging at the hands of parties unknown. No effort has been made to discover the parties engaged in the lynching nor is there manifested any disposition to know who they were. The friends of Miss Katie Gray, the victim of Cooper's brutality, are reticent. There appears to be a general feeling of relief that the tragedy is ended. Cooper's body was riddled with bullets.

139



HOWARD COOPER HUNG.

The Negro Fiend is Strung to a Tree by a Mob of Justice.

TOWSON, Md., July 14.—The body of the negro, Howard Cooper, who was hanged at this place by a mob, was left hanging to the limb of the now famous sycamore tree until 9:15 o'clock.

It was viewed by crowds of men, women and children all morning, rejoicing over the death of the brutal fiend. At 9:15 the body was cut down and a jury of inquest was summoned. The verdict was that Howard Cooper came to his death by hanging at the hands of parties unknown to the jury.

140

Legal/Political Consequences:

- Howard Cooper was tried and found guilty on May 20, 1885, in the Criminal Court of Baltimore City before an all-white male jury. The next day, Judge William A. Stewart sentenced Howard Cooper to be hanged. Howard Cooper's lawyers appealed to the Court of Appeals, which upheld the lower court's ruling on June 28, 1885. Funds had been raised by Black waiters of the Progressive Association, and Rev. Harvey Johnson's Brotherhood of Liberty, to file an appeal in federal court. When news got out, that triggered the lynch mob. appeal to.[141]

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance:

- The role of the press supported and encouraged racial terror through its reporting of the Howard Cooper murder.
- As Professor Dennis Halpin states in his book *The Brotherhood of Liberty: Black Reconstruction, Baltimore*, the lynching and the subsequent coverage of the crime rewrote Howard Cooper's plight in important ways. In these accounts, the mob and the press portrayed African Americans as criminally obstructing justice. The lynchers became the protectors of law and order, as well as righteous avengers.[142]

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements?

Memorialization/Commemoration:

- Henrietta Cooper received an expense of $2.50 in 1885 for "the burying of a pauper," presumed to be for her son Howard Cooper. He is believed to be buried in the Scott cemetery in Bare Hills in an unmarked grave.[143]

- One of the actions of the Coalition for Fair Maps is to highlight the importance of reckoning with racism in the County's history by acknowledging it and how it manifests today in voting redistricting processes. The Coalition held a candlelight vigil march on a cold night in December 2021 at the Baltimore County Lynching Memorial, partly to remind people of that Baltimore County of that day in 1885, when a mob of the white majority, ignoring law and due process, lynched 15 year-old Howard Cooper.[144]

- In March 2018 a soil collection was held at the site of Howard's lynching. That remembrance ceremony was the precursor for Maryland Lynching Memorial Project's forming.[145] From this effort, four individuals held a community meeting in January 2020 to gauge community interest to form the Baltimore County Lynching Memorial Project.

Ongoing Influence:

- The detailed story of Howard Cooper's lynching tells of the living conditions of Black people in Baltimore County, the uneven justice for the same crimes committed by people who fall into two different racial categories, and the struggle of a community trying to coexist in the times of post slavery and Reconstruction.[146] Henrietta Cooper wanted the same justice for her son as had been afforded her assailant. [147]

- The generational trauma of Howard Cooper's murder appears in the reflections of a descendant of Howard Cooper who sees parallels between the late 19th century and the early 21st century in terms of racism, law enforcement, and violence.[148]

- The generational shame and transformation felt by a descendant of the leader of Howard Cooper's lynch mob appears in her gratitude for the opportunity to begin to make amends for her contributions to ongoing work to dismantle the apparatus of white supremacy.[149]

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

Given the age of Howard Cooper, the suggestion that he had cognitive impairment, the potential that his confession was coerced, the inconsistencies in the witness reports, and the fact that Howard Cooper was convicted of the same crime that his mother's white assailant had committed (with a sentence of death hanging versus the ten years in prison William Bond received), it is possible that there are controversies and discrepancies in the case of Howard Cooper's lynching.

CARROLL COUNTY LYNCHING CASE

Case Study: Townsend Cook
(Carroll County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Townsend Cook[150]

Date of Birth: 1866[151]

Place of Birth: Likely Westminster, Carroll County[152]

Occupation/Background: Laborer; worked around Waterville and Mount Airy[153]

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- Was born to Augustus and Margaret Cook as the third of four children. Augustus Cook was born in 1812, the same year America was fighting the British for the second time.[154]
- Townsend Cook's siblings included Dennis, Roderick, and Mary[155]
- In the 1870 census, Townsend's mother was listed as mixed race, as was his eldest brother Dennis, who was born in 1860. Roderick, born in 1862, Townsend and Mary, born in 1868, are listed as Black. This was the first census that has been discovered for the Cook family and it is believed that the family were most likely enslaved and therefore were not named in the previous censuses[156]
- Townsend Cook's mother lived on the farm of Justice George A. Davis in Carroll County[157] and about a mile from the Knott's home.
- The 1880 census is the last official document that shows the family all together (Augustus 68, still working as a farm laborer; Dennis, 20; Roderick, 17, and Townsend, 14, are all working as farm laborers; Mary, 14, is at home with her mother).[158]
- In 1873 there were records of Augustus' name as a qualified voter of Carroll County[159]
- Augustus and Mary Cook stayed in Carroll County and were buried at Fairview cemetery.[160]

Additional Background Information:

- Townsend Cook grew up in Carroll County and was considered well known[161]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: Saturday, June 1, 1885 around 4:00 PM, in Westminster, Carroll County, on a country road leading to Mt. Airy.[162]

Description of Alleged Crime: Sexual violence[163]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Mrs. Carrie V. Knott (local, female, white, healthy)[164]

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Townsend Cook (local, Black, male, healthy)[165]

Witness Statements or Claims:

- Carrie Knott is the only witness to the alleged crime, claiming that Townsend Cook entered her house when she was alone, demanded food, and the struck her in the head with a club and raped her while she was unconscious. When she became conscious again, she claimed to have reported the alleged crime to her neighbor, Pinckney Davis.[166]
- Dr. B.H. Todd claims to have examined her and affirmed evidence of a blow to her head, discoloration of her neck, and physical evidence of sexual intercourse.[167]
- Based on Knott's description of her alleged assailant, Constable Philip Detrick and Pinckney Davis "determined" that Townsend Cook was the suspect[168] and dragged Townsend Cook from his mother's home on the farm of Justice George A. Davis.[169]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

- Townsend Cook was taken to Mrs. Knott's house by Justice Davis and Constable Detrick where Mrs. Knott supposedly identified him by a small protuberance or wart on the lid of the right eye. Justice Davis heard the evidence in the case at the Knotts' home in the presence of herself and husband, Townsend Cook, and a number of neighbors. Several neighbors demanded that Townsend Cook be lynched on the spot, but the judge instead turned Townsend Cook over to Carroll County authorities, Constable Deitrick, Thomas Hatfield, and Emanuel Crawford.
- Overnight, Townsend Cook slept at Mr. Davis' house a few hundred yards from the Knotts' home. By early Sunday morning, Townsend Cook was removed to Constable Deitrick's house, near Mt. Airy, where he was given breakfast and then transferred to the Westminster jail about 10 o'clock.[170]
- A secret meeting among the white Mount Airy residents included talk of lynching Townsend Cook as a deterrent to similar crimes, but the residents feared detection by the authorities.[171]

Role of Authorities:

- Reportedly, Sheriff Shower and his deputies, John A. Mackintosh and Israel Zebra had heard that lynchers might try to take Townsend Cook out of their custody, so they took "ample precautions to protect his safety on Saturday and Sunday nights."[172]
- When midnight arrived and there were no lynchers in sight, the authorities started to go home, despite rumors that the jail would be besieged. Still wary, Deputy Zebra tried to contact Mount Airy several times without success, and he requested that the railroad telegraph office summon him at once from his house if any strange men showed up. Deputy Mackintosh was still strolling Main Street when a cavalcade of horses charged down Liberty Street and crossed the railroad track on Main Street, heading toward the jail, four blocks away."[173]

- The sheriff, deputies and a group of Westminster residents supposedly felt powerless to defend Townsend Cook in the face of guns thrust in their faces by the masked strangers. Yet, earlier that day Charles Roberts, the state attorney general had tried to negotiate with residents, his friends, and his political supporters to let the law be the supreme authority and to not follow through on their expressed intention to assist the mob should they attack the jail. [174]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: Approximately 19 years old

Date and Time: June 2, 1885 around 1:30 a.m.

Location of Lynching: Westminster, Carroll County, Maryland on the farm of Thomas Stevenson.[175]

At what point did the lynching take place? Shortly after the crime, but before any conclusive investigation[176]

Method of Lynching: Hung on a tree and shot at least twice

Who Was Involved: Reportedly, outsiders from Mount Airy committed the lynching[177]

- **What role did the local law enforcement play in the lynching?** Preventative (though action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Not Reported
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Not Reported
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state law enforcement became involved)
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Preventative (through action, even if unsuccessful)

Public/Private Nature: Public. Townsend Cook was hanging dead and half naked from the limb of a white oak tree on the farm of Thomas Stevenson.[178]

Physical Condition of Victim: Strangulation/ broken neck and gunshot wounds to the head[179]

Additional Details:

- The sheriff was reportedly overpowered and bound in a cell while the 30 - 40 lynchers used a heavy piece of timber to ram their way into the jail.[180]
- The mob bound Townsend Cook, put a rope around his neck, carried him out of the jail and placed him in the wagon. Then they surrounded the wagon and rode rapidly through the town the way they had come. Five or six remained to guard the sheriff until the others had got out of town, and then rapidly followed. They went towards Mount Airy.[181]

- The mob took Townsend Cook down the Mt. Airy Road about a mile and hung him to the limb of a tree beside the road. They fired two bullets into the back of his neck.
- By 8 AM, some Westminster citizens found Townsend Cook's lifeless, near naked body, with a note tacked to the tree stating "this man confessed his crime."[182]
- The note was written in lead pencil on the back of an old letter. On the other side was a printed letter-heading reading: "Law Office of Milton G. Urner Frederick." Underneath this, written in ink, was "H.H. Dem–Dear Sir," the last of the name being torn off. An inquest will be held at daylight."[183]
- It was reported, though not substantiated, that the lynchers had a fair representation of men of color among them. It seems unlikely since the lynching was so well planned and the participants were covered with large black masks, making it impossible to identify them. It is an accepted fact, however, that the majority of the raiders came from the vicinity of Mount Airy and were "men of respectability."[184]

Aftermath

- "A little blackboard was hung outside the Western Maryland Railroad station in Westminster sometime before daylight on Sunday, June 3, 1886 with the bulletin: "Cook, the colored ravished of Mrs. Knott was lynched here at 1:30 o'clock this morning. He confessed his crime."[185]
- Constable Mackintosh drove a wagon to the lynching site and requested that Mr. John Thompson cut down Townsend Cook's body. Mackintosh reserved the chain, ropes, and hitching strap. Subsequently there was such a demand on him for pieces of the rope that he cut into small pieces to distribute as "souvenirs."[186]
- Justice Crapster, acting coroner, swore in a jury, with Milton Schaeffer as the foreman. Doctors James P. Summers and Winfield K. Fringer examined Townsend Cook's body. The indention made by the rope around the neck was very marked, indicating that the cause of death was strangulation or a broken neck.[187]
- Sheriff Shower, Drs. Fringer and Summers, and Mr. Seabrooke, and Mr. Zebra were the witnesses before the coroner's inquest. State's Attorney Henning conducted the examination of witnesses. They rendered a verdict of death by hanging at the hands of unknown parties."[188]

Reaction from the Community:

- Reportedly, "the summary punishment inflicted on [Townsend Cook] was approved by the citizens of the county."[189]
- The white community approved of the lynching as "swift punishment …to deter others and prevent similar outrages," especially given the belief that a court trial could have taken as long as six months to resolve.[190]

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** A particularly heinous crime
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Discouraged lynching

- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** One source indicates that the press disposition was "Disapproving yet understanding,"[191] but most of the press indicated strong approval of the lynching of Townsend Cook.

Headlines

COOK TAKEN FROM JAIL.

SEIZED BY A MASKED MOB:

LED AWAY WITH HIS NECK IN A NOOSE.

Shot in the Neck, Hanged to a Limb of a Tree and Stripped of His Clothes—Cook Reported to Have Confessed. [192]

TOWNSEND COOK'S FATE.

DETAILS OF THE EXECUTION.

PROMPT PROCEEDINGS IN LYNCH LAW.

The Assault on the Jail at Westminster and the Hanging of Mrs. Knott's Assailant—Unavailing Intervention of Attorney-General Roberts—Scenes at the Fatal Oak—The Coroner's Inquest. [193]

A MARYLAND NEGRO LYNCHED.

TAKEN FROM WESTMINSTER JAIL AND HANGED TO A TREE. [194]

BRUTAL ASSAULT.

A Colored Man Assaults a Young White Woman—The Brute Captured and Jailed—The Friends and Neighbors Take Him from Jail and Swing Him from a Tree. [195]

Mrs. Knott's Assailant Lynched.

WESTMINSTER, Md., June 2.—A body of masked men broke into the jail at 1:30 o'clock this morning, and taking out Townsend Cook, colored, imprisoned for an outrage on Mrs Knott, of Mt. Airey, drove to the latter place and lynched him. Cook confessed his crime. No clue to the lynchers has been obtained. [196]

A NEGRO LYNCHED.

Townsend Cook Taken from Jail and Shot. [197]

LYNCH LAW.

Its Ready Enforcement in Maryland.

A Negro Brute Taken From Jail and Hung to a Tree.

The Sheriff Bound With Ropes and Rendered Powerless — Townsend Cook's Bestial Crime. [198]

ANOTHER OUTRAGEOUS ASSAULT.

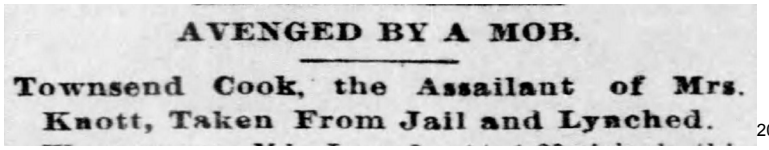
Brutal Attack of a Colored Man on a Young Woman in Carrol County. [199]

HANGED AND SHOT.

Townsend Cook, Colored, Lynched by a Mob in Maryland. [200]

TOWNSEND COOK HANCED.

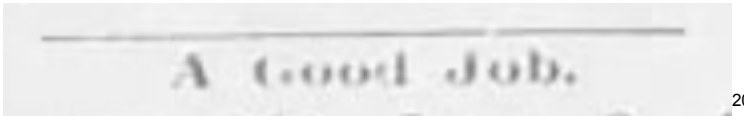
Mrs. Knott's Assailant Summarily Disposed of by a Mob. [201]



AVENGED BY A MOB.

Townsend Cook, the Assailant of Mrs. Knott, Taken From Jail and Lynched.

[202]



A Good Job.

[203]

Legal/Political Consequences:

- Members of the Grand Jury to investigate the lynching of Townsend Cook included:

  Isaac E. Baile, foreman; J. Wesley Poole; John G. Shunk; Lewis H. Seipp; Levi Black; Solomon S. Ecker; Samuel G. Harden; Adolphus H. Chenowith; Peter Woods; John Galt; George N. Fringer; Joseph H. Wheeler; Marshal G. Shaw; Peter F. Sharrer; George S. Deal; Isaac Gardner; Josiah C. Bankard; Daniel Nenninger; Charles R. Pickett; Samuel Wine; William Lee; David N. Brown; and Charles Schaeffer.

- In his charge to the jury, Judge Smith said that "an infamous crime had been committed in the county, and the criminal had been taken from the hands of the sheriff by armed and disguised men and hanged." He requested the grand jury work to "insure that hereafter criminals shall not be taken from the custody of the law."[204]

- No one was ever found guilty of lynching Townsend Cook.

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: There was no known cultural or political significance immediately following the lynching of Townsend Cook.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There was no known legislative changes or social movements immediately following the lynching of Townsend Cook.

Memorialization/Commemoration:

- On February 15th, 2020, 56 members of the community attended the first public meeting of the Carroll County Lynching Memorial Project to discuss efforts to acknowledge the history of racial terrorism. On June 2, 2021, the group conducted a memorial service at the historic Carroll County General. On August 13th, 2024, a soil collection ceremony took place where Mr. Cook was killed on June 2nd 1885 and the soil was used in a memorial service for Townsend Cook on September 8th, 2024. In November of 2024, the soil collection jar was personally hand delivered to the Equal Justice Initiative where it is included in the collection of over 800 soil collection jars on display at the Legacy Museum in Montgomery, Alabama.[205]

Ongoing Influence:

- Black members of the Carroll County community still feel the impact of generational trauma when traveling south on Route 27 and viewing the quarries just below Spring Mill Station, feeling haunted by "something terrible that happened there."[206]

While their parents remained, Townsend Cook's siblings left Carroll County for Baltimore, Philadelphia, Atlantic City, and Washington DC.[207] Their descendants in Philadelphia maintain a close family connection in the 21st century and are learning of their family history on Maryland and of Thomas Cook's lynching.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

- Given the swiftness with which the Carroll County community, the local media, and the local law enforcement condemned Townsend Cook in the absence of any credible evidence of a crime, it is possible that there are controversies and discrepancies in the case of Townsend Cook's lynching.

HARFORD COUNTY LYNCHING CASES

Case Study: Isaac Moore
(Harford County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Isaac Moore

Date of Birth: Unknown; possibly 1827[208]

Place of Birth: Unknown

Occupation/Background: He may have been born free, rather than enslaved, but that is speculative. [209]

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- There is no known information on Isaac Moore's family or personal background.

Additional Background Information:

- In the spring of 1861, Isaac Moore was convicted of raping a Black woman named Anna Harris.[210] Instead of prison, the court ordered that Isaac Moore be sold as a slave for a term of ten years out of Maryland, a common punishment for Blacks convicted of crimes. Where Isaac Moore was sent to serve is not recorded, but he was able to return to Maryland within a few years, amid the upheaval of the Civil War and the abolition of slavery.[211]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: Wednesday, July 22, 1868, near Belair, Maryland near the Bynum Run Bridge[212]

Description of Alleged Crime: *Baltimore Sun*, relaying information from the *Belair Aegis*, reported that on Wednesday, July 22, 1868, Isaac Moore and Ben Preston allegedly robbed and attempted to rape the daughter of William Oldfield while she walked from her father's home to "open her [millinery] store" in Bel Air.[213] Moore and Preston allegedly "seized her, knocked her down, dragged her into the bushes, and attempted to violate her person."[214] According to the report, she gave them $24, "but they did not succeed in their viler purpose" because her screaming "had the effect of frightening the villains away before they had fully accomplished their nefarious designs."[215]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Fanny Oldfield, a nineteen-year-old white woman

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Isaac Moore and Ben Preston[216]

Witness Statements or Claims: It is reported that when "notice of the outrage was given. . .all work [was] stopped in Belair. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and storekeepers have been out hunting the vile wretches, and have caught one of them [Moore]."[217] Following Isaac Moore's arrest by the Belair sheriff, it is reported that Isaac Moore was taken to the Oldfield house where the woman identified him as one of the persons who attacked her. It is reported that Isaac Moore confessed and told where he hid the money that had been robbed from Miss O., and also that Ben Preston was a partner in the crime.[218]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: It is reported that the sheriff resisted the crowd of shopkeepers in their attempt to grab Isaac Moore and got Isaac Moore "safely in jail."[219] However, "[Isaac Moore] was afterwards brought out for examination at 4 P.M., but before he could be got to the justice's office the mob secured the sheriff and his deputies…"[220]

Role of Authorities:

- The sheriff reportedly resisted the crowd that attempted to lynch Isaac Moore.
- The sheriff took Isaac Moore outside of the jail "for examination" prior to attempting to take him to the justice's office, removing him from the relative safety of the jail and taking him into the street where a lynch mob was gathered.

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: Unknown

Date and Time: Wednesday, July 22, 1868 after 4:00 pm

Location of Lynching: On the road to Churchville, near the bridge over Bynum's Run, close to the house of Charles Giles, at the site of the alleged crime.[221]

At what point did the lynching take place? After arrest but prior to being indicted.

Method of Lynching: It is reported that "the mob [of shopkeepers] secured the sheriff and his deputies, put a rope around [Isaac Moore]'s neck and carried him to the place where the offence was committed and hung him on a limb of a poplar tree over the road perfectly naked, he having had his clothes torn off him in his desperate struggle to escape."[222]

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Asphyxiated

Additional Details:

Ben Preston was Isaac Moore's accomplice. No court records have yet been located regarding any legal proceedings against Ben Preston following his arrest.

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community:

- It is unknown what the reaction of the Black community was to Isaac Moore's lynching.
- There is no mention in the media of a coroner's inquest, nor has a record of a coroner's inquest been found in Harford County court records at the Historical Society of Harford County.
- A local reverend named Thomas Stuart Smith wrote in his July 22 diary entry "great excitement in Bel Air. A negro man named Isaac Moore was hanged for an attempted outrage on Ms. Fannie Oldfield. He was hanged without any judge or jury excepting the public mind. The sheriff could not protect him against the will of the people. It was the only way, probably, in which strict justice could be administered." On July 25th, Smith writes in his diary, "I saw the place where Isaac Moore, negro, was hanged for the crime of rape - an infamous character."[223]
- A letter in the Aegis in April 8th, 1870, written by a former Belair resident who had recently visited speaks of viewing the site of Isaac Moore's lynching, "I saw the tree along the roadside that bear the horrid fruit. And it should be permitted to stand as a monument to commemorate the high moral tone of the people and as a warning to evildoers."[224]

However, the editors of the *Baltimore Sun* and *Bel Air Aegis* took pains to portray Isaac Moore as a "Brute Negro:"

> This is not the first or second offence of the kind of which said Moore has been guilty in this neighborhood. In March, 1861, he was convicted in our court of rape, and, under the humane law then in force, he was sold out of the State for a term of ten years; but during the war he was enabled to return, and in 1866 was again indicted for several similar offences, but was enabled to escape by reason of the very natural unwillingness of the witnesses to appear in court. In one of the cases he attacked a party of young ladies in a carriage near Havre de Grace, and dragged one of them into the woods, but she left the State rather than testify to the facts in open court. We also learn that he has been guilty of many like offences against persons of his own color, until he had become a terror in the neighborhood, and persons, white and black, unite in recognizing his guilt, and the justness of his punishment.[225]

The editors stated that it was "regrettable, of course" that Moore didn't receive "his punishment in due course of law, but the aggravation was so great that the assembled multitude thought such a fiend was unfit to live, and the safety of the community appeared to them to require that he should be summarily dealt with."[226] This comment was perhaps an effort to lessen criticism of the community, if not to repair relations with the county's Black residents but there is no reporting from Black sources to corroborate this comment.[227]

There are no records extant in the Maryland State Archives of Isaac Moore's alleged prior indictments or convictions.

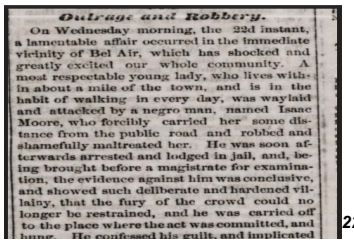
Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** The white press perceived that Isaac Moore was guilty of the crime of robbery and assault of Fanny Oldfield

- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown

- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Having assumed that Isaac Moore was guilty of the crime of robbery and assault of Fanny Oldfield, the press indicated that Isaac Moore was not worthy of due process, due to an alleged history of similar crimes.

Headlines



Outrage and Robbery.

On Wednesday morning, the 23d instant, a lamentable affair occurred in the immediate vicinity of Bel Air, which has shocked and greatly excited our whole community. A most respectable young lady, who lives within about a mile of the town, and is in the habit of walking in every day, was waylaid and attacked by a negro man, named Isaac Moore, who forcibly carried her some distance from the public road and robbed and shamefully maltreated her. He was soon afterwards arrested and lodged in jail, and, being brought before a magistrate for examination, the evidence against him was conclusive, and showed such deliberate and hardened villainy, that the fury of the crowd could no longer be restrained, and he was carried off to the place where the act was committed, and hung. He confessed his guilt, and implicated

228

Legal/Political Consequences:

This is the first documented case of a Black man having been lynched for an attempted assault/rape in Harford County[229], and thus, one of the first case in which the Brute Negro narrative is given form: most elements are already present (the absence of a coroner's inquest's, verdict of death at the hands of unknown parties being notable, scant evidence), and many of the following cases would emulate its pattern.[230] A feature of this narrative is that Black men were not deserving of due process as they were not recognized as U.S. citizens.

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: There is no known cultural or political significance immediately following the lynching of Isaac Moore.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There are no known legislative changes or social movements immediately following the lynching of Isaac Moore.

Memorialization/Commemoration: There is no known memorialization immediately following the lynching of Isaac Moore.

Ongoing Influence: There is no known ongoing influence immediately following the lynching of Isaac Moore.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

- According to the report in the *Sun*, Isaac Moore allegedly said that "he had been watching his chance to commit the outrage for some time, but Miss O. always had company with her till this morning,"[231] suggesting that Isaac Moore was familiar with her routine.

- A significant detail in this account is that Isaac Moore was apparently enslaved when he was first allegedly convicted in March 1861: the *Sun* stated that "he was sold out of the State for a term of ten years" after having been convicted of rape, which gives an indication that the court saw Isaac Moore as valuable chattel

property, and that ordering his execution more than likely would have resulted in a claim for loss of property and compensation from his slaveholder.[232] Ironically, the slave code to which the paper referred, was more "humane" [sic] than the lynch law that applied to Isaac Moore as a free man after Maryland emancipated its enslaved people in 1864.[233] In other words, Isaac Moore had more rights as enslaved chattel property than as a freedman in Maryland's post-bellum society.

- In August 1866, Isaac Moore was accused of assaulting and attempting to rape six different women, likely white, in two incidents. In one case, according to press accounts, Moore attacked three women driving in a carriage near Havre de Grace. Isaac Moore was arrested soon after, and stood trial in Cecil County, where the cases were presumably moved because an impartial jury could not be found in Harford. Most of the women involved refused to testify, likely because of the stigma applied to women in rape cases; one reportedly left the state to avoid appearing in court, according to newspaper coverage. Without witnesses, Isaac Moore was acquitted in five of the cases, and convicted of assault– but not intent to rape– in the sixth case in January 1867. He was sentenced to serve one year in the Harford County Jail.[234]

Case Study: Jim Quinn
(Harford County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Jim Quinn

Date of Birth: 1849-1851[235]

Place of Birth: Jarrettsville area, northwest of Harford County

Occupation/Background: Laborer or farm hand, indentured to a local farmer named Robinson[236]

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- There is no known information on Jim Quinn's family or personal background.

Additional Background Information:

- There is no known additional background information on Jim Quinn.

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: 2:00 pm on September 29, 1869, on the path from the Robinson home to the Kirkwood home.

Description of Alleged Crime: Assault and rape

Victim of Alleged Crime: A 64-year-old white woman referred to both as Ms. Reip and as Mrs. Catherine Smith in media accounts[237]

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Jim Quinn

Witness Statements or Claims: Unknown; Mr. Robinson and Mr. Kirkwood were both told by Ms. Reip/Smith that Jim Quinn raped her. The two men located Jim Quinn who was working in the cornfield and locked him in a corn-crib despite his denial of guilt.[238] They concluded his guilt because his undergarments were "saturated with the blood of his victim."[239]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: After Robinson and Kirkwood left to locate a police officer, Jim Quinn escaped from confinement in the corn-crib and fled across the state border into Pennsylvania[240] where he quickly found employment on a farm.[241] He would be recaptured on October 2, 1869 by Officer Rozier.[242] Newspaper accounts differ on whether Jim Quinn was captured in Glen Rock, Pennsylvania or enticed across the Maryland/Pennsylvania state line where he was subsequently arrested by Officer Rozier.[243] Jim Quinn was taken before Judge Thomas G. Rutledge, who ordered that Jim Quinn be transported by train to the Baltimore County Jail in Towsontown, and he was under the care of Officer Rozier.[244]

When the train stopped at Whitehall Station, Jim Quinn was seized by a band of about 30 men, dragged from the train, and a noose was put around his neck.

Role of Authorities: Judge Thomas G. Rutledge determined that Jim Quinn should be transported to the Baltimore County jail in Towson, accompanied by Officer Rozier.

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: Approx. 16- 18 years old

Date and Time: October 2, 1869, at approximately 9:00 PM

Location of Lynching: At a location between Black Horse and Jarrettsville, Maryland; Jim Quinn was reportedly and deliberately taken across the county line to be hanged. The lynchers seized Jim Quinn from law enforcement in a neighboring county but made sure they got back to their home territory before he was discovered to be hanged.[245]

At what point did the lynching take place? After arrest but before trial and conviction

Method of Lynching: Hanging

Who Was Involved: A mob of approximately 30 white men[246]

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Judge Thomas G. Rutledge determined that Jim Quinn should be transported to the Baltimore County jail in Towson, accompanied by Officer Rozier, whose role in the lynching in unknown.
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Unknown

Additional Details: Unknown

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community: A grand jury convened Monday, November 8th, 1869. Judge Grayson discussed recent lynchings in Harford County and admonished jurors that it was their duty to investigate these cases and indict participants. He proceeded to call for the murder of Jim Quinn to be looked into and those who participated in the mob to be indicted.[247] No indictments were returned.

HARFORD OUTRAGES: INDICTMENT OF THE <MARK><SPAN ...
Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun
The Sun (1837-); May 17, 1900; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Baltimore Sun
pg. 8

HARFORD OUTRAGES

Indictment Of The Negro Black—The Lynching Investigation.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

BELAIR, MD., May 16.—The grand jury of Harford county this afternoon found presentment and indictment against William Black, the negro charged with committing a felonious assault on Miss Jessie Bradford at Aberdeen, Feburary 21. The first count in the indictment charges the commission of the act and the second the attempt. The witnesses named are O. B. Joyce, E. H. Bradford, Joseph C. Kelly, Dr. J. H. Kennedy, Dr. Walter Rowe and Miss Jessie Bradford. It is not known when the case will come up for trial.

Mr. Samuel W. Bradford, of the Belair bar, has been retained by the child's father to assist in the prosecution. The second week of court is generally set apart for the criminal docket, and there will be nothing done toward the disposal of the case until then.

Attachments were issued against a number of witnesses who have been summoned to appear before the Harford county grand jury, but have failed to do so. A large list of additional names was also placed in the hands of the Sheriff to be summoned. As yet no presentments have been made in the Belair lynching case of the negro Harris, although quite a number of witnesses have been examined in regard to the matter. If nothing comes out of this investigation it will not be the fault of the court, as everything possible has been done to ferret out the parties concerned. It is, of course, next to impossible to obtain evidence in this character of cases.

Among the witnesses examined by the grand jury were D. Dorsey Guy and Frank Thomas, of Baltimore, both of whom were in Belair the night of the lynching of Harris.

248

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Unknown

Headlines

A BRUTAL NEGRO LYNCHED: TAKEN FROM A MARYLAND JAIL AND HANGED.
New York Times (1857-1922); Jul 28, 1880;
ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index
pg. 1

A BRUTAL NEGRO LYNCHED

TAKEN FROM A MARYLAND JAIL AND HANGED.

THE TERRIBLE CRIME FOR WHICH JOHN DIGGS WAS HANGED—THE OFFICERS OF THE LAW OVERPOWERED—PRAYING FOR THE DOOMED MAN—THE SCENE AT THE GALLOWS-TREE.

WASHINGTON, July 27.—The region around this city, the capital of the Nation, has become notorious for the punishment of colored criminals by Lynch law, and for a public sentiment which supports those who in this way administer what they believe justice demands. Not long ago public meetings were held in this city for the avowed purpose of agreeing upon plans for the lynching of a colored man who had been arrested for assault upon a woman. But the law was allowed to take its course, and the criminal was sent to prison for 30 years. Swift punishment overtook this morning a colored man named John Diggs, in Rockville, Md.

249

Legal/Political Consequences: There are no known legal or political consequences immediately following the lynching of Jim Quinn.

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: There is no known cultural or political significance immediately following the lynching of Jim Quinn.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There are no known legislative changes of social movements immediately following the lynching of Jim Quinn.

Memorialization/Commemoration: There is no known public memorialization immediately following the lynching of Jim Quinn.

Ongoing Influence: There is no known ongoing influence immediately following the lynching of Jim Quinn.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies: Apart from the fact that there were no credible witnesses to or evidence related to the alleged crime, there are no known controversies and discrepancies immediately following the lynching of Jim Quinn.

Case Study: Lewis Harris
(Harford County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Lewis Harris

Date of Birth: 1874

Place of Birth: State of Virginia

Occupation/Background: Horse handler for Sheriff Kinhart of Belair in Harford County[250]

Marital Status: Married to Martha Turner on June 25, 1898

Family and Personal Background:

- Son of Overton and Dorcas Harris of Louisa County, Virginia[251]
- A few living grandnieces of Lewis Harris have been identified but only one expressed interest in offering testimony[252]
- Lewis Harris's wife, Martha Harris, is shown as living in the Solomon Getz household and working as a servant there in the 1900 census

Additional Background Information:

- Lived in the Belair community for approximately 10 years

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: March 25, 1900, at the home of Annie McIlvaine

Description of Alleged Crime: Assault

Victim of Alleged Crime: Annie McIlvaine, an older white woman

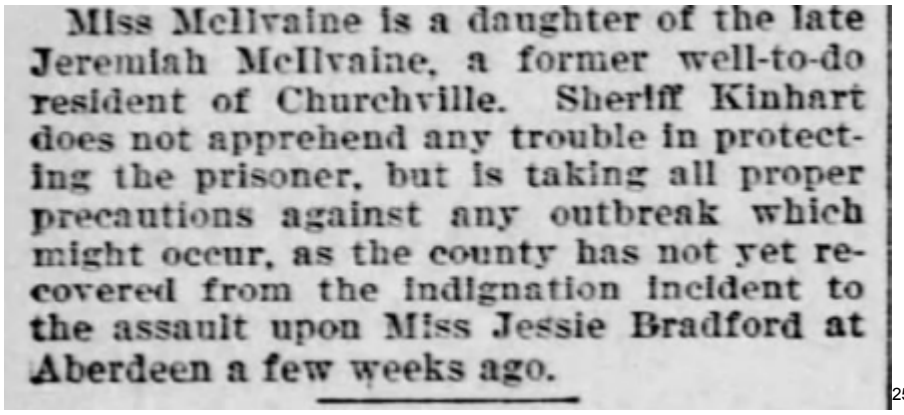
Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Lewis Harris (Black, male)

Witness Statements or Claims: Ms. McIlveen lived on the edge of town and provided home remedies for ailments. She claimed that at 4:00 am someone knocked on her door requesting a toothache remedy. When she opened the door, a man attacked her and she struggled and screamed, and he was scared away by a Black neighbor named Jackson[253] who fired a shotgun in the area. She went to Sheriff Kinhart's home for the rest of the evening and in the morning went back to her house, where they found a hat outside on the ground which the sheriff claimed belonged to his horse handler Lewis Harris.[254] That was the basis on which Lewis Harris was arrested. Miss McIlvaine did not identify him.[255]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: After a short search, Lewis Harris was found, arrested, and transferred to the local jail house. Lewis Harris was found to be wearing soiled clothes, and reportedly his thumb had been lacerated, causing Miss McIlvaine to assert that she had bitten the attacker's hand during the struggle. Media accounts differ as to whether Sheriff Kinhart intended to transfer Lewis Harris to Baltimore City to avoiding a lynching in the county due to the heightened emotions in Bel Air from accusations against another Black man awaiting trial for reportedly assaulting another white woman.[256] Other reports state that no attempt was made to move Lewis Harris to a jail outside Harford County to safeguard his

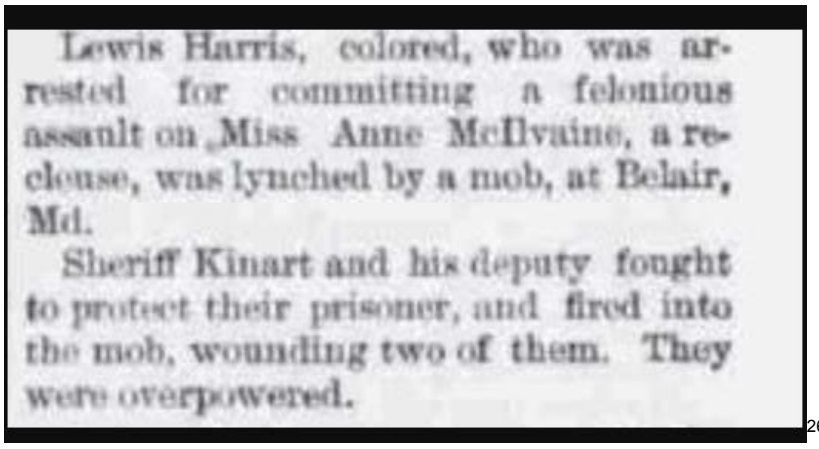
life, and Sheriff Kinhart reportedly discounted the rumors of a planned lynching.[257] Either way, the sheriff did not move Lewis Harris.



Miss McIlvaine is a daughter of the late Jeremiah McIlvaine, a former well-to-do resident of Churchville. Sheriff Kinhart does not apprehend any trouble in protecting the prisoner, but is taking all proper precautions against any outbreak which might occur, as the county has not yet recovered from the indignation incident to the assault upon Miss Jessie Bradford at Aberdeen a few weeks ago.

[258]

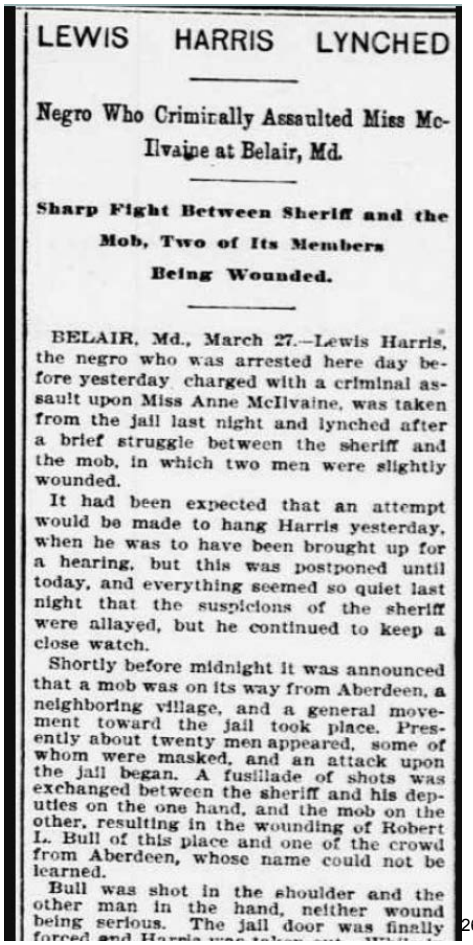
Around midnight on the morning of March 27, 1900, a mob approached Bel Air from Aberdeen and headed straight for the jail house where Lewis Harris was being held. Mostly masked, the mob of around 30 people approached and attacked the sheriff and his deputy that were guarding Lewis Harris. The mob confronted the officers and exchanged gunfire. A man named Robert L. Bull was wounded in the shoulder, and another member of the mob, who remained unnamed, was also injured on the hand. The sheriff reportedly was overwhelmed by the lynch mob and Lewis Harris was removed from the jail by the mob.[259]



Lewis Harris, colored, who was arrested for committing a felonious assault on Miss Anne McIlvaine, a recluse, was lynched by a mob, at Belair, Md.

Sheriff Kinart and his deputy fought to protect their prisoner, and fired into the mob, wounding two of them. They were overpowered.

[260]



LEWIS HARRIS LYNCHED

Negro Who Criminally Assaulted Miss McIlvaine at Belair, Md.

Sharp Fight Between Sheriff and the Mob, Two of Its Members Being Wounded.

BELAIR, Md., March 27.—Lewis Harris, the negro who was arrested here day before yesterday charged with a criminal assault upon Miss Anne McIlvaine, was taken from the jail last night and lynched after a brief struggle between the sheriff and the mob, in which two men were slightly wounded.

It had been expected that an attempt would be made to hang Harris yesterday, when he was to have been brought up for a hearing, but this was postponed until today, and everything seemed so quiet last night that the suspicions of the sheriff were allayed, but he continued to keep a close watch.

Shortly before midnight it was announced that a mob was on its way from Aberdeen, a neighboring village, and a general movement toward the jail took place. Presently about twenty men appeared, some of whom were masked, and an attack upon the jail began. A fusillade of shots was exchanged between the sheriff and his deputies on the one hand, and the mob on the other, resulting in the wounding of Robert L. Bull of this place and one of the crowd from Aberdeen, whose name could not be learned.

Bull was shot in the shoulder and the other man in the hand, neither wound being serious. The jail door was finally

[261]

Role of Authorities: The sheriff and the deputy responsible for protecting Lewis Harris while he was in jail reportedly were overwhelmed by the mob intending to lynch Lewis Harris.

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 26 years old

Date and Time: March 26, 1900

Location of Lynching: A poplar tree in a yard neighboring the Bel Aair jail

At what point did the lynching take place? After arrest and before trial

Method of Lynching: Hanged and shot multiple times

The mob dragged Lewis Harris out of the jail and took him to a neighboring yard where a large popular tree stood, and while using a rope around the neck, Lewis Harris was lifted into the air. As his body was hoisted up, the branch broke, throwing Lewis Harris down to the earth. He was then lifted a second time, shot a number of times, and Lewis Harris' lifeless body was left hanging in the tree until the morning when he was finally taken down.[262]

Who Was Involved: Out of the mob of approximately 30 white men most remained unnamed, however Robert Bull was named, because he was injured in the shootout with the sheriff.[263] It is also reported that Anne McIlvaine was with the mob at the scene.[264]

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Judge Watters of the Harford County Court urged the prosecution of the men who instigated and took part in the lynching.
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown
-

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Lewis Harris's body was riddled with bullets

Additional Details: Unknown

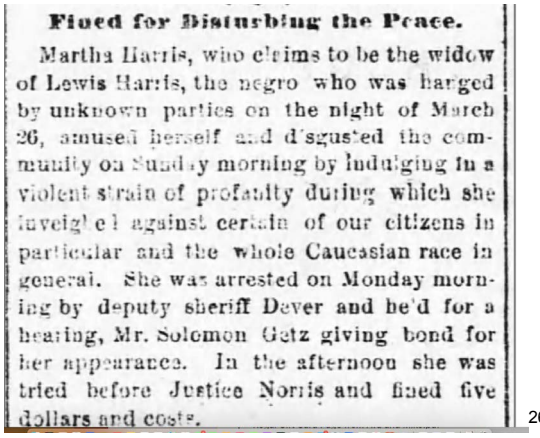
Aftermath

Reaction from the Community:

Judge Watters of the Harford County Court believed the mob made a stand against the law when they lynched Lewis Harris and that if law enforcement officials allowed mob law to rule the community, it would endanger an organized and stable government. Judge Watters is quoted as saying "The community has a right to demand protection of you and me. I charge you to do your duty without fear or favor, and without regard to persons." He continued that the mob's crime was murder, and the attack on the sheriff was "war against the state." The article concluded with the idea that several persons whom rumor connected them to the lynching were in the courtroom, attentive listeners and greatly disturbed over the Judge's charge.[265]

Despite Judge Waters strongly worded mandate and having interviewed dozens of witnesses over a six-day period, the grand jury foreman's report stated that the jury were unable to obtain any facts definite enough to implicate any person or persons. The grand jury submitted a proposal to the county commissioners recommending that they offer a $1,000 reward to help capture and convict the perpetrators. On May 21st, 1900, the county commissioners met and voted summarily not to offer any reward. No further action was ever taken in the Lewis Harris case.

Following the grand jury findings and the commissioner's refusal to offer a reward for capturing Lewis Harris's lynchers, his widow Martha Harris was fined $5 for using profanities on the streets of Bel Air and being verbally abusive in her loud cursing of white people in general.[266] She was arrested and her employer, Solomon Getz, paid her bond. The aggrieved tone and derision evident in short notices revealed the contempt felt toward Martha Harris by a number of members in the white community.



Fined for Disturbing the Peace.

Martha Harris, who claims to be the widow of Lewis Harris, the negro who was hanged by unknown parties on the night of March 26, amused herself and disgusted the community on Sunday morning by indulging in a violent strain of profanity during which she inveighed against certain of our citizens in particular and the whole Caucasian race in general. She was arrested on Monday morning by deputy sheriff Dever and held for a hearing, Mr. Solomon Getz giving bond for her appearance. In the afternoon she was tried before Justice Norris and fined five dollars and costs.

267

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** The press assumed that Ms. McIlvaine and the sheriff were justified in identifying Lewis Harris as Ms. McIlvaine's assailant.

- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** According to testimony at the MLTRC public hearings, an article in the *Raleigh Post* from Raleigh, North Carolina, indicated that the potential for lynching was well known including among people attending a widely advertised lecture, and that attendees made plans to linger after the talk to witness the lynching.[268]

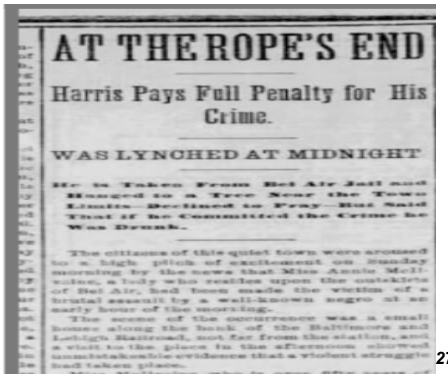
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** The WHITE press assumed that Lewis Harris was guilty of the alleged crime and that he deserved to be lynched.

- According to testimony at the MLTRC public hearings, the Black newspaper, *The Richmond Planet,* covered the story of Lewis Harris's lynching, as presumably did other Black press outlets. It is not known what the disposition of those newspapers were to the lynching. [269]

Headlines

LYNCHED AT BELAIR

270

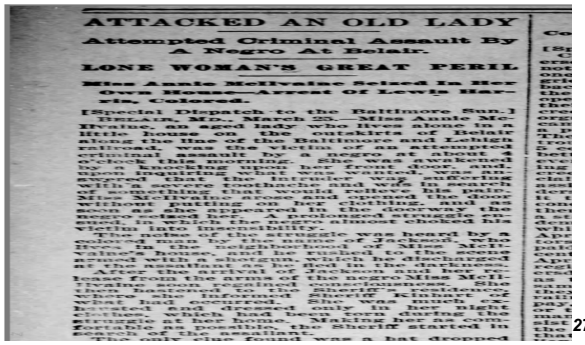


AT THE ROPE'S END

Harris Pays Full Penalty for His Crime.

WAS LYNCHED AT MIDNIGHT

271



ATTACKED AN OLD LADY

Attempted Criminal Assault By A Negro At Belair.

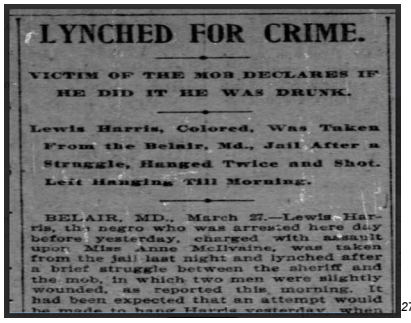
LONE WOMAN'S GREAT PERIL

Miss Annie McIlvaine Seized In Her Own Home—Arrest of Lewis Harris, Colored.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

BELAIR, Md., March 25.—Miss Annie McIlvaine, an aged lady who lives alone in a little house on the outskirts of Belair along the line of the Baltimore and Lehigh railroad, was the victim of an attempted criminal assault by a negro at early this morning. She was awakened by a knocking at her door, and upon inquiring what was wanted, she was told by a negro that he was hungry. She refused to open the door, but he broke it in and entered her room. Miss McIlvaine escaped through the back door without putting on her clothing, and as she appeared the negro seized her. A prolonged struggle ensued, in which the aged woman showed remarkable resistibility. Finally, she was heard by a neighbor, who, with a shotgun, went to her assistance. The negro, upon the approach of the neighborhood of Miss McIlvaine's home, quit his victim and fled. He was armed with a shotgun, which he discharged at the officer in the direction of the sheriff. What had occurred. She was much excited and dazed, and only in her slightly clothes, which had been torn during the struggle, which was as severe as possible, the Sheriff started in

272



LYNCHED FOR CRIME.

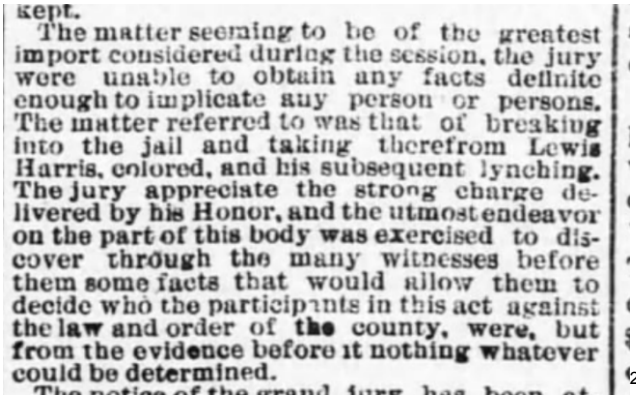
VICTIM OF THE MOB DECLARES IF HE DID IT HE WAS DRUNK.

Lewis Harris, Colored, Was Taken From the Belair, Md., Jail After a Struggle, Hanged Twice and Shot. Left Hanging Till Morning.

BELAIR, MD., March 27.—Lewis Harris, the negro who was arrested here day before yesterday, charged with assault upon Miss Anne McIlvaine, was taken from the jail last night and lynched after a brief struggle between the sheriff and the mob, in which two men were slightly wounded, as reported this morning. It had been expected that an attempt would be made to hang Harris yesterday when

273

Legal/Political Consequences: Immediately following Lewis Harris's lynching, Harford County Judge Watters insisted on an investigation, but There is no evidence that the inquiry was followed through, or that any charges were filed against any of the participants involved with the lynching of Lewis Harris.



kept.

The matter seeming to be of the greatest import considered during the session, the jury were unable to obtain any facts definite enough to implicate any person or persons. The matter referred to was that of breaking into the jail and taking therefrom Lewis Harris, colored, and his subsequent lynching. The jury appreciate the strong charge delivered by his Honor, and the utmost endeavor on the part of this body was exercised to discover through the many witnesses before them some facts that would allow them to decide who the participants in this act against the law and order of the county, were, but from the evidence before it nothing whatever could be determined.

274

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: There is no known cultural or political significance immediately following Lewis Harris's lynching.

Legislative Changes or Social Movements: There were no known legislative changes or social movements immediately following Lewis Harris's lynching.

Memorialization/Commemoration: There were no known memorializations immediately following Lewis Harris's lynching.

Ongoing Influence: A descendant of Solomon Getz, a Jewish merchant who owned a clothing and dry goods store in Bel Air, was moved to learn of his ancestor's advocacy for Martha Harris, following the lynching of her husband.[275]

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

In "Maryland's Lynching Record," author and historian A. Briscoe Koger cites that Harris was lynched on March 26, 1899, however the Maryland State Archives were unable to corroborate this date. The extant newspaper accounts all point to March 26-27, 1900, as the night-into-day that Harris was taken from the jail by the mob and lynched.[276]

HOWARD COUNTY LYNCHING CASE

Case Study: Jacob Henson[277] Jr.

(Howard County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Jacob Henson Jr.

Date of Birth: Approx. 1873[278]

Place of Birth: Ellicott City, Howard County, Maryland

Occupation/Background: Store Clerk

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- Jacob Henson Jr. was born to father Jacob Henson Sr. and mother, Eveline Henson (formerly Ireland).
- Jacob Henson Sr. was an enslaved person owned by Charles Washington Dorsey. Dorsey's inventory of enslaved people listed many Hensons, including Jacob Sr.[279]
- Eveline's mother, Lucy Ireland, can be traced to enslaver James McCubbin and his second wife, Gabriella Peters, granddaughter of Martha Washington. The Ireland Henson family were still living with the McCubbin family in 1870 as household servants or farmhands.[280]
- By 1895, Jacob Henson Sr., lived in the west end of Ellicott City.[281]
- Jacob Henson Jr. had nine (9) siblings:
    - One of his sisters went to Howard University to study nursing;
    - One brother went into the United States army where he became a Buffalo soldier;[282]
    - Another brother went into the Merchant Marines[283]; and
    - Another brother named David Henson, who lived in Baltimore[284]
- Jacob Henson Jr. stayed in Ellicott City where he worked for tavern owner, Daniel Shea.[285]
- Jacob Henson Jr. had an aunt named Rebecca Ireland who lived on No. 202 West Mulberry Street.[286]

Additional Background Information:

- Jacob Henson Jr. was baptized Catholic in his infancy.[287]
- Jacob Henson Jr. was employed to pump the bellows of the church organ at St. Paul's Catholic Church in Ellicott City, Maryland about a year before he was lynched.[288]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: February 19, 1895 at Daniel F. Shea's store on East main street[289].

Description of Alleged Crime: Jacob Henson, Jr. was accused of killing his employer, Daniel F. Shea, with a hatchet.

Victim of Alleged Crime: Daniel F. Shea (white, male, adult)

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Jacob Henson, Jr. (Black, male, adult)

Witness Statements or Claims:

There are no witnesses to Daniel F. Shea's murder, but a Black neighbor named John Dorsey, alleged that he saw Henson fleeing the store.

According to the *Baltimore Sun* Jacob Henson, Jr. wrote out a confession of guilt and handed it to Deputy Sheriff Robert H. Holtman on February 19, 1895. The account is as follows:

> "I went to Mr. Shea's store that night about 8 or 8:30 with some beer and he had his shutters closed and the blind in the door. Mr. Shea closed the door, locked it and put the bar across the door. I was standing up against the wall. I and Mr. Shea drank the beer together and had a little quarrel over the beer. Then Mr. Shea struck me three times in the breast, stunning me for a while, and I picked up the hatchet and struck Mr. Shea with the handle part of it. The first time I can remember striking him he was nearly at the end of the counter and the last time I can remember of striking him he was leaning over the counter. Afterward he fell with his head in the corner, and then I started to go upstairs. Before I went upstairs I took a long pocketbook off the counter and put it in my hip pocket of my old pants and when I came to look for it it was not there. It was a five dollar bill in it. I am most sure I lost the money that night, that's the candid truth. When I went upstairs my nose commenced to bleed. I left the hatchet on the chair, Emana Cole was not to be seen. John Dorsey was the only person to be seen. I did not do the deed on purpose. I did it in self defense. Washed my hands before I left the room. Left bright light burning downstairs. There was no light at all upstairs. It was all done through drunkenness and excitement."[290]

<u>Events Leading to the Lynching</u>

Triggering Incident:

Despite Jacob Henson, Jr.'s alleged admission of guilt by way of self-defense, stories began circulating that Daniel F. Shea was killed over money and that Jacob Henson, Jr. robbed his employer:

- "Mr. Shea was murdered for his money in his little Ellicott City store on the night of Tuesday, February 19. Henson was in his employ and was treated with great kindness. The crime was fastened upon him in a full and voluntary confession made to Detective Herman Pohler. He struck his victim with a hatchet which he picked up from the floor. Then he locked and barred the front door and hacked the head of Mr. Shea as he lay in the corner."[291]
- "With no other incentive than robbery the negro beat his employer's head with an iron bar and left him dead in a room over the latter's store, where he had lived alone. "[292]
- "Henson killed his victim with a hatchet, cutting him about the head 25 times. He had been in Mr. Shea's employ. The motive for the crime was robbery. Henson confessed his guilt. A question as to his mental responsibility was raised by his counsel, and experts on insanity made several investigations."[293]
- "Mr. Shea was killed in his store some time during Tuesday night, but his dead body was not discovered until Wednesday night…There was every indication of a murder. The surroundings showed plainly that a struggle had taken place. The back wall was smeared with blood, as though it had been dashed against the wall from a bucket, and the floor and stairway were covered with blood. The pockets of the victim's trousers were turned inside out, but his vest-pockets had not been touched, because they yet contained a handsome gold watch and some trinkets. The money-drawer in the store, containing only a few papers, which were smeared with blood, was left upon the counter after it had been rifled by the bloody hand of

the murderer...Chief Vansant and others made a thorough search of the premises. They found in the front second-story room three bags containing $17 in change. In the back room on a table was a half loaf of bread and the remnants of a meal. On a chair was a basin of bloody water, and, beside it a hatchet with blood-stains on the handle. It is supposed the murderer washed his hands in the basin, and becoming alarmed made no further search of the premise, but left by a back door, which was unbolted. This door opens upon a porch from which steps lead to a back yard. The yard is on a very steep hillside. It was an easy matter for the murderer to ascend the hill and make good his escape without being seen by anyone. The ground was hard, and his course could not be traced by footprints. That the murderer was scared is evidence by the untouched money bags in the front room. In the room above was Mr. Shea's bed, and on a chair close by the bed was a revolver of large caliber, every chamber of which was loaded. Dr. B.J. Byrne, who examined the wounds of the dead man, said death must have resulted a few minutes after the blows had been inflicted. There were 25 wounds on the head, and the Doctor said they might have been inflicted with a hatchet or some other sharp instrument."[294]

- "The amount taken is supposed to be nearly $200"[295]
- "After 36 hours of the most intense excitement in Ellicott City the mystery of the murder of Daniel F. Shea in his store on Tuesday night last was solved at a late hour tonight by the full and voluntary confession of Jacob Henson, a young colored man, who had been employed by Mr. Shea to do chores around his store. The confession was made to Herman Pohler, of the Baltimore City detective force, who came here today to assist the local police….Detective Pohlet said soon after he arrived on the scene that the theory advanced attributing the crime to a stranger was unreliable because no person unacquainted with the means of exit adopted by the assassin could have found a way out. He furthermore thought that the crime was the work of a n amateur robber, as was shown in the bungling way the murder had been committed. After an interview of half an hour Henson completely broke down and confessed all the details of the horrible killing. His story, as told to the coroner's inquest tonight to Detective Pohler, is as follows:
    - Henson had gained entrance into the store of his employer about the time the place being shut up. That was a little before 9 o'clock. The negro went out for a bucket of beer across to the saloon of John U. O'Brien and when he returned, according to his own statement, he had a quarrel with Mr. Shea, whom he knocked down with a stove shaker, a piece of iron about 15 inches long. He did not know how many times he struck. He was so excited. Before the detective has asked him anything about the money Henson declared he had not taken any of it, for there was none. "I took the man," he said the detective, "into the store of the deceased, but he reluctantly approached anywhere near the blood stains. He shuddered at the evidence of the deed. He showed the way he went, however up the steps and up the hill in the back yard, stopping as he proceeded at the wash basin or pan and towel which he had used. He took the weapon with him up the hill and threw it aside just before he reached a path leading to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad tracks." He hurried home after reaching the tracks. His father, who is also named Jacob Henson and lives in the west end of Ellicott City, surrendered the accused when the officers went for him. Chief Vansant, swore to the same details of the confession."[296]

Authorities found Jacob Henson, Jr. at his home in Ellicott City and he was held in the county jail on Ellicott City's Main Street until a trial date was set. March 28, 1895, Jacob Henson, Jr. stood trial for the killing of Daniel F. Shea.

"The sitting of the jury was held in the dwelling-house of John U. O'Brien, who is foreman. Henson was present and heard his confession repeated to the jury, and during its

progress he wept."[297] Jacob Henson, Jr. was represented by a Black lawyer named W. Ashby Hawkins who 1) asked that Jacob Henson, Jr. be tried by a jury, which was duly impaneled"[298] and 2) wanted to lead the jury to believe that Jacob Henson, Jr. suffered from developmental disabilities and was unaware of his actions:

> "Lawyer Ashby Hawkins made an eloquent and strong appeal…he contended that it had been shown by numerous witnesses that the prisoner was regarded as a poor half-witted creature, incapable of any crime. The many so-called confessions and the versus he wrote, the counsel contended, all proved the prisoner's unsound mind."[299]

Jacob Henson, Jr. also reportedly told a *Baltimore Sun* reporter that many people have considered him half-witted, but Detective Pohler insists that he is not a fool by any means.[300]

"Chief of Police James E. Vansant and a number of other witnesses testified for the prosecution, including Louis N. Getz, Samiel tracey, Dr. Bernard J. Byrne, Jacob J. Werner, W.H. Freeburger, Roswell A. Martin, John M. O'Brien, Jacob Henson, Sr., colored, father of the prisoner; Leonard Hillsinger, Agnew Wiles, Robert H. Holtman and John Dorsey, colored."[301]

- "Prof. W.B.D Penniman, of Baltimore Medical College, testified to finding blood stains on the clothing worn by Henson at the time of his arrest and also on the hatchet with which, according to his confession, the killing was done."[302]
    - Hadn't been shown that Jacob Henson Jr., was wearing these clothes during the time of the crime.
- "The cross-examination of Dr. Bryne and one or two others of the State's witnesses indicated the line of the defense to be a form of insanity. Dr. Byrne swore that he considered the prisoner a little stupid and slow in his mental faculties, but not, so far as he had observed him, unsound in mind."[303]
- "The defense called a number of witnesses to the stand to testify to the peculiarities of the prisoner's mental condition. Nearly all of them thought him to be stupid and slow, but his mind, all the witnesses thought, was not so much unbalanced. If unbalanced at all, that he could not distinguished between right and wrong. James Mackubin, John G. Rogers, Dr. B.J. Byrne and others thought the prisoner stupid and not possessed of average intelligence."[304]
- "State's Attorney McGuire said he had never heard a more powerful appeal for the life of a murderer than Henson's counsel had made before the jury, but the overwhelming evidence proved the guilt of the prisoner, who had planned and executed the crime."[305]
- "The Jury were out twenty-five minutes. One of the jurors said the verdict had been agreed upon unanimously at the first ballot taken, and that the jury had remained out to take a little rest."[306] They returned and rendered the following verdict that "Daniel F. Shea came to his death February 19, 1895, at the hands of Jacob Henson, Jr."[307]

Role of Authorities:

- "The Governor's warrant for the execution of Jacob Henson, Jr….was read to the prisoner this morning by Sheriff Gilbert E. Fowler. Henson had before been informed of the date fixed upon for his death, which is Friday, June 7. He made no comment whatever about the reading and seemed not in the least discomposed."[308]
- "When asked by the court if he had anything to say, Henson replied that the jury did not give him a fair trial and the court did not by any means give him justice."[309]
    - "The prisoner's counsel will make an appeal to Governor [Frank] Brown for executive clemency."[310]

- "[May 16] Governor [Frank] Brown has received a petition asking for communication of the sentence of Jacob Henson, Jr. colored, sentenced to be hanged June 7 for the murder of Daniel F. Shea. It is claimed that Henson is insane and not morally responsible. The Governor has referred the petition to the State lunacy board, with the request that they examine the man and make a report on the case."[311]
- "There was another delegation of doctors here today [May 27] inquiring into the mental condition of the condemned murderer, Jacob Henson, r., in whose behalf efforts have been made for executive interference. The visitors were Dr. L.G. Smart, assistant superintendent of Shepherd Asylum, who came in place of the superintendent, Dr. E.N. Brush; Dr. C. G. Hill, physician in charge of Mount Hope Retreat; Dr. R. W. Dashiell, member of the State lunacy commission, and Dr. William Lee, also of that commission, who was here a few days ago upon the same inquiry…They left the impression in the minds of persons with whom they conferred while here after leaving the jail that their finding in the case would not tend to influence the Governor to commute Henson's sentence. It is stated here by officials that the documents in the case so far presented to the Governor by the physicians show that Henson is considered sane and responsible for his actions."[312]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 22[313]

Date and Time: May 28, 1895

Location of Lynching: Property of A.B. Johnson in Ellicott City

At what point did the lynching take place? After being convicted of a crime but before his sentencing.

Method of Lynching: Hanged from a dogwood tree

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Jacob Henson Jr. was tried by the local judiciary, given a sentence, and given an execution date
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Jacob Henson Jr. was tried by the local executive, given a sentence, and given an execution date
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** The state allowed doctors to examine Jacob Henson Jr. to decide if claims that he was mentally unwell could be substantiated.
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** The state allowed doctors to examine Jacob Henson Jr. to decide if claims that he was mentally unwell could be substantiated.
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** After Jacob Henson Jr. was lynched, the state heard an appeal case that led to the charge of James F. Melvin with the murder of Jacob Henson

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Asphyxiated

Additional Details:

For weeks after Jacob Henson Jr.'s sentencing, doctors would visit the jail to inquire into his mental condition. It is believed that many members of Howard County's white community

feared that Jacob Henson Jr. would be released due to a plea of insanity and would never see his Friday, June 7, 1896 execution date.

The following are a series of news article clippings that shed light on what might have taken place on May 28, 1895 when Jacob Henson Jr. was taken from his jail cell and lynched by a mob:

- "The lynching was the work of a dozen or fifteen determined men who thus avenged the murder of Daniel F. Shea. The lynchers feared that the Governor of Maryland might be induced to interfere and commute the dead man's sentence to life imprisonment."[314]
    - "The grounds for this apprehension came from the recent repeated visits to the jail of one or two specialists in mental diseases to inquire into Henson's sanity and the reported intention of Governor Brown to go there for the same purpose."[315]
    - "The night was exceedingly dark. At the jail a few of the lynchers wore hoods, others had on long garments that hung over their heads and down to their waists, and others still improvised a disguise with nothing more than a pocket handkerchief."[316]
    - "The door which the family of Warden Lilly used was battered down with a (stout piece of iron.) The noise did not arouse the prisoner in his cell, nor was he awakened until the lock on his door gave away under the blows of the sledgehammer. As the lynchers rushed in he screamed to them to have mercy on him."[317]
    - "He was taken, after being bound and gagged, beyond Patapsco Heights, and there was hanged."[318]
    - "Henson nearly told what he did with his victim's money. He walked nearly all the way to the place of his execution, but fainted toward the last and was dragged and carried."[319]
    - "The jail was in charge of his [Warden Lilly's] son-in-law, Robert H. Hollman, who was overpowered. The warden's family begged the men not to hang the culprit in the jail, and they took him away."[320]
- "Deputy Holtman went to bed after 10 o'clock, and was not aware of the presence of the lynching party until his wife awoke him and told him there were some men in the back yard. Deputy Holtman rushed to a door leading to a portico that overlooks the back door, and just as he stepped on the portico he saw a masked man standing below with a shotgun leveled at his head. Near him stood another masked man armed in a similar manner. The man with the raised weapon shouted: "get inside that door or I'll make mincemeat of you."[321]
- "The lynchers came in small groups, all being masked and assembled near the jail. No alarm was given, and the first information Chief of Police Vansant had of their presence was when the leaders of the throng demanded admittance to the jail. He attempted to have a talk with the leaders, but it was no use. 'We have come for Henson, and we mean to have him,' was the only answer given to him."[322]
- "The mob did not get the keys, but broke down the door of Henson's cell with a sledgehammer."[323]
- "He was bound and gagged and made to walk part of the way over to Patapsco Heights, but fainted, and had to be dragged the rest of the way to the tree selected for the execution."[324]
- "When the lynchers were satisfied that their victim was dead they went home and left the body hanging. A piece of paper with these words was found pinned to the clothed on the body:
  'We respect our court and judges Governor Brown forced the law-abiding citizens to carry out the verdict of the jury.'"[325]

Members of Howard County felt empowered to take the law into their own hands and inflict on Jacob Henson Jr. the ending they felt he deserved, despite what the law and judicial system deemed his fair treatment.

One of Jacob Henson Jr.'s descendants, Florence (Joy) Owens, shared a poem that Jacob wrote while in jail entitled "Verses on Inside the Prison Wall" during the January 11, 2025 Howard County Public Hearing.

> *"Many a day have I sat inside these prison walls, waiting for the day to come that I will see my doom. Friends, why do you grieve so much? You grieve. Again grieve. You grieve in vain. Repentance will bring you all right again. O Lord. O Lord, I here repent to you. I make my vow. He is merciful and good and nothing may you fear. Its very hard to go away and leave your friends behind. Those friends so near and dear to you. The friends you love dearly."* – Jacob Henson Jr.[326]

Aftermath

- "Henson's body, after being viewed by the coroner's jury, was cut down from the tree and taken to the jail, where at 10 o'clock the jury, with Gerhard Butke as foreman, reassembled to finish its labors. After examining a number of witnesses, including the jail officials, a verdict was rendered to this effect: 'Jacob Henson, Jr., was taken from the Howard county jail by a party of unknown men and then to Patapsco road, and hanged to a tree by the neck. We further find he dies of strangulation.'"[327]
- "State's Attorney Joseph D. McGuire, who was present at the inquest, said that the lynching was a matter to be deplored and that every effort will be made on the part of the State's officers to bring the guilty parties to justice. He said that the numerous visits of the physicians recently sent by Governor Brown to investigate the prisoner's mental condition no doubt prompted the summary course taken last night, as it was feared that the death sentence would be commuted."[328]
- By daybreak, the body of Jacob Henson was still in the tree, and Undertaker Hillsinger was ordered to place the body in a coffin, bring it to the jail, and get an interment for the body somewhere in Ellicott City.[329] Unable to find a plot, the undertaker then looked into some of the African American cemeteries in the vicinity, but with no luck. When the relatives of Jacob Henson were contacted, they originally planned to give their son a proper burial, but since he was lynched, they wanted nothing to do with the body. As a last resort, Sheriff Flower agreed to take the victim's body to his farm, and buried Henson in a cemetery located there. During this time, the dogwood tree that Henson was lynched on had been cut down and relic-hunters took pieces of it as souvenirs to commemorate the spectacle.[330]
- "The body was cut down, placed in a pine coffin, and driven to the jail, while the jury went to their respective homes, to meet again at 9 o'clock in the morning."[331]
- Governor Frank Brown, upon hearing what happened in Howard County, condemned the mob that lynched Henson, stating that the actions of few reflected the community. But right after that sentence, he stated "...the actions of the lawless mob breaking into the jail and hanging the prisoner cannot be too strongly condemned," assuming that a hanging would have been carried out either by the community or the state. The governor put together a team of doctors to determine the sanity of Jacob Henson Jr., and if they would have just waited a few more days, they would have known that the conclusion of the interviews revealed that Henson did know what he was doing, and was of sound enough mind to commit the crime with reason. Justice Wallehborst summoned a jury of inquest to look into the matter, and unfortunately, like a number of other lynching inquiries, the jury concluded that "he died at the hands of persons unknown to the jury." It was at this moment that Governor Brown ordered from that day forward, any person

awaiting execution would be tried locally, then transferred to the State Penitentiary in Baltimore City, and the execution would be carried out there, citing that local jails were not secure enough to prevent interference, as it had been proven many times before.[332]

- Around June 27, 1898 "James T. Melvin, Justice of the Peace for Howard County was arrested on a charge of having aided in the lynching of Jacob Henson in 1895."[333]
    - "Mr. Melvin, who is editor of the Ellicott City Democrat and a justice of the peace, on Saturday, upon a warrant sworn out by Jacob Jenson, colored, charging him with the murder of his son, Jacob Henson, Jr., who was lynched in May 1895."[334]
- "Calhoun B. Ray, who is charged with attempting to burn the Baltimore and Ohio station at Ellicott City, and who is also said to have made an alleged confession in the lynching of Jacob Henson, colored, three years ago, is in jail."[335]

Jacob Henson Sr.'s testimony at James G. Melvin's hearing:

- "Henson was asked by Mr. McGuire from whom he got the information concerning Mr. Melvin's connection with the lynching. The witness replied that the matter had been first pointed out to him by Mr. J. Frank Oldfield, ex-sheriff, who intimated to him that Melvin had taken a prominent part in the affair and advised him to swear out a warrant. He stated that he had no personal knowledge of any sort of Mr. Melvin's being with the lynchers, but Mr. Oldfield had come to him and talked with him about it several times."[336]
- Mr. Oldfield testified that "Mr. Melvin had himself given him the facts shortly after the lynching…Mr. Murray interrupted the witness here to ask him to state more specifically how long after the lynching. Oldfield replied that he could not remember whether it had been two weeks, two months or six months afterward, but he had heard a man say that the account published in the Baltimore Sun was the best witness that Mr. Melvin was in the crowd, as he had written the account. Oldfield further declared that he had talked several times with Mr. Melvin about the lynching since its occurrence, and on one occasion had accused him of it in his office."[337]

During James G. Melvin's hearing, J. Frank Oldfield, an ex-sheriff, also testified against Melvin:

- "I went down to his [Mr. Melvin's] office one night when his wife was away, and he wanted me to stay all night. I accused him then of being in the crowd, and he told me all about it. He said that George Cavey led the crowd, and that Cal. Ray Charles Cramblett, Phillip Lauman, Edward Curran, himself, and a man named John Shipley from Baltimore was there. I don't hesitate to say anything that he told me, and am not holding back any names. Melvin asked me several times to go with the crowd to take Henson out of jail, and we had been expecting a lynching for several nights. In fact, several of us sat up and watched two or three nights before to prepare for it. I refused to go with Melvin, and he told me that he would never get caught and could not get convicted; that the people were all with us and everybody knew of it…He said he had come up with the crowd at the turnstile , and that he had gone down the back way with them to the jail, where they found the side door unlatched and a lamp on the table. There were two or three rifled in a room, and some of the men picked them up and called upstairs to the jailer and his family that they would blow their brains out if they came down. Somebody, Melvin said, forced the door to Henson's cell and the crowd came in. They asked Henson where his money was, and when he opened his mouth George Cavey gagged him. He then told me they marched Henson from the jail to the institute that at one time he fell

across a wire fence, and that the crowd dragged him through with a rope, and also that somebody had struck him with a club while he was in the road."[338]

- "Mr. McGuire asked whether Melvin mentioned any names at this time, Oldfield replied: 'No.' He said they went by numbers and not names, and said that 'if any of them knew he had told me about it he would be killed.'"[339]

State's Attorney Joseph McGuire said that although the nature of the offense was "unbailable" that he would "assume the responsibility of directing that bail for $500 be accepted for Mr. Melvin's appearance." And Justice Frey said that he would be willing to accept a bond of $5,000, and this amount was promptly furnished by James G. Melvin.[340]

Reaction from the Community:

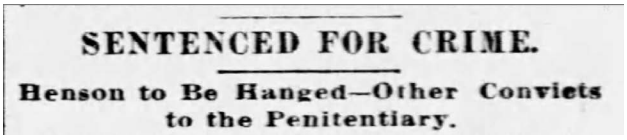
According to an article in *The Ellicott City Times*, Rebecca Ireland, Jacob Henson Jr.'s aunt, refused to receive Jacob Henson Jr.'s body stating that she intended to give him a decent burial had he been executed according to law, but that she did not propose to bury him after he had been lynched.[341]

Ourside of this article, there is limited documentation of community sentiment in Howard County after Jacob Henson's lynching, though continued media coverage—such as the hearing of James G. Melvin three years later—suggests that the case had a lasting impact on local discourse and a delayed pursuit of accountability.

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** The press for the most part treated the alleged crime as strictly a crime
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** The news kept the public abreast to what was going on with Jacob Henson Jr.'s case, including all the visits of medical professionals. Some news outlets can be viewed as agitating the public towards lynching.
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** While the media overall expressed disapproval of Jacob Henson Jr.'s lynching, some coverage conveyed "a sense of understanding" toward the mob's actions.[342]

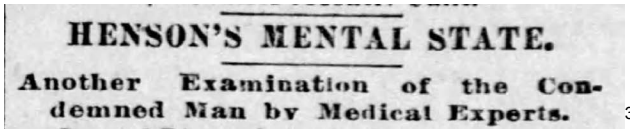
Headlines


SENTENCED FOR CRIME.
Henson to Be Hanged—Other Convicts to the Penitentiary.

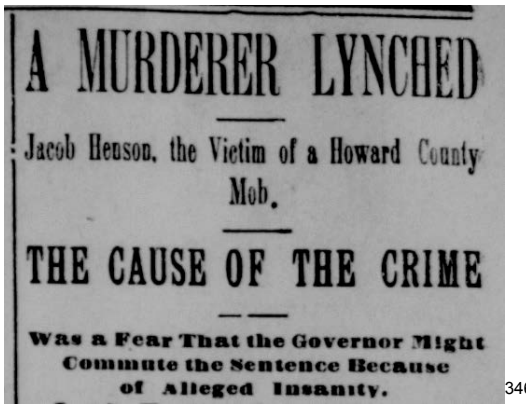
[343]

DEATH WARRANT.
Henson Preparing to Meet His Doom on the Gallows.

[344]


HENSON'S MENTAL STATE.
Another Examination of the Condemned Man by Medical Experts.

[345]



A MURDERER LYNCHED

Jacob Henson, the Victim of a Howard County Mob.

THE CAUSE OF THE CRIME

Was a Fear That the Governor Might Commute the Sentence Because of Alleged Insanity.

346

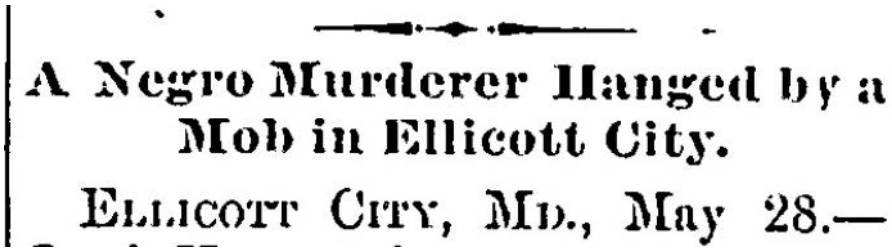
HENSON LYNCHED.

Maryland Furnishes HerAnnual Exhibit of Mob Law.

HOWARD COUNTY JAIL STORMED

The Poor Wretch Dragged to the Place of Execution—Verdict of the Coroner's Jary.

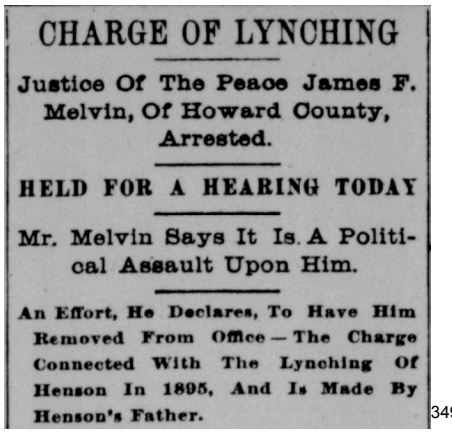
347



A Negro Murderer Hanged by a Mob in Ellicott City.

ELLICOTT CITY, MD., May 28.—

348



CHARGE OF LYNCHING

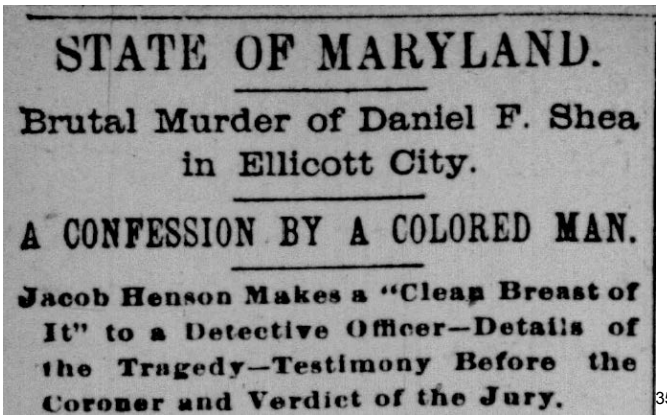
Justice Of The Peace James F. Melvin, Of Howard County, Arrested.

HELD FOR A HEARING TODAY

Mr. Melvin Says It Is A Political Assault Upon Him.

An Effort, He Declares, To Have Him Removed From Office—The Charge Connected With The Lynching Of Henson In 1895, And Is Made By Henson's Father.

349



STATE OF MARYLAND.

Brutal Murder of Daniel F. Shea in Ellicott City.

A CONFESSION BY A COLORED MAN.

Jacob Henson Makes a "Clean Breast of It" to a Detective Officer—Details of the Tragedy—Testimony Before the Coroner and Verdict of the Jury.

350

Legal/Political Consequences:

- Judge Jones' "charge, urged the importance of thoroughly investigating the lynching of Jacob Henson, colored, who when taken from the jail and lawlessly executed, was under sentence of death for the murder of Daniel F. Shea."[351]
    - The new grand jurors were selected for the term: Samuel J. Radcliffe, foreman, Samuel B. Ecker, Nathaniel Wheeler, James Lemmon, James H. Gaither, Samuel C. Hearn, Christian Eckert, Jesse W. Rhine, Herman D. Wehland, George D. Walters, Wm. F. Whipps, Elisha R. Jones, Edward L. Thompson, Covington B. Zepp, Arthur McLane, John T. Cronmiller, Nicholas H. Warfield, Robert N. Soper, James W. Crook, Wm. I. Harding, Harvey W. Davis, August Nicholi, and Alexander Baetpath.[352]
- "In reference to the lynching case in Howard County in 1895, of which the court urged a special and thorough investigation, the report states:

> 'Most of our time was occupied in the investigation of the lynching of Jacob Henson, and it is due to the court, to the community, as well as to ourselves, to say we have had no testimony before us of sufficient legal weight or positiveness to justify an indictment. In our opinion proper care

was not taken of Henson, especially after he had been sentenced, and no preparations had been made for the defense of the jail or prison.'[353]

- "A warrant charging James F. Melvin with the murder of Jacob Henson, colored, who was taken from the Ellicott City jail in May 1895 and lynched, was served upon Mr. Melvin yesterday. It was sworn out by Henson's father on Thursday, before Justice Charles A. Frey, but was not served until noon on Saturday, being placed in the hands of Deputy Sheriff James E. Vansant."[354]
    - "State's Attorney Joseph D. McGuire, who was present in the Justice's office, said that the nature of the charge under ordinary circumstances would make it non-bailable, yet he would assume the responsibility of directing that bail for $500 be accepted for Mr. Melvin's appearance on Monday morning for a hearing, as the State was not ready now. Justice Frey said he would be willing to accept a bond of $5,000 and this amount was promptly furnished by Mr. James Mackubin."[355]
    - "Mr. Melvin is a newspaper editor and correspondent, and wrote an account of the lynching at the time it occurred."[356]
- "Mr. Melvin was released by Judge Jones on $3,000 bail."[357]

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance:

Jacob Henson Jr.'s sentencing was "the first time Judge I. Thomas Jones had ever imposed the death sentence."[358]

His lynching is also one of the few cases where members of the lynch mob were named and tried for their crimes.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements?

There are no known legislative changes or social movements that came about directly following the lynching of Jacob Henson Jr., but his story played a role in the work of people like Ida B. Wells and organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Memorialization/Commemoration:

There are no known memorials or commemorations celebrating the life of Jacob Henson Jr.

Ongoing Influence:

The story of Jacob Henson Jr.'s lynching played a role in the work of people like Ida B. Wells and organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and is a part of the broader story of racial terror lynchings in Maryland and the United States, reflected in spaces like the National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

- Some sources (including the Baltimore African America[359]) state that Jacob Henson was lynched on March 28 while most sources not only state he was lynched on May 28th but are reporting within days of a May 28th lynching date.

The following cross-examination of Mr. Oldfield reveals that he may have known information regarding Henson's lynching during the time of the grand jury trial but did not speak up because "Upon my word, if it had occurred to me I would have done so, but it did not come to my mind."[360]It was believed that Mr. J. Frank Oldfield spoke out against Mr. Melvin because he was "never in favor of his sitting in the first place [as a Justice of the Peace]."[361]

Endnotes

1 .The Philadelphia Inquirer, 15 June 1875. “Lynch Law: A Colored Man Hanged on a Tree.” https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013795/html/philadelphia_inquirer_1875-06-15.pdf

2 Joseph Simms Obituary, Legacy.com, https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/capitalgazette/name/joseph-simms-obituary?id=20652319

3 “Briscoe Reported Lynched: Taken from an Anne Arundel Constable and Hanged to a Tree,” The Baltimore Sun, November 28, 1884. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013731/images/sun28nov1884.pdf

4 The Baltimore Sun, November 28, 1884

5 The Baltimore Sun, November 28, 1884

6 “Local Matters. The Lynchers Denounced,” Baltimore Sun, December 8, 1884, 6.

7 “Briscoe Reported Lynched.”

8 The Evening Capital, November 29, 1884, The Lynching of Briscoe. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013731/images/capital29nov1884.pdf

9 This information was added by a MLTRC researcher.

10 “Lynching of Briscoe. Waylaid by a Mob and Hanged. Buried at the Foot of the Fatal Tree,” Baltimore Sun, November 29, 1884, 1.

11 “Annapolis Lynchers,” The Baltimore Weekly Sun, October 8, 1898, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013748/tif/aplynchers.pdf.

12 “Annapolis Lynchers,” The Baltimore Weekly Sun, October 8, 1898

13 The Annapolis Advertiser, “Lynching of William Smith,” October 6, 1898, Maryland State Archives, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013748/tif/smithlynched.pdf.

14 “Annapolis Lynchers,” The Baltimore Weekly Sun, October 8, 1898

15 This comment was made during the hearings with no explanation of the term “the fearsome”

16 The Annapolis Advertiser, “Resolution Rejected,” October 13, 1898, Maryland State Archives, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013748/tif/resolution.pdf.

17 The Annapolis Advertiser

18 “Annapolis Lynchers,” The Baltimore Weekly Sun, October 8, 1898

19 “Attacked By A Negro,” The Baltimore Weekly Sun, September 10, 1898, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013748/tif/attacked.pdf

20 The Annapolis Advertiser, “Lynching of William Smith,” October 6, 1898, Maryland State Archives,

21 Born 1876 according to his death certificate; information supplied by the coroner (https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/deathcert.pdf). Born in 1877, according to Anne Arundel County Jail Records (https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/docket.pdf). Born in 1883, according to Penitentiary Reception Records (https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/penitentiary.pdf).

22 Maryland Truth and Reconciliation Commission Victim Profile and Case File Check List, H. Davis Profile; https://docs.google.com/document/d/1xvTkUCPeIoGyRQ7NxRvX9ThsMUUc0DF7/edit

23 Maryland Truth and Reconciliation Commission Victim Profile and Case File Check List, H. Davis Profile

24 Maryland State Archives, Henry Davis MSA SC 3520-13635 https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/html/13635bio.html

25 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statement of Ellen Tierney)

26 “Woman Assaulted, Assailant Escapes.” Evening Capital, 14 December 1906. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/12-14-1906capital.pdf

27 Maryland State Archives, Henry Davis MSA SC 3520-13635

28 Maryland State Archives, Henry Davis MSA SC 3520-13635

29 “Accused Negro Confesses.” Evening Capital, 19 December 1906. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/12-19-1906capital.pdf

30 Maryland Truth and Reconciliation Commission Victim Profile and Case File Check List, H. Davis Profile

31 “The Suspect Is Arrested.” Evening Capital, 17 December 1906. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/12-17-1906capital.pdf

32 C. Christopher Brown, “White community involvement in the 1906 lynching of Henry Davis,” Maryland Historical Magazine, Winter 2013, pp. 411-419, footnote 1, page 418

33 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statement of Thornell Jones)

34 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statement of Thornell Jones)

35 Brown, footnote 3, page 418 cites The Evening Capital, December 22, 1906 that reported that “a large number of those present during the affair were young men, probably students of St. John’s College or candidates for the Naval Academy.” Furthermore, some were “organizers of the affair”

36 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statement of Thornell Jones)

37 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statement of Ellen Tierney)

38 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statement of Thornell Jones)

39 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statement of Thornell Jones)

40 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statement of Thornell Jones)

41 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statement of Ellen Tierney)

42 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statement of Ellen Tierney)

43 The Suspect Is Arrested.” Evening Capital, 17 December 1906. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/12-17-1906capital.pdf

44 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statement of Ellen Tierney)

45 “Accused Negro Confesses.” Evening Capital, 19 December 1906. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/12-19-1906capital.pdf

46 Wants Jury Reconvened.” Evening Capital, 20 December 1906. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/12-20-1906capital.pdf

47 “The Assault on Woman Avenged - Davis Dragged from Jail and Lynched - Mob Riddled Negro Ravisher with Bullets.” Evening Capital, 21 December 1906. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/12-21-1906capital.pdf

48 Victim Told of Lynching.” Evening Capital, 22 December 1906. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/12-22-1906capital4.pdf

49 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statements of Thornell Jones and of Ellen Tierney), and "Gruesome Postal Cards." Evening Capital, 24 December 1906, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/12-24-1906capital2.pdf
50 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statement of Thornell Jones)
51 Victim Told of Lynching." Evening Capital, 22 December 1906
52 "The April Term of Court...Judge James Revell's Charge to the Jury Very Forceful - He Denounces Lynching in Strong Terms." Evening Capital, 15 April 1907. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/4-15-1907capital.pdf
53 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statement of Thornell Jones)
54 "Circuit Court." Evening Capital, 27 April 1907. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/4-27-1907capital.pdf
55 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconcilation Commission Anne Arundel County Hearings October 8, 2022. (Statement of Ellen Tierney)
56 "Plaque unveiled to honor lynching victim." The Evening Capital, 21 December 2001. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013600/013635/images/cap21dec2001.pdf
57 "Plaque unveiled to honor lynching victim." The Evening Capital, 21 December 2001.
58 Anne Arundel County Circuit Court (Docket) April 1900, p. 268. MSA C65,1-2-10-13.
59 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
60 "Shot After Pool Game." The Baltimore Sun, 25 December 1911, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013760/tif/sun25dec1911.pdf
61 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
62 There are differing accounts about whether King Johnson was hit by Frederick Schwab
63 "Shot After Pool Game." The Baltimore Sun, 25 December 1911. It is not known whether the witnesses were Black or white. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013760/tif/sun25dec1911.pdf And "Negro Lynched." The Baltimore Sun, 26 December 1911. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013760/tif/sun26dec1911.pdf
64 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
65 "Negro Lynched" The Baltimore Sun. And "Johnson Lynched." The Evening Capital, 26 December 1911, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013760/tif/capital26dec1911.pdf
66 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
67 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
68 Johnson Lynched" The Evening Capital
69 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
70 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
71 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
72 "Lynchers' Masks Found." The Baltimore Sun, 27 December 1911, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013760/tif/sun27dec1911.pdf; and "Pastor Denounces Lynchers." The Baltimore Sun, 1 January 1912, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013760/tif/sun1jan1912.pdf
73 "Lynchers' Masks Found." The Baltimore Sun, 27 December 1911,
74 "Pastor Denounces Lynchers." The Baltimore Sun, 1 January 1912.
75 "The Lesson of the Brooklyn Murders." The Baltimore Sun, 27 December 1911. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013760/tif/sun27dec1911b.pdf
76 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo) and "Grand Jury Finishes." The Evening Capital, 13 Janaury 1912, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013760/tif/capital13jan1912.pdf
77 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
78 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
79 "Other Negro Held As Witness." The Baltimore Sun, 26 December 1911. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013760/tif/sun26dec1911e.pdf
80 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
81 Judge Lynch's Court, Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, King Johnson MSA SC 5339-70-29 https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000070/000000/000044/restricted/00061911johnson.html; and "Deplored At Annapolis." The Baltimore Sun, 26 December 1911. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013760/tif/sun26dec1911b.pdf; and "Law Regards It As Murder." The Baltimore Sun, 26 December 1911, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013760/tif/sun26dec1911d.pdf; and "Mob Act Is Deplored." The Baltimore Sun, 26 December 1911. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013760/tif/sun26dec1911f.pdf

82 "Johnson Lynched." The Evening Capital, 26 December 1911.
83 "Negro Lynched." The Baltimore Sun, 26 December 1911.
84 "Mob Act Is Deplored." The Baltimore Sun, 26 December 1911.
85 "The County Safeguards." The Baltimore Sun, 26 December 1911. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013760/tif/sun26dec1911h.pdf
86 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
87 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
88 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
89 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Rick Forgo)
90 "Grand Jury Finishes." The Evening Capital, 13 January 1912. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013760/tif/capital13jan1912.pdf
91 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing, October 8, 2022 (Statement of Elaine Bachman)
92 "On anniversary of a Maryland lynching, students' poems call for change," Washington Post, July 14, 2022, https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2022/07/14/hoard-cooper-maryland-lynching/
93 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Troy Williams)
94 Historical Spotlight, The Bare Hills Community Was One of the Oldest Free African American Communities in Baltimore County, https://www.livebluestem.com/news/2019/07/historical-spotlight-the-bare-hills-community-was-one-of-the-oldest-free-african-american-communities-in-baltimore-county/
95 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Jennifer Lyles)

96 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of David Armenti)
97 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Jennifer Liles)
98 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Jennifer Liles)
99 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Troy Williams)
100 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Troy Williams)
101 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Jennifer Liles)
102 Alexander Ormond Bolton, The Lynching of Howard Cooper_Maryland Historical Magazine,Fall 2011, https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1-VFzW4n4gKWq3LK9Ty_r8qhBnphu0KtV pg. 295 (3)
103 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Howard Cooper MSA SC 3520-13733, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000070/000000/000044/restricted/00061885cooper.html
104 Maryland State Archives, Howard Cooper (c. 1867-1885) MSA SC 3520-13733,https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013733/html/13733bio.html
105 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Troy Williams)
106 The length of time varies from source to source https://drive.google.com/file/d/1PTxUrwB6dCQ6qWGnBxnMkDr6H_IOwMZP/view?usp=sharing; Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series), Howard Cooper (c. 1867-1885), MSA SC3520-13733, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013733/html/13733bio.html; and Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Troy Williams).
107 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Howard Cooper MSA SC 3520-13733,
108 Howard Cooper's age is disputed; Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Howard Cooper MSA SC 3520-13733,
109 Maryland State Archives Howard Cooper (c. 1867-1885) MSA SC 3520-13733, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013733/html/13733bio.html
110 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Troy Williams)
111 There may be some question as to whether Howard Cooper was coerced into confessing a crime he may not have committed. Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Kristin McFarlane)
112 Baltimore Sun, April 7, 1885 (from https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1-VFzW4n4gKWq3LK9Ty_r8qhBnphu0KtV pg. 296)
113 Alexander Ormond Bolton, The Lynching of Howard Cooper_Maryland Historical Magazine,Fall 2011, https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1-VFzW4n4gKWq3LK9Ty_r8qhBnphu0KtV pg. 298
114 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Troy Williams)
115 Baltimore County Union, April 18, 1885 (from https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1-VFzW4n4gKWq3LK9Ty_r8qhBnphu0KtV pg. 299)
116 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Troy Williams)
117 Alexander Ormond Bolton, The Lynching of Howard Cooper_Maryland Historical Magazine,Fall 2011, https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1-VFzW4n4gKWq3LK9Ty_r8qhBnphu0KtV pg. 299
118 Dennis Patrick Halpin, A Brotherhood of Liberty: Black Reconstruction and its Legacies in Baltimore, 1865-1920, p. 59; Baltimore County Union, April 18, 1885; Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Joan Bryan)
119 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Troy Williams)
120 Cooper's age is disputed. In some sources he is 15, some he is 17, and in others he is assumed to be 22 or 24; Page 294 from The Lynching of Howard Cooper by Alexander Ormond Boulton, Maryland Historical Magazine, p. 294, https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1-VFzW4n4gKWq3LK9Ty_r8qhBnphu0KtV
121 Archives of Maryland Howard Cooper (c. 1867-1885), MSA SC 3520-13733, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013733/html/13733bio.html
122 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Howard Cooper MSA SC 3520-13733
123 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Troy Williams); "The Lynching of Howard Cooper," pp. 305-307, https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1-VFzW4n4gKWq3LK9Ty_r8qhBnphu0KtV
124 The Lynching of Howard Cooper," p. 305
125 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Troy Williams)
126 It is unclear whether this references Baltimore City or Baltimore County
127 "The Lynching of Howard Cooper," The Baltimore County Union, 18 July 1885, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013733/tif/lynching.pdf
128 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Troy Williams)
129 The Lynching of Howard Cooper," p. 310, quoting the Maryland Journal, July 18, 1885
130 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Dennis Halpin)
131 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Linda Shopes)
132 "Howard Cooper Lynched!" The Maryland Journal, 18 July 1885, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013733/tif/howard.pdf

133 "The Lynching of Cooper," The Baltimore Sun, 14 July 1885, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013733/tif/cooperlynching.pdf
134 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Howard Cooper MSA SC 3520-13733
135 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Howard Cooper MSA SC 3520-13733
136 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Howard Cooper MSA SC 3520-13733
137 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Howard Cooper MSA SC 3520-13733
138 The Baltimore County Union, The Towson News (Towson, Maryland) ·Sat, Jul 18, 1885 · Page 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/890058783/

139 Lancaster New Era (Lancaster, Pennsylvania) · Mon, Jul 13, 1885, https://www.newspapers.com/image/566306483/
140 The Republic (Columbus, Indiana) · Tue, Jul 14, 1885 · Page 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/128071662/
141 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Howard Cooper MSA SC 3520-13733
142 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Debbie Harner)
143 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Jennifer Lyles)
144 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Peta Richkus)
145 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Will Schwarz)
146 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Jennifer Lyles)
147 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Jennifer Lyles).
148 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Stephanie Robinson)
149 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Baltimore County Public Hearing Live Stream, June 4, 2022. (Statement of Juliet Henley)
150 Several news accounts misspell his name as Townshend Cook
151 Carroll County Public Hearing February 1st, 2025 https://www.youtube.com/live/lO1FkWJ0-8c?si=l9Ei742IfUcgvQcl, (Statement of Jennifer Liles).
152 Sources state that he grew up in the area and was well known: https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/html/13732bio.html
153 "Townsend Cook's Fate," Baltimore Sun, June 3, 1885. (https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/sun3june1885.pdf);
154 Carroll County Public Hearing February 1st, 2025 https://www.youtube.com/live/lO1FkWJ0-8c?si=l9Ei742IfUcgvQcl (Statement of Jennifer Liles).
155 Carroll County Public Hearing February 1st, 2025 https://www.youtube.com/live/lO1FkWJ0-8c?si=l9Ei742IfUcgvQcl (Statement of Jennifer Liles).
156 Carroll County Public Hearing February 1st, 2025 https://www.youtube.com/live/lO1FkWJ0-8c?si=l9Ei742IfUcgvQcl (Statement of Jennifer Liles).
157 "Brutal Assault," The Democratic Advocate, June 6, 1885. (https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/dem6june1885b.pdf)
158 Carroll County Public Hearing February 1st, 2025 https://www.youtube.com/live/lO1FkWJ0-8c?si=l9Ei742IfUcgvQcl (Statement of Jennifer Liles).
159 Carroll County Public Hearing February 1st, 2025 https://www.youtube.com/live/lO1FkWJ0-8c?si=l9Ei742IfUcgvQcl (Statement of Jennifer Liles).
160 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Carroll County Public Hearing, February 1, 2025 (Statement of Jack Del Nunzio)
161 Some sources say he had a bad reputation but don't allude to why ("Another Outrageous Assault," Baltimore Sun, June 1, 1885, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/sun1june1885.pdf
162 "Cook Taken from Jail," Baltimore Sun, June 2, 1885. (https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/sun2june1855.pdf); Another Outrageous Assault," Baltimore Sun, June 1, 1885 https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/sun1june1885.pdf
163 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Townshend Cook, MSA SC 3520-13732, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000070/000000/000044/restricted/00061885cook.html
164 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Townshend Cook, MSA SC 3520-13732,
165 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Townshend Cook, MSA SC 3520-13732,
166 Another Outrageous Assault," Baltimore Sun, June 1, 1885; "Cook Taken from Jail," Baltimore Sun, June 2, 1885; "Brutal Assault," The Democratic Advocate, June 6, 1885, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/dem6june1885b.pdf
167 "Another Outrageous Assault," Baltimore Sun, June 1, 1885
168 Another Outrageous Assault," Baltimore Sun, June 1, 1885
169 It is unknown whether Pinckney and George Davis were family members.
170 "Brutal Assault," The Democratic Advocate, June 6, 1885, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/dem6june1885b.pdf
171 "Lynch Law," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) · Wed, Jun 3, 1885 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/34476985/
172 "Townsend Cook's Fate," Baltimore Sun, June 3, 1885. (https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/sun3june1885.pdf)
173 "Townsend Cook's Fate," Baltimore Sun, June 3, 1885

174 “Townsend Cook’s Fate,” Baltimore Sun, June 3, 1885.
175 “Townsend Cook’s Fate,” Baltimore Sun, June 3, 1885.
176 Judge Lynch’s Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Townshend Cook, MSA SC 3520-13732
177 Judge Lynch’s Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Townshend Cook, MSA SC 3520-13732; “Cook Taken from Jail,” Baltimore Sun, June 2, 1885 https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/sun2june1855.pdf
178 “Townsend Cook’s Fate,” Baltimore Sun, June 3, 1885. (https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/sun3june1885.pdf)
179 “Townsend Cook’s Fate,” Baltimore Sun, June 3, 1885.
180 “Townsend Cook’s Fate,” Baltimore Sun, June 3, 1885.
181 “Cook Taken from Jail,” Baltimore Sun, June 2, 1885. (https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/sun2june1855.pdf)
182 “Cook Taken from Jail,” Baltimore Sun, June 2, 1885.
183 “Cook Taken from Jail,” Baltimore Sun, June 2, 1885.
184 “Townsend Cook’s Fate,” Baltimore Sun, June 3, 1885; “A Maryland Negro Lynched.: Taken From Westminster Jail And Hanged,” New York Times (1857-1922); Jun 3, 1885; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index pg. 2 (https://acrobat.adobe.com/id/urn:aaid:sc:US:336f6bdb-e7e8-4f5d-b697-63a5b61f536a)
185 “Townsend Cook’s Fate,” Baltimore Sun, June 3, 1885
186 “Townsend Cook’s Fate,” Baltimore Sun, June 3, 1885. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/sun3june1885.pdf
187 “”Townsend Cook’s Fate,” Baltimore Sun, June 3, 1885
188 “Townsend Cook’s Fate,” Baltimore Sun, June 3, 1885.
189 “A Maryland Negro Lynched.: Taken From Westminster Jail And Hanged,” New York Times (1857-1922); Jun 3, 1885; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index pg. 2 (https://acrobat.adobe.com/id/urn:aaid:sc:US:336f6bdb-e7e8-4f5d-b697-63a5b61f536a)
190 “The Lynching of Cook,” The Democratic Advocate, June 6, 1885. (https://acrobat.adobe.com/id/urn:aaid:sc:US:6b814b90-d713-4286-a315-5601e059b6d2)
191 Judge Lynch’s Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Lynching Profile: Townshend Cook, MSA SC 3520-13732
192 “Cook Taken from Jail,” Baltimore Sun, June 2, 1885. (https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/sun2june1855.pdf)
193 “Townsend Cook’s Fate,” Baltimore Sun, June 3, 1885. (https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/sun3june1885.pdf)
194 “A Maryland Negro Lynched.: Taken From Westminster Jail And Hanged,” New York Times (1857-1922); Jun 3, 1885; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index pg. 2 (https://acrobat.adobe.com/id/urn:aaid:sc:US:336f6bdb-e7e8-4f5d-b697-63a5b61f536a)
195 “Brutal Assault,” The Democratic Advocate, June 6, 1885. (https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013732/images/dem6june1885b.pdf)
196 “Mrs. Knott’s Assailant Lynched,” The Washington Post (1877-1922); Jun 3, 1885; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post pg. 1 (https://acrobat.adobe.com/id/urn:aaid:sc:US:eb92a2f2-1f9e-408b-8c0e-388efe38f553)
197 “A Negro Lynched,” The Day (New London, Connecticut) · Wed, Jun 3, 1885 · Page 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/968356079/
198 “Lynch Law,” The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) · Wed, Jun 3, 1885 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/34476985/
199 “Another Outrageous Assault” York Democratic Press, York, Pennsylvania · Friday, June 05, 1885 https://www.newspapers.com/image/774062964/?match=1&terms=Townsend%20Cook
200 “Hanged and Shot,” Nashville Banner Nashville, Tennessee · Tuesday, June 02, 1885 https://www.newspapers.com/image/603624887/?match=1&terms=Townsend%20Cook
201 “Townsend Cook Hanged,” The Macon Telegraph Macon, Georgia · Wednesday, June 03, 1885 https://www.newspapers.com/image/823558471/?match=1
202 “Avenged by a Mob” St. Louis Post-Dispatch St. Louis, Missouri · Tuesday, June 02, 1885 page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/137821232/?match=1
203 “A Good Job,” Maysville Bulletin Thu, Jun 11, 1885 ·Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1084180409/?match=1&clipping_id=new
204 “Carroll County Court,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · 10 Nov 1885, Tue · Page 4 (https://acrobat.adobe.com/id/urn:aaid:sc:US:d9269dd5-aa71-481c-945d-995764ccf1af)
205 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Carroll County Public Hearing, February 1, 2025 (Statement of Kevin Dayhoff).
206 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Carroll County Public Hearing, February 1, 2025 (Statement of Kevin Dayhoff).
207 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Carroll County Public Hearing, February 1, 2025 (Statement of Jennifer Liles).
208 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearings, October26, 2024 (Statement of Lisa Tuzo)
209 There were multiple people named Isaac Moore in Harford County during the mid-1800s. One, who was an adult by the 1840s, was enslaved. Another, born around 1846, was free and born to a free Black woman. One Black man named Isaac Moore registered for the military draft and was listed as having been born in Maryland in 1827, working as a laborer and living in Havre de Grace. An 1861 newspaper article about the Isaac Moore who was lynched does not mention that he was enslaved, but that does not rule out the possibility that was enslaved anyway. Indictment, Richard H. Hollis, 1843, November Term, Harford County Court, Historical Society of Harford County (hereafter HSHC). Hollis was charged with providing a gun and boat to an enslaved man named Isaac Moore, which was illegal. Indenture, Isaac Moore to John McGaw of Robert, 1850, Harford County Court, Chattel Records, HSHC; “Court Proceedings,” National American (Bel Air, Md), 8 March 1861 https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018341/pdf/National_American_1861-03-08.pdf; Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024 (Statement of Lisa Tuzo; and Historical Society of Harford County Court Record 13.30.7, 1843. State v. R.F. Hollis, filed 28 Nov. 1843
210 Docket entries regarding Isaac Moore’s prior indictments and convictions are extant in the Harford County Court records held at the Historical Society of Harford County (HSHC). We have not yet found the actual trial records for his 1861 rape conviction, or a record of his subsequent sale into slavery by the sheriff (the docket indicates that a record of the sale was filed by the sheriff on 21 March 1861). —Harford County Criminal Docket, Circuit Court 1858-1863, p.69
211 “Court Proceedings”; “Outrage and Robbery,” Aegis and Intelligencer (Bel Air, Md), 24 July 1868, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018341/pdf/aegis_24jul1868.pdf
212 “The Lynch Law Case in Harford County,” Baltimore Sun, July 24, 1868, 2. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018341/pdf/Sun_1868-07-24_[1].pdf

213 "The Lynch Law Case in Harford County," Baltimore Sun, July 24, 1868; The State Gazette and Merchants and Farmers' Directory for Maryland and District of Columbia (Baltimore: Sadler, Drysdale & Purnell, 1871), 601. https://books.google.com/books?id=bXdQAAAAYAAJ&pg=RA24-PA9#v=onepage&q&f=false
214 "The Lynch Law Case in Harford County," Baltimore Sun, July 24, 1868
215 "The Lynch Law Case in Harford County," Baltimore Sun, July 24, 1868
216 Preston was subsequently arrested and taken to jail, but escaped lynching; "The Lynch Law Case in Harford County"; "Outrage and Robbery"; "The Execution Last Friday," Aegis and Intelligence (Bel Air, Md), 19 March 1875, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018341/pdf/Southern_Aegis_1875-03-19_3.pdf
217 "The Lynch Law Case in Harford County," Baltimore Sun, July 24, 1868
218 "The Lynch Law Case in Harford County," Baltimore Sun, July 24, 1868
219 "The Lynch Law Case in Harford County," Baltimore Sun, July 24, 1868
220 "The Lynch Law Case in Harford County," Baltimore Sun, July 24, 1868
221 "The Lynch Law Case in Harford County," The Sun (Baltimore), 24 July 1868; "Outrage and Robbery," Aegis and Intelligencer (Bel Air, Md), 24 July 1868, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018341/pdf/aegis_24jul1868.pdf.; Simon J. Martenet, Map of Harford County, 1878, Library of Congress, MSA SC5339-16-8, http://speccol.msa.maryland.gov/pages/speccol/unit.aspx?speccol=5339&serno=16&item=8&subitem=-1
222 "The Lynch Law Case in Harford County," Baltimore Sun, July 24, 1868
223 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearings, October26, 2024 (Statement of Lisa Tuzo)
224 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearings, October26, 2024 (Statement of Lisa Tuzo)
225 "The Lynching in Harford County," Baltimore Sun, July 25, 1868, 2; "Outrage and Robbery," Aegis and Intelligencer (Bel Air, Md), 24 July 1868
226 "The Lynching in Harford County," Baltimore Sun, July 25, 1868, 2.
227 "Outrage and Robbery," Aegis and Intelligencer (Bel Air, Md), 24 July 1868
228 "Outrage and Robbery," Aegis and Intelligencer (Bel Air, Md), 24 July 1868
229 There may have been others for which there is no documentation to date
230 Copy of Isaac Moore 1868, Google Docs, https://docs.google.com/document/d/19nNVOLf4qyw_r-G6JNsXi4GYOinH36aH/edit
231 "Outrage and Robbery," Aegis and Intelligencer (Bel Air, Md), 24 July 1868, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018341/pdf/aegis_24jul1868.pdf
232 The Lynching in Harford County," Baltimore Sun, July 25, 1868, 2.
233 The Lynching in Harford County," Baltimore Sun, July 25, 1868, 2.
234 Records of Mr. Moore's indictment for assault and attempted rape in 1866, and subsequent removal of the cases to Cecil County for trial are extant at HSHC. Records for the trial of these cases in Cecil County (cited in Isaac Moore, MSA SC 3520-18341) are located at the Maryland State Archives; Harford County Criminal Docket, Circuit Court 1866, pages 50-52; Cecil County Circuit Court, Criminal Docket, 1867, State v. Isaac Moore, January Term, cases 30-34 [MSA T295-11]; Cecil County Circuit Court, Minutes, 1866-1869 [MSA T3110-4]; State v. Isaac Moore, Cecil County Circuit Court, Criminal Docket, 1867, January Term, cases 30-34 [MSA T2955-11]; Cecil County Circuit Court, Minutes, 1866-1869 [MSA T3110-4]; Southern Aegis & Harford County Intelligencer (Bel Air, Md), 30 November 1866; "Affairs in Harford County," The Sun (Baltimore), 25 August 1866; "Outrage and Robbery."
235 "Harford County (Md.) Outrage and Lynching-Further Particulars." The Baltimore Sun, October 9, 1869; "Outrage Upon an Elderly Lady in Harford County by a Negro-Lynch Law." National Republican, October 7, 1869, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018339/html/18339bio.html
236 Hellish Deed. A Negro Fiend Violates and Nearly Murders a Lady Sixty-Five Years of Age." The Baltimore Sun, October 13, 1869, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018339/html/18339bio.html
237 "Harford County (Md.) Outrage and Lynching-Further Particulars." The Baltimore Sun, October 9, 1869; Maryland Truth and Reconciliation Commission Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024 (Statement of Lisa Tuzo)
238 Hellish Deed. A Negro Fiend Violates and Nearly Murders a Lady Sixty-Five Years of Age." The Baltimore Sun, October 13, 1869.
239 ¨Hellish Deed. A Negro Fiend Violates and Nearly Murders a Lady Sixty-Five Years of Age." The Baltimore Sun, October 13, 1869.
240 ¨Outrage Upon an Elderly Lady in Harford County by a Negro-Lynch Law." National Republican, October 7, 1869.
241 "Democratic Nomination for Comptroller of the Treasury-Lynching of a Negro." New York Herald, October 8, 1869
242 ¨Outrage Upon an Elderly Lady in Harford County by a Negro-Lynch Law." National Republican, October 7, 1869.
243 "Harford County (Md.) Outrage and Lynching-Further Particulars." The Baltimore Sun, October 9, 1869; "Democratic Nomination for Comptroller of the Treasury-Lynching of a Negro." New York Herald, October 8, 1869; ¨Outrage Upon an Elderly Lady in Harford County by a Negro-Lynch Law." National Republican, October 7, 1869.
244 "Local Matters." The Baltimore Sun, October 5, 1869.
245 Maryland Truth and Reconciliation Commission Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024 (Statement of Lisa Tuzo)
246 "Local Matters." The Baltimore Sun, October 5, 1869.
247 "Letter from Belair, Md. Circuit Court-Important Charge to the Grand Jury-Reproval of Lynch Law." The Baltimore Sun, November 11, 1869.
248 "Harford Outrages." The Baltimore Sun, May 17, 1900, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018339/pdf/sun05171900.pdf
249 "A Brutal Negro Lynched." The New York Times, June 28, 1880https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018339/pdf/nytimes06281880.pdf
250 Maryland Truth and Reconciliation Commission Cecil and Harford Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024 (Statement of Lisa Tuzo), https://docs.google.com/document/d/13ZoNb_XUkeBi-Xm8Wdk84sVScoO6W1Ac/edit?usp=drive_link&ouid=110850781715944510881&rtpof=true&sd=true
251 Maryland Truth and Reconciliation Commission Cecil and Harford Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024 (Statement of David Armenti)
252 Maryland Truth and Reconciliation Commission Cecil and Harford Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024 (Statement of David Armenti)
253 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Mon, Mar 26, 1900, 8, https://www.newspapers.com/image/365276291/
254 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Mon, Mar 26, 1900, 8, https://www.newspapers.com/image/365276291/
255 Maryland Truth and Reconciliation Commission Cecil and Harford Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024 (Statement of Lisa Tuzo).
256 "Assaulted by A Negro: A Belair, Md., Woman's Desparate Struggle With an Assailant," The Times, Washington , March 26, 1900, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013900/013952/thetimeswashington_ad_03261900.pdf.jpg
257 Maryland Truth and Reconciliation Commission Cecil and Harford Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024 (Statement of Lisa Tuzo).
258 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Mon, Mar 26, 1900, 8, https://www.newspapers.com/image/365276291/
259 "Lewis Harris Lynched," Evening Star, March 27, 1900, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013900/013952/evening_star_ad_03271900.pdf.jpg; "Record of Crimes," Forest Republican, April 4, 1900. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013900/013952/forestrepublican_ad_04041900.pdf.jpg
260 "Record of Crimes," Forest Republican

261 “Lewis Harris Lynched,” Evening Star, March 27, 1900, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013900/013952/evening_star_ad_03271900.pdf.jpg
262 “Lewis Harris Lynched,” Evening Star, March 27, 1900.
263 “Lewis Harris Lynched,” Evening Star, March 27, 1900.
264 The Ohio Democrat reports that Miss McIlvaine was indeed present at the lynching, standing on the curb in the rain with her arms crossed “Woman Led Lynchers,” Ohio Democrat , April 5, 1900, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013900/013952/ohiodemocrat_ad_04051900.pdf.jpg
265 “To Investigate A Lynching,” New York Times, May 15, 1900, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013900/013952/newyorktimes_05151900.pdf
266 The Aegis (Bel Air, Maryland), Fri, Jun 1, 1900, 3, https://www.newspapers.com/image/465991944/
267 The Aegis (Bel Air, Maryland), Fri, Jun 1, 1900, 3, https://www.newspapers.com/image/465991944/
268 Maryland Truth and Reconciliation Commission Cecil and Harford Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024 (Statement of Lisa Tuzo),
269 Maryland Truth and Reconciliation Commission Cecil and Harford Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024 (Statement of David Armenti), but there are no available copies of those articles.
270 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland), Tue, Mar 27, 1900, 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/365276391/
271 The Aegis (Bel Air, Maryland) · Fri, Mar 30, 1900 ·3, https://www.newspapers.com/image/867748938/
272 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Mon, Mar 26, 1900, 8, https://www.newspapers.com/image/365276291/
273 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Mon, Mar 26, 1900, 8, https://www.newspapers.com/image/365276291/
274 The Aegis (Bel Air, Maryland) , Fri, May 25, 1900, 3, https://www.newspapers.com/image/465991913/
275 Maryland Truth and Reconciliation Commission Cecil and Harford Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024 (Statement of Randy Getz)
276 Maryland State Archives, Lewis Harris, MSA SC 3520-13952, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013900/013952/html/msa13952.html

277 His last name is often spelled “Hensen” or “Henson” depending on the source.
278 According to a Baltimore Sun article, Jacob was 22 when he was lynched.“Brutal Murder of Daniel F. Shea,” Baltimore Sun, February 22, 1895 Pg. 6, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-feb-22-1895-p-6/
279 Testimony from a descendant of Jacob Henson Jr., Florence (Joy) Owens, his grandniece - Howard County Public Hearing January 11th, 2025 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-I7RX2FLCng
280 Testimony from a descendant of Jacob Henson Jr., Florence (Joy) Owens, his grandniece - Howard County Public Hearing January 11th, 2025 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-I7RX2FLCng
281 “Brutal Murder of Daniel F. Shea,” Baltimore Sun, February 22, 1895 Pg. 6, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-feb-22-1895-p-6/
282 Testimony from a descendant of Jacob Henson Jr., Florence (Joy) Owens, his grandniece - Howard County Public Hearing January 11th, 2025 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-I7RX2FLCng
283 Testimony from a descendant of Jacob Henson Jr., Florence (Joy) Owens, his grandniece - Howard County Public Hearing January 11th, 2025 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-I7RX2FLCng
284 “Henson Lynched.” The Baltimore Sun, May 28, 1895. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950528.pdf
285 Testimony from a descendant of Jacob Henson Jr., Florence (Joy) Owens, his grandniece - Howard County Public Hearing January 11th, 2025 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEHjVau3rEE
286 “Henson Lynched,” The Ellicott City Times, June 1, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/ect18950601a.pdf.
287 “Death Warrant,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Tue, Apr 16, 1895 Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374500953/
288 “Death Warrant,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Tue, Apr 16, 1895 Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374500953/
289 “Henson Lynched,” The Baltimore Sun, May 28, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950528.pdf
290 “The Shea Case at Ellicott City,” The Baltimore Sun, March 28, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950328.pdf
291 “A Murderer Lynched,” Hagerstown Mail, May 31, 1895 Pg. 4, Hagerstown, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/hagerstown-mail-may-31-1895-p-4/
292 “A Negro Murderer Hanged by a Mob in Ellicott City,” Democratic Messenger, June 01, 1895 Pg. 7, Snow Hill, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/democratic-messenger-jun-01-1895-p-7/
293 “Charge of Lynching,” Baltimore Sun, June 27, 1898 Pg. 1, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-jun-27-1898-p-1/
294 “Brutal Murder of Daniel F. Shea,” Baltimore Sun, February 22, 1895 Pg. 6, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-feb-22-1895-p-6/
295 “Henson Convicted,” The Baltimore Sun, March 29, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950329.pdf
296 “Brutal Murder of Daniel F. Shea,” Baltimore Sun, February 22, 1895 Pg. 6, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-feb-22-1895-p-6/
297 “Brutal Murder of Daniel F. Shea,” Baltimore Sun, February 22, 1895 Pg. 6, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-feb-22-1895-p-6/
298 “The Shea Case at Ellicott City,” The Baltimore Sun, March 28, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950328.pdf
299 “Henson Convicted,” The Baltimore Sun, March 29, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950329.pdf
300 “Brutal Murder of Daniel F. Shea,” Baltimore Sun, February 22, 1895 Pg. 6, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-feb-22-1895-p-6/
301 “The Shea Case at Ellicott City,” The Baltimore Sun, March 28, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950328.pdf
302 “The Shea Case at Ellicott City,” The Baltimore Sun, March 28, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950328.pdf
303 “The Shea Case at Ellicott City,” The Baltimore Sun, March 28, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950328.pdf

304 “Henson Convicted,” The Baltimore Sun, March 29, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950329.pdf
305 “Henson Convicted,” The Baltimore Sun, March 29, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950329.pdf
306 “Henson Convicted,” The Baltimore Sun, March 29, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950329.pdf
307 “Brutal Murder of Daniel F. Shea,” Baltimore Sun, February 22, 1895 Pg. 6, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-feb-22-1895-p-6/
308 “Death Warrant,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Tue, Apr 16, 1895 Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374500953/
309 “Sentenced For Crime,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Wed, Apr 3, 1895 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374499722/
310 “Sentenced For Crime,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Wed, Apr 3, 1895 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374499722/
311 “Petition for the Pardon of Henson, Murderer of Mr. Shea,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Fri, May 17, 1895 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374503542/
312 “Henson’s Mental State,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Tue, May 28, 1895 · Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374504382/
313 “Brutal Murder of Daniel F. Shea,” Baltimore Sun, February 22, 1895 Pg. 6, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-feb-22-1895-p-6/
314 “A Murderer Lynched,” Hagerstown Mail, May 31, 1895 Pg. 4, Hagerstown, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/hagerstown-mail-may-31-1895-p-4/
315 “A Murderer Lynched,” Hagerstown Mail, May 31, 1895 Pg. 4, Hagerstown, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/hagerstown-mail-may-31-1895-p-4/
316 “A Murderer Lynched,” Hagerstown Mail, May 31, 1895 Pg. 4, Hagerstown, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/hagerstown-mail-may-31-1895-p-4/
317 “A Murderer Lynched,” Hagerstown Mail, May 31, 1895 Pg. 4, Hagerstown, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/hagerstown-mail-may-31-1895-p-4/
318 “A Murderer Lynched,” Hagerstown Mail, May 31, 1895 Pg. 4, Hagerstown, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/hagerstown-mail-may-31-1895-p-4/
319 “A Murderer Lynched,” Hagerstown Mail, May 31, 1895 Pg. 4, Hagerstown, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/hagerstown-mail-may-31-1895-p-4/
320 “A Murderer Lynched,” Hagerstown Mail, May 31, 1895 Pg. 4, Hagerstown, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/hagerstown-mail-may-31-1895-p-4/
321 “Henson Lynched,” The Baltimore Sun, May 28, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950528.pdf.
322 “A Negro Murderer Hanged by a Mob in Ellicott City,” Democratic Messenger, June 01, 1895 Pg. 7, Snow Hill, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/democratic-messenger-jun-01-1895-p-7/
323 “Henson Lynched,” The Herald and Torch Light (Hagerstown, Maryland) · Sun, May 12, 1895 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/7650965/
324 “Henson Lynched,” The Herald and Torch Light (Hagerstown, Maryland) · Sun, May 12, 1895 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/7650965/
325 “Henson Lynched,” The Herald and Torch Light (Hagerstown, Maryland) · Sun, May 12, 1895 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/7650965/
326 Howard County Public Hearing January 11th, 2025 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-I7RX2FLCng
327 “Henson Lynched,” The Herald and Torch Light (Hagerstown, Maryland) · Sun, May 12, 1895 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/7650965/
328 “Henson Lynched,” The Herald and Torch Light (Hagerstown, Maryland) · Sun, May 12, 1895 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/7650965/
329 “The Lynching of Jacob Henson, in Howard County,” The Baltimore Sun, May 29, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950529a.pdf.
330 “Hard to Find a Grave,” The Baltimore Sun, May 30, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950530.pdf
331 “Henson Lynched,” The Baltimore Sun, May 28, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/sun18950528.pdf
332 “The Lynching of Jacob Henson, in Howard County,”
333 “Charge of Lynching,” Baltimore Sun, June 27, 1898 Pg. 1, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-jun-27-1898-p-1/
334 “The Melvin Case,” Baltimore Sun, June 28, 1898 Pg. 9, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-jun-28-1898-p-9/
335 The Democratic Advocate, July 09, 1898 Pg. 2, Westminster, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/the-democratic-advocate-jul-09-1898-p-2/
336 “The Melvin Case,” Baltimore Sun, June 28, 1898 Pg. 9, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-jun-28-1898-p-9/
337 “The Melvin Case,” Baltimore Sun, June 28, 1898 Pg. 9, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-jun-28-1898-p-9/
338 “The Melvin Case,” Baltimore Sun, June 28, 1898 Pg. 9, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-jun-28-1898-p-9/
339 “The Melvin Case,” Baltimore Sun, June 28, 1898 Pg. 9, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-jun-28-1898-p-9/
340 Howard County Public Hearing January 11th, 2025 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-I7RX2FLCng
341 “Henson Lynched,” The Ellicott City Times, June 1, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013743/images/ect18950601a.pdf.
342 Maryland State Archives, Press Coverage Following Lynching of Jacob Henson Jr., MSA SC 5339/44, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000070/000000/000044/restricted/00061895henson.html.
343 “Sentenced For Crime,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Wed, Apr 3, 1895 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374499722/
344 “Death Warrant,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Tue, Apr 16, 1895 Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374500953/

345 “Henson’s Mental State,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Tue, May 28, 1895 · Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374504382/
346 “A Murderer Lynched,” Hagerstown Mail, May 31, 1895 Pg. 4, Hagerstown, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/hagerstown-mail-may-31-1895-p-4/
347 “Henson Lynched,” The Herald and Torch Light (Hagerstown, Maryland) · Sun, May 12, 1895 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/7650965/
348 “A Negro Murderer Hanged by a Mob in Ellicott City,” Democratic Messenger, June 01, 1895 Pg. 7, Snow Hill, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/democratic-messenger-jun-01-1895-p-7/
349 Baltimore Sun, June 27, 1898 Pg. 8, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-jun-27-1898-p-8/
350 “Brutal Murder of Daniel F. Shea,” Baltimore Sun, February 22, 1895 Pg. 6, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-feb-22-1895-p-6/
351 Baltimore Sun, September 03, 1895 Pg. 2, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-sep-03-1895-p-2/
352 Baltimore Sun, September 03, 1895 Pg. 2, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-sep-03-1895-p-2/
353 “Howard Grand Jury,” Baltimore Sun, September 10, 1898 Pg. 9, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-sep-10-1898-p-9/
354 “Charge of Lynching,” Baltimore Sun, June 27, 1898 Pg. 1, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-jun-27-1898-p-1/
355 “Charge of Lynching,” Baltimore Sun, June 27, 1898 Pg. 1, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-jun-27-1898-p-1/
356 “Charge of Lynching,” Baltimore Sun, June 27, 1898 Pg. 1, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-jun-27-1898-p-1/
357 “The Melvin Case,” Baltimore Sun, June 28, 1898 Pg. 9, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-jun-28-1898-p-9/
358 “Sentenced For Crime,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Wed, Apr 3, 1895 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374499722/
359 “52-Year Lynching Record,” Baltimore Afro American, February 23, 1935 Pg. 22, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-afro-american-feb-23-1935-p-22/
360 “The Melvin Case,” Baltimore Sun, June 28, 1898 Pg. 9, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-jun-28-1898-p-9/
361 “The Melvin Case,” Baltimore Sun, June 28, 1898 Pg. 9, Baltimore, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-jun-28-1898-p-9/

MONTGOMERY COUNTY LYNCHING CASES

Case Study: George Peck
(Montgomery County)

Basic Information

Full Name: George Peck

Date of Birth: 1858

Place of Birth: Unknown, but likely Montgomery County, MD

Occupation/Background: Laborer. Employed at the time of his lynching by Beallsville, MD storekeeper Lemuel Beall[362]

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background: Unknown

Additional Background Information:

- Formerly enslaved by William Poole near Poolesville
- Described as a "somewhat notorious man who has heretofore been in jail several times, and when a boy had made a similar attempt and narrowly escaped hanging."[363]
- According to the Baltimore Sun, George Peck "had been in prison several times, and was one of the convicts who escaped from Rockville jail a few years ago."[364]
    - "All reports frame George Peck as a known convict who had been in jail before and accused of similar crimes in the past, though it is unlikely, especially during this time period, that he would still be employed in the same small town in which he had lived his entire life if this were the case. No records or newspaper accounts have been found that support these statements of his previous deeds alleged in the press."[365]
- Worked as a farm laborer in 1870 for Howard Griffith
- By 1880, was employed by Beallsville, MD storekeeper Lemuel Beall

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: January 10, 1880, Beallsville Montgomery County, Maryland (Lemuel Beall's Beallsville property)

Description of Alleged Crime:

George Peck was allegedly caught in the act of the attempted rape of Ada Hayes[366] on January 10, 1880. Hayes was the adopted daughter of local farmer H. M. Reeves, and was employed by and living at the home of Beallsville storekeeper Lemuel Beall and on whose property George Peck allegedly assaulted Ada Hayes. The alleged assault was interrupted by a local preacher who held George Peck at gunpoint until the County Constable James Uriah "Hugh" Miles[367] arrived at which time George Peck fled but was recaptured. The local judge ordered George Peck taken to the Rockville jail but en route the constable was overwhelmed by the mob and George Peck was hung in a nearby field.[368]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Ada[369] Hays (white, female, child), the 11-year-old adopted daughter of H. M. Reeves[370]

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: George Peck (Black, male, adult)

Witness Statements or Claims: Accounts from the events on and immediately after January 10, 1880, are almost entirely from newspapers and include statements or claims

from parties that played various roles in the timeline and story. For example, it is important to note that Constable Miles was a nephew of George Peck's employer Lemuel Beall, the son of Beall's sister Elvira[371] and that Lemuel Beall served on the coroner's jury after George Peck's lynching.

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

Newspapers are the only records of the alleged crime and George Peck's lynching that survived.[372] According to newspaper accounts:

- "Saturday morning [January 10, 1880] Ada Hays, who has been living with Lemuel Beall, a storekeeper in the village of Beallsville, had gone to the stable yard with a bucket to milk the cows, and while engaged in this duty was caught by George W. Peck, a colored man also in the employ of Beall, and dragged to a hole in a straw rick, evidently previously prepared for the accomplishment of his vile purpose. The screams of the little girl fortunately attracted the attention of Rev. Mr. Aimee, pastor of the Baptist Church, who resided near by, and who immediately ran in the direction from whence the screams came and proceeded to discovered the negro in the act of perpetrating his fiendish crime. His first impulse was to use a pistol he had with him, but upon second thought concluded to allow the law to take its course. He informed Mr. Beall, and the two sought the services of Constable Miles. Upon his arrival [George] Peck, who had remained in the yard, started to run towards the woods, but after a short chase he was captured and taken before Justice [Stephen G.] Donahue. He had admitted his guilt, and stated that he would have accomplished his purpose had he not been interfered with. He was committed by the magistrate and taken to Poolesville by Constable Miles, who intended taking him to Rockville jail yesterday [January 10, 1880]."[373]
- "Saturday morning the little girl went to do the milking in the cow yard of Mr. Reeves, as feeding the stock. She stated that when she went to the stable yard [George] Peck came out from behind straw rick, passed by her and went on into the stable. She commenced milking and finished milking one cow and went to another–one standing near the straw rick–and commenced milking. Just then the negro came up behind her, caught her in his arms and carried her around the straw rick, where, he had previously prepared a hole in the straw. She screamed as soon as he caught her, but as soon as he got her in the straw rick he put his hands over her mouth. Fortunately for the girl Rev. Mr. Amy who lives just across the road from the stable, happened to be out in his yard and heard the girl screaming."[374]
    - "Rev. Mr. Amy took the girl to the house and went immediately to the store and told Mr. Beall what had happened. They at once sent to Poolesville for an officer, at the same time keeping a watch on the negro, who seemed to continue at his work about the stable. About ten o'clock the officer arrived, and several men were in readiness to assist in capturing the negro if he attempted to get away. As soon as he saw the officer–Mr.H.Miles–coming toward the stable.[375]
- "[George Peck] ran across a field into some pine woods, but was surrounded and captured. He was taken to Mr. Beall's store and tied, Rev. Mr. Amy, and the girl both testifying to his fiendish acts. When he was asked by the officer whether he intended to accomplish his purpose, on this innocent girl, he replied that he would have done it if it had not been for Mr. Amy interfering with him. He was then hand-cuffed and chained and taken to Poolesville and lodged in the Odd Fellows' Hall preparatory to taking him to the Rockville jail. It was about 5 o'clock p.m. when he was taken there, and a crowd soon began to congregate around the hall making

threats of lynching. The officer would not permit any one to come in, and about 11 o'clock the crowd disappeared from around the hall and the officer attempted to take the prisoner over to his (the officer's) house, a short distance from Poolesville to guard him all night. After leaving the hall the officer went into Mr. Walter's store just across the street to make some purchases before going home, taking the prisoner with him and locking the door."[376]

- Allegedly when George Peck was "confronted by Mr. Amy and the girl, he confessed."[377]"It was subsequently ascertained from an examination by a physician that [Ada Hays] was not seriously injured."[378]
- According to the *Democratic Advocate* "[George Peck] was captured about dusk, securely pinioned and placed in the Poolesville lockup, in charge of the sheriff. Soon threats were made, but the cooler heads advised that, as the child had not been injured, the law be allowed to take its course. During the night the door of the lockup was forced, the guard overpowered, and the negro hung on a tree nearly opposite the Presbyterian Church."[379]
- "At the preliminary hearing Peck was committed to the County Jail at this place. Fearing to bring the prisoner through a section of country not very much excited, Deputy Sheriff Miles decided to lodge Peck in the jail at Poolesville until things had somewhat quieted down. To that place [George Peck] was accordingly taken, with the intention of keeping him there for a while at least, until such time as it would be safe to move him. During the night about 40 men gathered in Poolesvile…"[380]

Role of Authorities:

- Constable Miles, nephew of George Peck's employer Lemuel Beall, did not immediately take George Peck to the jail in Rockville. A journey to Rockville would have taken at least four hours at this time. As stated in the Montgomery County Public Hearing, "instead of transporting [George] Peck to the jail, the constable held him in the Odd Fellows Hall in Poolesville, ostensibly intending to take him to Rockville on Monday morning. This decision put Peck in considerably increased danger from locals who knew he was not secured by the Sheriff in the County jail, but merely in the sole custody of a small-town constable. Indeed, as news of the incident spread through the area, an angry crowd began to gather around the building, and [Constable] Miles reconsidered his plan. He decided to move [George] Peck from the Odd Fellows Hall to his own residence for the night, indicating to at least one reporter that he did not wish "to leave him unguarded."[381] It was during a stopover on the way to Constable Miles' house that George Peck was taken by a mob and subsequently lynched.

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 21/22

Date and Time: Saturday, January 10, 1880, at 11:00 PM

Location of Lynching: Poolesville, Maryland (2.5 miles from where the alleged assault occurred)

At what point did the lynching take place? After George Peck was detained, but before a formal trial.

Method of Lynching: Hung on a locust tree

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Preventative (through action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state law enforcement became involved)
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state executive became involved)

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Asphyxiated and shot at. Accounts mention that guns were discharged around George Peck's hanging body, but most sources say that they didn't hit him.

Additional Details:

According to newspaper accounts:

- "Peck was taken by Miles over to W.T. Walter's store, where he (the constable) desired making some purchases. Groups of men have been seen engaged in excited discussion, and threats of lynching were heard, but as yet no attempt was made. Hardly, however, had the two entered the store before a horseman rode up and fired a pistol shot. This seemed to be a signal, for almost immediately about 35 masked men sprang from different quarters and entered the building. Officer Miles made a stubborn resistance, but was quickly overpowered, and in his struggles was considerably injured. A noose was placed around the neck of Peck, and he was dragged out, and who, frantically and piteously beseeching his captors to spare his life, said that he did not want to die, etc. But his entreaties were of no avail with these stern and determined men. He was hastily taken across the road, thrown over a post and rail fence into a vacant lot and the rope drawn through the fork of a locust tree about seven feet high, and then fastened to the fence. When it was thought he was dead, the crowd slowly dispersed; not, however, before firing a volley of shots at the body, some of which took effect."[382]
- "[The officer] had not more than got in before some one rode up in front of the door and fired a pistol shot in the air, and it seemed as if men rushed in from all directions to the spot, with cries of "Lynch him, Lynch him." They burst the door open and the crowd rushed into the store, some with masks and some without, and demanded the prisoner. The officer tried to resist them, but he was blind folded and held by some, while others put the rope around the negro's neck and dragged him out of the store. In the scuffle the stove was knocked over, and came very near setting fire to the store."[383]
    - While some accounts describe the mob's actions to detain George Peck as chaotic, others describe it as orderly: "There was no disorder. Everything seemed to have been managed with the greatest possible care, and every detail looking to the speedy hanging of the doomed man had been arranged with a degree of exactness showing that a master hand had been at work."[384]
- "The crowd dragged [George Peck] by his neck across the road from the store, threw him over a post-and-rail fence, then dragged him across a lot to a locust tree, threw the rope across a limb, and all hands drew him up about five feet above the ground and tied the rope to a fence near the tree, and, as soon as they thought he was dead, disappeared. As the crowd left there were several pistol shots fired at

> the hanging man's body, but they did not strike him. Some went through his clothes and several into the tree. He was left hanging until 10 o'clock Sunday morning [January 11th] when the officer went out and had the body cut down and moved to a stable shed near by, as people were coming to church. The tree [George Peck] was hanged on was just in front of the Presbyterian church."[385]

The body of George Peck remained hanging on the locust tree in front of Poolesville Presbyterian Church until the following morning, while community members made their way to church.

Aftermath

Two juries were summoned and a verdict rendered "that George Peck came to his death from strangulation by the hands of parties unknown to the jurors."[386]

"The Jury was composed of: Chas. Elgin, Tremont Jones, Frank Williams, Wm. Griffith, Lemuel Beall, [father of the alleged victim, Ada Hays] Richard Spates, Frank Spates, Frank Sparrough, Charles Mathews, G. Mackintosh, Thos. Davis, and Thos. Fiffe."[387]

The Cincinnati Enquirer speculated that nothing would come of the jury stating: "[George Peck's] body was cut down by the authorities, and an investigation will probably follow. It is not likely, however, that it will amount to any thing, as none of the participants will tell who was concerned, and the feeling generally is that [George] Peck met a fate he justly deserved, as he was well known in these parts, where he was committed to jail some time ago, but escaped with several others."[388]

"[George Peck's] body was buried in the field, but was exhumed this morning [Tuesday, Jan. 13] by colored people and given burial in their churchyard, near the village."[389] According to the Montgomery County Public Hearing the churchyard "probably refers to the Elijah United Methodist Church Cemetery on Beallsville Road just outside of Poolesville, which was property used by the Black community for a church, school, and cemetery since 1870. There is evidence of burials starting then, most unmarked, which predated the construction of the first church building.[390] On the 1879 Hopkins Atlas, it is marked as a "colored schoolhouse." It is likely that George Peck's remains are buried there still, and if accurate, the local Black community's act of claiming his body and the dignity conveyed by a churchyard burial suggests he was not a notorious criminal, but simply one of their own. Unfortunately, the records of this church were lost in a fire in 1950."[391]

Reaction from the Community:
It had been 10 years since the lynching of James Carroll, a Black man, at Point of Rocks, Maryland. After George Peck's lynching the *Baltimore Sun* released a story stating that "great excitement and terrible indignation was produced in this usually quiet little town and throughout the surrounding country by this occurrence. It will be remembered that only as late as last April a similar scene was enacted within a distance of 15 miles of this place, in the lynching of the negro James Carroll, at Point of Rocks, for a brutal assault on Mrs. Thomas at Licksville."[392]

Another article from the *The New York Times* mentions James Carroll and states that "in both cases well-known citizens openly confessed the part they had taken in the lynching and no attempts were made at concealment."[393]

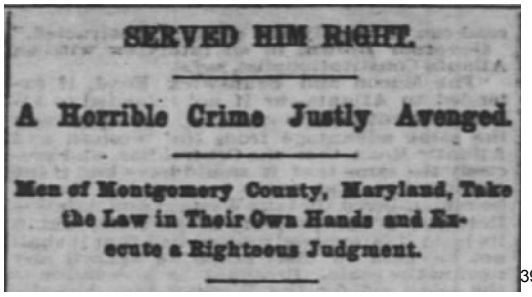
For some residents, George Peck's lynching likely ignited a sense of control and power while for others it instilled an immense sense of fear and concern.

Media Coverage:

As for most of the lynching victims, headlines and recanting of the alleged events is very sensationalized the further away from the Maryland, Washington, D.C., and Virginia region. For George Peck, newspapers are the only records of the incident that survived.[394]

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** Deplorable
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Incited violence
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Congratulatory

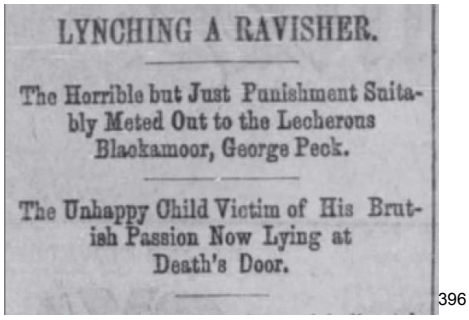
Headlines


SERVED HIM RIGHT.

A Horrible Crime Justly Avenged.

Men of Montgomery County, Maryland, Take the Law in Their Own Hands and Execute a Righteous Judgment.

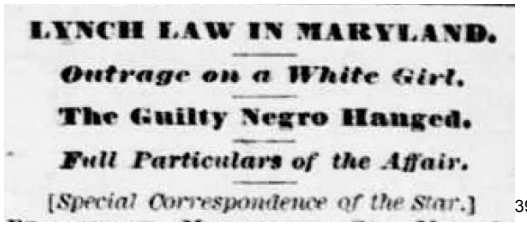
395


LYNCHING A RAVISHER.

The Horrible but Just Punishment Suitably Meted Out to the Lecherous Blackamoor, George Peck.

The Unhappy Child Victim of His Brutish Passion Now Lying at Death's Door.

396


LYNCH LAW IN MARYLAND.

Outrage on a White Girl.

The Guilty Negro Hanged.

Full Particulars of the Affair.

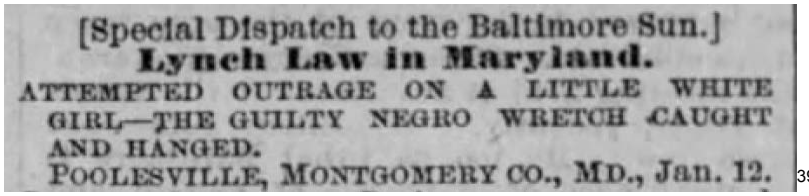
[*Special Correspondence of the Star.*]

397

A NEGRO'S SWIFT PUNISHMENT.

LYNCHED BY UNMASKED MEN FOR A BRUTAL CRIME.

398


[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

Lynch Law in Maryland.

ATTEMPTED OUTRAGE ON A LITTLE WHITE GIRL—THE GUILTY NEGRO WRETCH CAUGHT AND HANGED.

POOLESVILLE, MONTGOMERY CO., MD., Jan. 12.

399

MARYLAND JUSTICE.

An Impromptu Hanging at Poolesville—The Usual Verdict.

400

Legal/Political Consequences:

No one was tried for the lynching of George Peck, and with the Constable not only being related to Lemuel Beall but Lemuel Beall serving on the jury of inquest, George Peck was not going to get a fair trail and his family unfortunately was not going to feel vindicated for his murder due to legal or political consequences against his lynchers.

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance:

There were no known political reactions to the lynching of George Peck. Blacks in

Montgomery County were intimidated, did not react outwardly, but continued to forge relationships and build institutions to serve their segregated communities. The white community, including the local and national press, expressed outrage at the alleged assault and demonized George Peck.[401]

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There are no known legislative changes or social movements that came about directly following the lynching of George Peck, but his story played a role in the work of people like Ida B. Wells and organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Memorialization/Commemoration:

In 2023, markers were erected to honor the lives and legacies of Montgomery counties three racial terror lynching victims: Mr. George Peck, Mr. John Diggs-Dorsey, and Mr. Sidney Randolph.

> "The markers stand as truth tellers in relation to these known incidents of lynching that occurred in Montgomery County and to the circumstances surrounding these acts of injustice and to the larger picture of Montgomery County's troubled history of violence and discrimination against African Americans…These three historical markers also stand not only to name this unjust history, but to speak to us today and to prevent a repetition of such acts in the future."[402]–Jason Green (chair of the Commission on Remembrance and Reconciliation)

Reverend Alexa Fraser of the Montgomery County Lynching Memorial Project, along with community members, also filled jars with soil from the spot where George Peck was lynched to be honored and remembered at the National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama. In the Montgomery County public hearing, Reverend Alexa Fraser stated that:

> "Members of that white congregation [From the church where George Peck was hanged] have been nothing but supportive of our work in this area. Indeed, the marker is adjacent to their property, and they have given us permission to access it through their property. They held our events on their property, so there is movement there."[403]

Ongoing Influence:

The story of George Peck's lynching played a role in the work of people like Ida B. Wells and organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and is a part of the broader story of racial terror lynchings in Maryland and the United States, reflected in spaces like the National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama.

During the Montgomery County public hearing, Jason Green–chair of the Commission on Remembrance and Reconciliation–provided a sense of how these racial terror lynchings continue to impact and influence generations of Americans:

> *"I often think about my ancestor Gary Green [who was born into slavery in 1832 here in Rockville] traveling along Darnestown Road, the very road where Mr. Diggs, Dorsey and Mr. Randolph were apprehended. The same road that passes the site of their lynchings. The same road that leads us here to the universities at Shady Grove.*
>
> *I can imagine Gary walking that road, perhaps aware of the fates of Mr. Peck, Mr. Diggs Dorsey, and Mr. Randolph. I wonder if he knew them. I wonder if he mourned them. Did he know them? Did he fear for his own life, the lives of his children. This*

is not ancient history. This is my family's story. This is our county story. This is an American story. The trauma of these events has been passed down, down from generation to generation. And I do this work not only to honor Mr. Peck, Mr. Diggs Dorsey, and Mr. Randolph, but to reclaim power for my own community."[404]–Jason Green–chair of the Commission on Remembrance and Reconciliation

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

- Some articles say that George Peck was taken from jail by a mob[405] while others say that he was taken from a store.[406]
    - For example: "During the night a crowd of about 40 men gathered in Poolesville, and stealthily approached to the place where Peck was confined. Their faces were blacked, and they were otherwise disguised. They knocked at the door, and upon it being opened the crowd pushed in and seized the trembling negro. The guard was overpowered, and in the face of such numbers could not do otherwise than submit."[407]

Case Study: John Diggs-Dorsey
(Montgomery County)

Basic Information

Full Name: John Diggs alias John Dorsey alias John Williams[408] (Known colloquially as John Diggs-Dorsey)[409]

Date of Birth: Approx. 1857[410]

Place of Birth: Washington, DC[411]

Occupation/Background: Harvest Hand/Laborer

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- John Diggs-Dorsey's father was John H. Williams and he lived at 410 E St. SE, Washington, DC[412]
- Had at least a married sister who lived near the insane asylum in Washington, DC[413]
- Described as answering to Diggs, Dorsey, Williams, and even Henry Dorsey by his sister[414][415]

Additional Background Information:

- Possibly spent some time in Port Tobacco, MD[416]
- Employed by the Tschiffely family as a harvest hand on their farm for about 5 months prior to his lynching
- Described as a "good farm hand and industrious"[417]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: July 24, 1880 at the Tschiffely home (near Darnestown, Md.)

Description of Alleged Crime:

On July 24, 1880, James Tschiffely, John Diggs-Dorsey's employer, was away on business and "Diggs was left at the farm to look after things during his absence."[418] According to newspaper accounts:

- "Mrs. Tschiffely, aged 34 years, wife of a wealthy farmer near this place, was left alone on a farm with John Diggs, a negro laborer. Her husband had gone to a distant part of the State of business. While Mrs. Tschiffely was seated in the dining room on Saturday, Diggs entered, and, seizing her by the throat, choked her until she was insensible. He then dragged her up stairs to a bedroom, where he kept her over night, beating her senseless every time she recovered consciousness. On Sunday morning she recovered, and, as the negro was absent from the room, she attempted to fly from the house. Diggs, who was in a lower apartment, seized her by the hair, dragged her back to the house and beat her with an arm of a chair until she was again insensible. In this condition she was found several hours later. Ms. Tschiffely's face was beaten to a pulp and her neck and body shockingly torn and cut. She revived sufficiently to tell the story of her sufferings, after which she again relapsed into sensibility. At last reports it was not thought she would

live through the night. Her husband has been telegraphed for. Almost every male resident of the county is searching for Diggs, who undoubtedly will be hanged by the infuriated farmers if caught."[419]

- "[John Diggs-Dorsey] boldly announced his intention of outraging her, and, after beating and choking her, forced her to go in one of the upper rooms, under a threat of killing her if she refused and setting fire to the house and burning her and the house up."[420]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Mrs. Mary Tschiffely (white, female, adult)

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: John Diggs-Dorsey (Black, male, adult)

Witness Statements or Claims:

- Mrs. Tschiffely made the following statement to a Baltimore *Gazette* reporter:
    - "On Sunday afternoon my husband left home to go to Beltsville, in Prince George's County, where he was required to attend to do some business. During the afternoon I was visited by several friends, who remained until 7:30 p.m. After their departure I got John to go to Darnestown for some coal oil, and during his absence Mr. Amos West, a neighbor, came over to my house and sat with me until 11 p.m. As he was leaving Mr. West remarked: 'Mrs. Tschiffely, if you are afraid to stay here by yourself I will remain all night.' I declined his offer, however, saying that John was in the house and I felt perfectly safe, and after a few minutes he wished me good evening and left for home."[421]
    - "Such a thought and fearing to remain in the house with John never entered my head as he had always conducted himself quietly and respectfully, and professed to be devoted to the interests of Mr. Tschiffely. After Mr. Amos left I went through the house to the kitchen intending to go into the yard to see if the chicken coops were all properly closed up. As I opened the door from the kitchen to the back porch I found John sitting on the steps and told him he had better go to bed. As he rose I told him where he could find some pears, when he muttered something about wanting some wine. This I told him he could not have, when he entered the kitchen and closed the door after him, at the same time locking it. Something in his manner alarmed me and I started hastily in the house and ran out the front door. John then unlocked the kitchen door and rushing around the house caught up to me as I sank to the ground, thoroughly exhausted. He grasped me by the hair of my head, which tore loose from its fastenings, and half dragged and half carried me back to the front porch, where he forced me into a seat on the steps…"[422]
- Allegedly John Diggs-Dorsey confessed to the crime but said he was drunk.[423]
    - "Sheriff Ketchner[424] stated this morning [July 28] that Diggs made a full confession of the crime to him previous to the jail being forced. Diggs stated that he left the house of Mr. Tschiffely barefooted, carrying his shoes in his hands. He put those on when about 10 miles from Darnestown. He also related to the Sheriff all of his movements from the time of committing the crime until he was captured. Of the crime itself, as stated above, he was very reticent. He told the Sheriff as he told others who conversed with him, that he was drunk at the time."[425]
    - "An effort was made to force him to relate the details of his assault upon Mrs. Tschiffely, but beyond acknowledging the fact that he committed the crime he would make no confession."[426]
    - "When questioned he admitted that he was the man, and said that he left Mrs. Tschiffely at daylight Sunday morning. He told a rambling story about

being drunk and asleep on the porch, but when pressed, said all he wanted was to be tried by law, and to have a fair trial. He denied that he struck Mrs. Tschiffely, and appeared to be astonished when told that she was hurt."[427]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

On July 26, 1880 John Diggs-Dorsey was apprehended by Zachariah J. Davis around 6 p.m.[428] "about one mile from Mechanicsville, Montgomery County, by a Mr. Davis, who recognized him from a description given."[429] Zachariah J. Davis supposedly convinced John Diggs-Dorsey to come with him and his son by offering him work.[430] "[Zachariah J. Davis] addressed Diggs with familiarity:–'Halloo, John, where are you going?' This took him unawares and he answered: 'I am going into town looking for work.' Mr. Davis saw peculiar evidences of guilt in his manner and he said, in a simple way, 'Get it and I'll take you that far, and I will try and get you some work.' The moment Diggs got in [Zachariah J. Davis] was convinced of his being the outrager."[431]

Mr. Davis accosted John Diggs-Dorsey, who strenuously denied his guilt, but Mr. Davis, being armed, compelled him to submit, and took him to Rockville, where he was lodged in jail at 11 o'clock tonight."[432]

Many articles reported on July 26th that a lynching was expected to happen by morning and by July 27th John Diggs-Dorsey was lynched[433]:

- "A large and excited crowd had been watching for him all the afternoon, with the avowed intention of lynching him on his arrival. Diggs, who was fully identified, maintained a most stony indifference, and was apparently not at all alarmed at his approaching doom."[434]
- "The entire county is worked up to the highest pitch, and it is safe to say that had Diggs been brought here on any of the trains he would have been punished through the form usually used in such cases. There seems to be but one opinion, and that is that vengeance should be swift and certain. All classes are unanimous in this respect, the colored people being apparently as fully in favor of it as any of the whites."[435]
- "Mr. Tschieffly, who had been sent for, identified Diggs, who no longer attempted to conceal his identity, and said: "Now boss, if I'm to die, all right; but I want a legal trial." He then proceeded to give his own version of the affair, casting aspersions on Mrs. Tschieffly, which excited the crowds assembled in the corridor to such a degree that it was only through the interference of the Jailers that they were prevented from lynching the villain at once."[436]
- "A number of reporters interviewed Diggs as soon as they could gain admittance to the jail. He admitted that he did what was charged against him, but said he was drunk and hardly knew what he was doing. He denied striking the lady. It was not long before many in Rockville knew of the capture, and preparations were begun immediately to carry their intentions into effect."[437]
- "They [James Tschiffely, his father, and 10 Darnestown farmers[438]] were met by a delegation of the citizens of Rockville and vicinity and a consultation was held. The unanimous verdict was that Diggs should suffer death, and that, too, before sunrise. There was not the slightest attempt at concealment, it not being deemed necessary, as the verdict of the entire community, man, woman and child was; "Death to the ravisher." In response to an inquiry for a rope a farmer produced from the recesses of his pockets a new coil of rope, which showed that he was prepared. The next move was to select a leader for the lynchers. Whereupon a

sturdy, six-foot, wealthy farmer responded, saying: “You need look no further. Follow me, and I will lead you.” At 3:40 am, the arrangements for the lynching having been completed, 32 stalwart and determined men started for the jail, which is situated in the outskirts of the town, and is strongly built of Maryland granite. With almost noiseless steps they turned the corner of the county courthouse and defiled into the narrow pathway which leads to the jail. Not a word was spoken by a man in the party until they reached a large picket gate which formed a portion of the outer enclosure of the jail. Then in a subdued tone of voice, the leader called a halt and stated to the men that they might have to encounter difficulties, and would perhaps meet with resistance from the sheriff and his deputies, who were known as determined men, and that, in addition to this, there were in the jail two ferocious bloodhound. This information did not in the least dismay the band of lynchers. They had started out to wreak vengeance and were not to be deterred from their purpose.”[439]

- “Imprecations were showered on the head of the negro, and it soon became manifest that he would never be tried before the Courts of the State, but that a summary hanging would be the result of these spontaneous gatherings.”[440]

Role of Authorities:

- Sheriff Kelchner was on duty with his deputies W.O. Kingsberry and John R. Miller[441] and claimed to say that “he will not surrender the prisoner, and is prepared for a long siege.”[442]
- “Sheriff Ketchner, who anticipated trouble, had not been idle. He went among the citizens and summoned about 25 as a *posse comitatus* to guard the jail.”[443]
    - “Sheriff Ketchner, with the jailer, are on the inside and refuse admittance to any one. The sheriff summoned nearly all of the crowd as deputies. Other deputies have appeared in front of the jail door with shot guns and say they will not allow anything unlawful to take place.”[444]
    - “Some of the citizens summoned were armed with shot-guns and revolvers, and it was certain that their sympathies were not with the authorities and that the weapons they carried would be in case of trouble but used in behalf of the other side.”[445]

It is almost guaranteed that the same people that Sheriff Kelchner summoned to guard the jail were the same individuals who wanted John Diggs-Dorsey dead.

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: approx. 23[446]

Date and Time: July 27, 1880 after 4 a.m.

Location of Lynching: Montgomery County, Maryland

At what point did the lynching take place? After the alleged crime took place but before a legal trial.

Method of Lynching: Hanged to a cherry tree

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Preventative (through action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local judiciary became involved)

- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state law enforcement became involved)
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state executive became involved)

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Asphyxiated

Additional Details:

"[John Diggs-Dorsey] was placed in a strong cell in the lower tier of the jail with shackles on his legs, but his hands unsecured."[447]The "two bloodhounds, which are usually kept around the jail, had been enticed away."[448]The following takes direct quotes from various news articles that outline what allegedly happened leading up to John Diggs-Dorsey's untimely death:

- "The gate was opened and the men entered the jail yard. As they neared the steps they were halted by the sheriff, who asked them what they wanted. 'Mr. Tschiffely is here and wants to identify the prisoner,' spoke the leader. 'Mr. Tschiffely can go in if he wants, but not until all the rest go outside of the jail enclosure,' answered the sheriff. This was not what they had come for, and the leader spoke, saying that they all wanted to enter the jail, and that they demanded the keys. Sheriff Kelchner told him in a determined voice that they could not enter until they had overcome him and his men. 'Then we will do that,' said the leader, and, turning to the men and saying 'Come on, boys, down with them!' he seized Deputy Sheriff Kingsbury, and in a twinkling had possessed himself of the keys to the jail. The sheriff and his deputies made a furious resistance, but the posse comitatus, as was expected, mingled with the crowd, and soon became identified with the lynchers. A desperate struggle ensued, the sheriff and his deputies fighting like tigers, but in vain, as the odds were against him. Sheriff Kelchner, who is of almost herculean strength, stood at the door, the entrance to which he barred with his body, but the mob pounced upon him and threw him bodily from the top to the bottom of the steps, maiming him somewhat. The corridor of the jail was in darkness, and Deputy Kingsbury, who knew the innermost recesses of the jail, took advantage of this, and pushing through the crowd, planted his body directly in front of the large iron-grated door which leads to the inner corridor, on which are located the cells."[449]
- "A small kerosene lamp was soon brought and the light revealed the presence of Deputy Sheriff Kingsbury. 'Gentlemen,' he shouted 'I protest against this thing. You cannot pass this gate unless you do so over my body.' The deputy was soon overcome, and the crowd made a rush for the prisoner's cell. The cell door was opened, and a light having been procured, Mr. Tschiffely entered the cell. Diggs, anticipating his fate, was cowering closely in one corner of the cell. 'Get up,' said the leader, and the affrighted wretch arose to his feet. The light was held close to his face, and Mr. Tschiffely, recognizing the brute's clutch hat, peered closely into his face. But one look sufficed, and turning, he said 'That is the scoundrel.' Then Diggs' hat was replaced and he was taken by either arm and led from the jail."[450]

Some articles say that John Diggs-Dorsey's "indifference to his fate awakened surprise even among those who thus took the law in their own hands,"[451] while others reference a scuffle between John Diggs-Dorsey and his captures:

> "A short rope was produced and three of the lynchers approached him to pinion his arms, which up to this time had been left free, when suddenly the ruffian turned

> upon his captors. With a tremendous blow he knocked one of them down and quickly seized another by the throat, choking him until he was nearly black in the face, and compelling him to shout for assistance. When another of the men attempted to loosen the fellows' grasp he seized him with his teeth by the hand and bit him severely. By the time the crowd closed around him, and, fighting with the ferocity of a tiger, he was forced to the ground, and by sheer force of numbers was overpowered. Then his arms were securely pinioned behind him and raised to his feet. But the fellow was game and darting a look of ferocity at those around him he almost hissed through his teeth: 'Oh, you—cowards; just take these shackles off of me and I'll show you what I can do.'"[452]

A Boston Globe article also states that John Diggs-Dorsey supposedly protested the lack of due process in, allegedly stating "You must all be damned fools. All you can do is to hang me, and if you do I tell you now that my death will be revenged. You are damned cowards to take a man out and hang him without giving him a chance to get a lawyer."[453]

"Some of those present wished to discharge pistols into [John Diggs-Dorsey]'s body, but this was not countenanced."[454] Supposedly a man prayed over John Diggs-Dorsey's body[455]and "just as the mob were about to pull on the rope, Deputy Sheriff Kingsbury came rushing across the road, and shouted: 'Gentlemen, I protest in the name of the law.' 'Put him back!' was the cry from the crowd, and the deputy was incontinently hustled to a respectful distance."[456]

John Diggs-Dorsey's life was ended on a tree "by a band of unmasked men…"[457] The Boston Globe reported that "every precaution to prevent disclosure was taken, and every one present was made to hold up their hands and repeat after the leader the following oath:

> *'I do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will never reveal the names of those present or disclose what was done here this day.'*

When the mob was satisfied with John Diggs-Dorsey's fate they "quietly dispersed and went back to town by different routes."[458]

The narrative that was circulated throughout the country as boilerplate is as follows:

> "Shortly after four o'clock this morning [July 27th] about fifty men appeared at the jail, and one of them demanded admission on the plea of identification. Sheriff Kitchen[459] refused admittance while the crowd remained and they fell back a few feet. Another formal demand being made, a slight demur was made by the Deputy Sheriff. This was the signal for an assault and the door was broken in, despite the resistance of the Sheriff. While the door was being forced quite a melee occurred with the officers and even after Diggs has been brought out in open air the Sheriff made another attempt to rescue his prisoner. He was immediately caught and held, and in his struggles he received a cut on his arm. The crowd then hurried Diggs off, his ankle irons clanking as he was forced down the road at a quick trot. He seemed quite calm and said he was willing to die. Some distance from town the party met a horse by preconcerted arrangement. DIggs' hands and arms were pinioned, and it was then found that to hang him by running the horse from under him was impracticable. The noose was placed around his neck and he was hauled from the ground making but little resistance. The body was left hanging. Diggs made a full confession of his crime to the Sheriff previous to the jail being forced."[460]

Aftermath

- "The Deputy Sheriffs notified the Coroner of the county, and a jury of inquest was summoned. The Coroner's jury met about 15 minutes before 9 o'clock at the place where the body was hanging and in the presence of two hundred or three hundred persons the body was cut down. After an examination the jury came to the unanimous verdict that John Diggs came to his death by strangulation at the hands of parties unknown."[461]
    - Jury members: R.A. Shekells (foreman), Captain Joseph Anderson, M. Green, [illegible] Davis, R.S. Patterson, James C. No-[illegible]. [illegible] D. Offatt, P. Mulfinger, John Steele, William A. Veirs, William H. Carr, and H. [illegible]. Dr. Anderson was summoned as the physician.[462]
- "The corpse was then turned over to Mr. R. W. Pumphrey, undertaker, and interred in the Potter's field."[463]

Reaction from the Community:

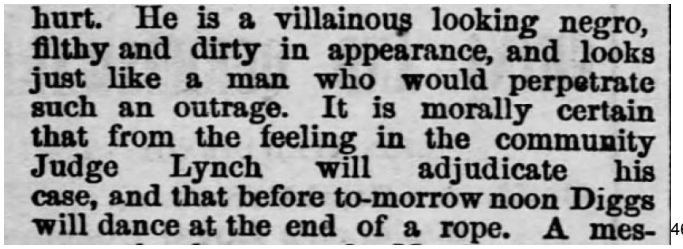
Most widely documented coverage of the aftermath of John Diggs-Dorsey's death comes from white news sources and does not depict how his lynching impacted the Black community.

Media Coverage:

A majority news coverage following John Diggs-Dorsey's death is celebratory of his lynching, making statements that allude to his alleged crime as being the most deplorable crime out there and that justice needed to be served because "farmers in this section of the country had become afraid to leave their homes unprotected for an instant while wives and daughters were at the mercy of villains under the guise of negro laborers."[464]For example, in a *Cincinnati Enquirer* article titled "Yanked" it states:

> "There is a general feeling of approbation here at the course pursued by the Vigilance Committee. A feeling of security prevails now that the country is rid of this black-hearted scoundrel, whose brutality made a happy home suffer and laid a respectable lady at death's door, besides disfiguring her for life. Farmers in this section of the country had become afraid to leave their homes unprotected for an instant while wives and daughters were at the mercy of villains under the guise of negro laborers. Therefore, general satisfaction is expressed that this case had been made an example of. Mrs. Tschiffely is still critically ill, but there are strong hopes of her recovery."[465]

- In the *Harrisburg Telegraph* they use deplorable language to describe John Diggs-Dorsey stating, "he is a villainous looking negro, filthy and dirty in appearance, and looks just like a man who would perpetrate such an outrage. It is morally certain that from the feeling in the community Judge Lynch will adjudicate his case, and that before tomorrow noon Diggs will dance at the end of the rope."[466]

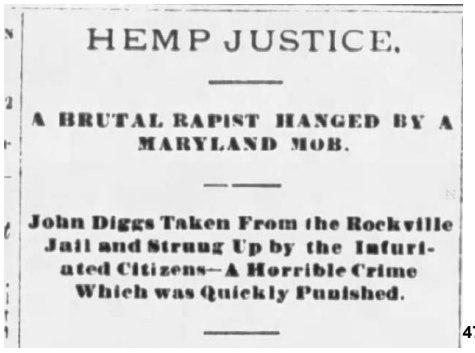

hurt. He is a villainous looking negro, filthy and dirty in appearance, and looks just like a man who would perpetrate such an outrage. It is morally certain that from the feeling in the community Judge Lynch will adjudicate his case, and that before to-morrow noon Diggs will dance at the end of a rope. A mes-[467]

Not only did a lot of news outlets alert the masses of an impending lynching but many media outlets sat around waiting for a mob and/or violence to take place. For example,

the *Harrisburg Telegraph* states that “one reporter got several quilts and blankets and has laid down for a nap in the jail yard, waiting for developments.”[468] Others made statements like “the vigilance committee are on hand and it is expected Diggs will be hanged before morning.”[469]On July 26th, many articles reported that a lynching was expected to happen by morning and by July 27th John Diggs-Dorsey was lynched.[470]

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** Heinous
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Encouraged
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Celebratory

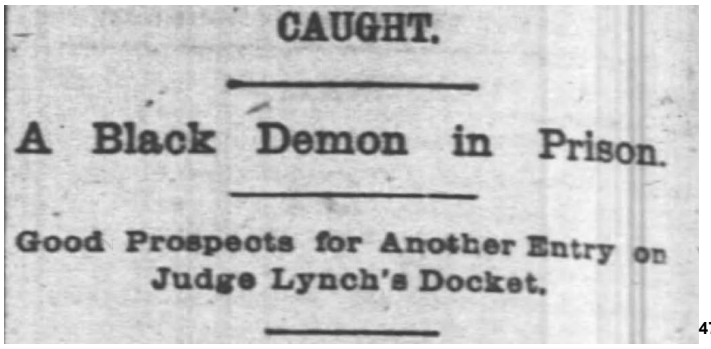
Headlines


HEMP JUSTICE.

A BRUTAL RAPIST HANGED BY A MARYLAND MOB.

John Diggs Taken From the Rockville Jail and Strung Up by the Infuriated Citizens—A Horrible Crime Which was Quickly Punished.

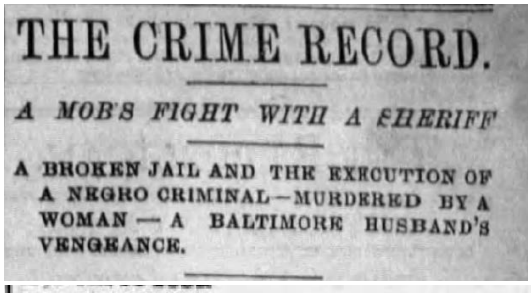
471


CAUGHT.

A Black Demon in Prison.

Good Prospects for Another Entry on Judge Lynch's Docket.

472


THE CRIME RECORD.

A MOB'S FIGHT WITH A SHERIFF

A BROKEN JAIL AND THE EXECUTION OF A NEGRO CRIMINAL—MURDERED BY A WOMAN — A BALTIMORE HUSBAND'S VENGEANCE.

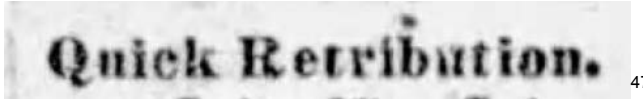
4 7 3

A BRUTE'S END.

A Negro Ravisher Hung By a Mob.

WASHINGTON, July 27.—John Diggs, the

474


Quick Retribution.

475

Judge Lynch Avenges an Outraged Woman in Maryland.

476

FIRST EDITION.

3 O'CLOCK P. M.

BY TELEGRAPH.

THE VILLAIN DIGGS CAPTURED.

He Meets a Deserved Fate at the Hands of Citizens.

478

A MARYLAND MOB.

Judge Lynch Administers Justice to a Negro Brute.

477

THE END OF DIGGS.

A Ravisher Taken Out at Four O'clock in the Morniug.

479

Crimes and Casualties.

A FIENDISH NEGRO.

480

Three O'Clock.

A Horrible Crime Avenged by Lynching.

481

The Fiend Lynched.

By Telegraph to The Landmark.

482

THE MARYLAND OUTRAGE.

Arrest and Probable Lynching of the Fiend.

483

HUNG BY A MOB.

The Fate of a Negro Criminal in Maryland.

484

CRIMINAL RECORD.

Mrs. Anna Lynch Commits Murder in Defense of Her Chastity.

Thomas Delano Fatally Stabbed by His Wife.

Diggs, the Negro Rape Fiend, Hanged by Judge Lynch.

An Unusual Number of Crimes Reported by Telegraph.

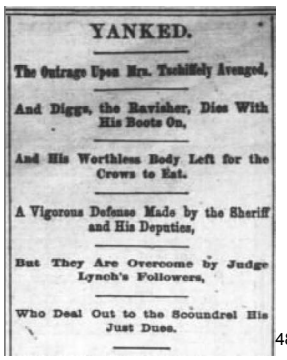
DEATH OF DIGGS.

485

A HORRIBLE CRIME AVENGED.

The Hanging of John Diggs, the Negro Ravisher of Mrs. Tschiffely at Rockville, Md., by a Mob of Unmasked Men.

486


YANKED.

The Outrage Upon Mrs. Tschiffely Avenged,

And Diggs, the Ravisher, Dies With His Boots On,

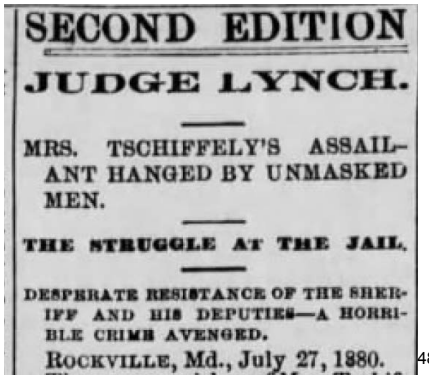
And His Worthless Body Left for the Crows to Eat.

A Vigorous Defense Made by the Sheriff and His Deputies,

But They Are Overcome by Judge Lynch's Followers,

Who Deal Out to the Scoundrel His Just Dues.

487


SECOND EDITION

JUDGE LYNCH.

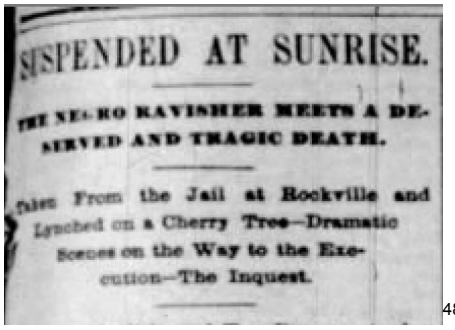
MRS. TSCHIFFELY'S ASSAILANT HANGED BY UNMASKED MEN.

THE STRUGGLE AT THE JAIL.

DESPERATE RESISTANCE OF THE SHERIFF AND HIS DEPUTIES—A HORRIBLE CRIME AVENGED.

ROCKVILLE, Md., July 27, 1880.

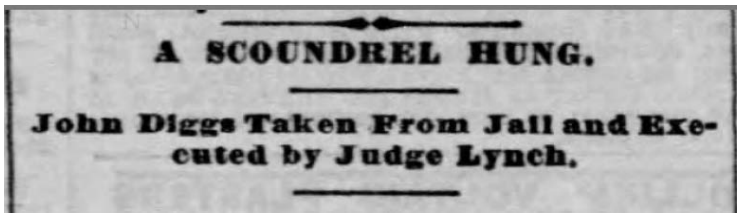
488


SUSPENDED AT SUNRISE.

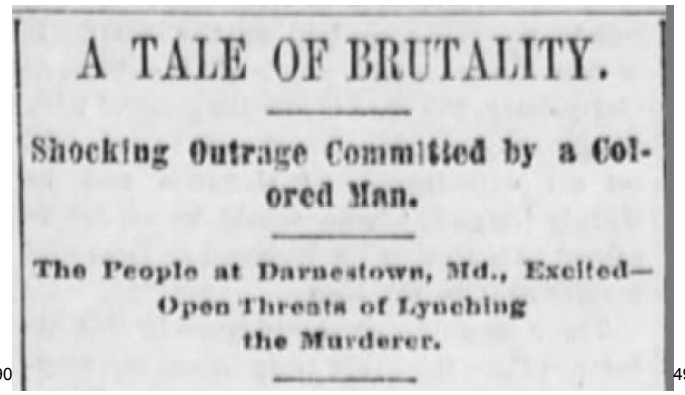
THE NEGRO RAVISHER MEETS A DESERVED AND TRAGIC DEATH.

Taken From the Jail at Rockville and Lynched on a Cherry Tree—Dramatic Scenes on the Way to the Execution—The Inquest.

489


A SCOUNDREL HUNG.

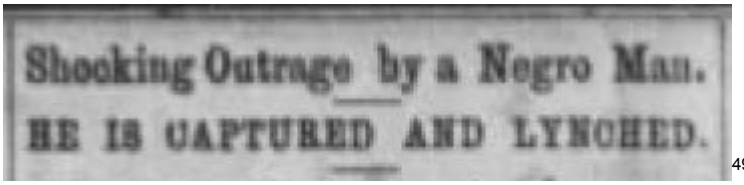
John Diggs Taken From Jail and Executed by Judge Lynch.


A TALE OF BRUTALITY.

Shocking Outrage Committed by a Colored Man.

The People at Darnestown, Md., Excited—Open Threats of Lynching the Murderer.

490 491


Shocking Outrage by a Negro Man.

HE IS CAPTURED AND LYNCHED.

492

Legal/Political Consequences:

There are no known legal/political consequences for the murderers of John Diggs-Dorsey. After an examination the Coroner's jury, after meeting for only 15 minutes, came to the unanimous verdict that John Diggs-Dorsey came to his death by strangulation at the hands of parties unknown."[493]

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance:
John Diggs-Dorsey's lynching was one of three racial terror lynchings that took place in Montgomery County, Maryland between 1854 - 1933. Happening about seven months after the lynching of George Peck, John Diggs-Dorsey's there almost certainly a cultural shift that was taking place in Montgomery counties both Black and white communities when it came to vigilante justice.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There are no known legislative changes or social movements that came about directly following the lynching of John Diggs-Dorsey, but his story played a role in the work of people like Ida B. Wells and organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Memorialization/Commemoration:

In 2023, markers were erected to honor the lives and legacies of Montgomery counties three racial terror lynching victims: Mr. John Diggs-Dorsey, Mr. George Peck, and Mr. Sidney Randolph.

> "The markers stand as truth tellers in relation to these known incidents of lynching that occurred in Montgomery County and to the circumstances surrounding these acts of injustice and to the larger picture of Montgomery County's troubled history of violence and discrimination against African Americans…These three historical markers also stand not only to name this unjust history, but to speak to us today and to prevent a repetition of such acts in the future."[494]–Jason Green (chair of the Commission on Remembrance and Reconciliation)

These markers will stand by the site where John Diggs-Dorsey and Sidney Randolph were abducted.

Reverend Alexa Fraser of the Montgomery County Lynching Memorial Project, along with community members, also filled jars with soil from the spot where John Diggs-Dorsey was lynched to be honored and remembered at the National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama.

Ongoing Influence: The story of John Diggs-Dorsey's lynching played a role in the work of people like Ida B. Wells and organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and is a part of the broader story of racial terror lynchings in Maryland and the United States, reflected in spaces like the National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama.

During the Montgomery County public hearing, Jason Green–chair of the Commission on Remembrance and Reconciliation–provided a sense of how these racial terror lynchings continue to impact and influence generations of Americans:

> *"I often think about my ancestor Gary Green [who was born into slavery in 1832 here in Rockville] traveling along Darnestown Road, the very road where Mr. Diggs, Dorsey and Mr. Randolph were apprehended. The same road that passes the site of their lynchings. The same road that leads us here to the universities at Shady Grove.*
>
> *I can imagine Gary walking that road, perhaps aware of the fates of Mr. Peck, Mr. Diggs Dorsey, and Mr. Randolph. I wonder if he knew them. I wonder if he mourned them. Did he know them? Did he fear for his own life, the lives of his children. This is not ancient history. This is my family's story. This is our county story. This is an*

American story. The trauma of these events has been passed down, down from generation to generation. And I do this work not only to honor Mr. Peck, Mr. Diggs Dorsey, and Mr. Randolph, but to reclaim power for my own community."[495]–Jason Green–chair of the Commission on Remembrance and Reconciliation

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

- A lot of news outlets that featured the same boilerplate story stated that Diggs made a confession to the Sheriff before the jail was ambushed. In a Pennsylvania *Tribune* article it states that "Diggs refused to make a confession"[496] but also reports that Sheriff Kelchner stated that John Diggs-Dorsey confessed prior to the jail being rushed.
- Most news outlets state that Ms. Tschiffely was sitting at a table when John Diggs-Dorsey entered her house, but in her own accounts to the Baltimore *Gazette* she had spoken to John Diggs-Dorsey outside and when she went back in the house he followed her.[497]
- Most accounts also say that John Diggs-Dorsey came in and started choking Ms. Tschiffely while the South Branch Intelligencer (Romney, West Virginia) says: "The negro when he first came in the house demanded money. Afterwards he broke open several trunks and took out a quantity of silverware, but upon reconsideration he did not take it with him."[498]
    - Another source states: "The villain after committing the crime plundered the house and broke open several trunks, searching for money, but did not succeed in finding any."[499]
- There is no note of the men being masked and somehow the *Boston Globe* got a very detailed account of the events and dialogue of the night John Diggs-Dorsey was lynched. It suggests that not only did news outlets and the community know who most of the lynchers were but that the lynchers also corroborated with the news to get the story out.

Case Study: Sidney Randolph
(Montgomery County)

Sidney Randolph.

Basic Information[500]

Full Name: Sidney Randolph (reported alias: Ben Temple)[501]

Date of Birth: Approx. 1868[502]

Place of Birth: Milledgeville[503], Georgia[504]

Occupation/Background: Laborer[505]

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background: Unknown[506]

- As reported in the June 11th, 1896 evening edition of the Washington Times, Sidney Randolph did not have living parents or siblings. The paper reported him as saying he had been raised on General Sanford's plantation near Macon, Georgia by a Porter Boyer.[507]
- According to the same article, also described Sidney Randolph having an aunt and uncle in Macon, Georgia and in Milledgeville, Georgia, approximately 35 miles west of Macon, Georgia.[508]

Additional Background Information:
- Sidney Randolph was a Black laborer from Georgia, who arrived in Maryland in May of 1896 looking for work in the Gaithersburg area.[509]
- At a young age, Sidney Randolph relocated to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania where he worked for Carnegie Steel Corporation and other local companies.[510]

Alleged Crime

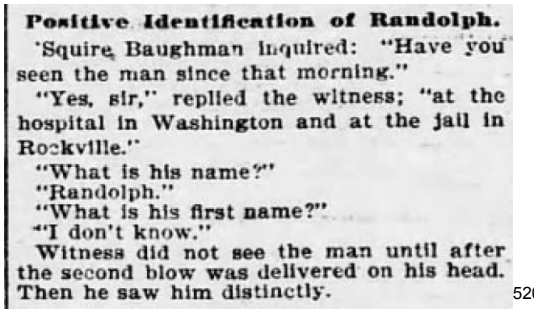
Date and Location of Alleged Crime: May 25, 1896, Gaithersburg, Maryland

Description of Alleged Crime: Sidney Randolph's only "crime" was "looking suspicious"[511] and walking on what is now Muddy Branch Road soon after a brutal attack on a white family,[512] but he was charged in the court of public opinion with "murderously assaulting" the Buxton[513] family on Mr. Richard Lemuel Buxton's 38th birthday.[514]

Victim (s) of Alleged Crime: The Buxton Family but Sadie Buxton (7 years old[515]) died from the injuries inflicted.

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Sidney Randolph and George Neale (Black, men, adults)

Witness Statements or Claims:

- "'I was awakened on the morning of the assault by a blow on my head. I jumped up and reached my hand out to get my revolver, which was laying on a chair. The pistol fell from the chair to the floor and it went off. I was weakened by the blow and I fell from the bed to the floor. My wife said I had shot the child. I then raised the window in my room and shouted for help. This is all that I remember." – Mr. Richard Lemuel Buxton[516]
- "[Mr. Buxton] said he received a blow on the head while he was lying in the bed and made a motion to get out of the bed to get his revolver. 'As I made a motion to get it,' he continued, 'it fell on the floor. I had scrambled out to get the revolver and I fell head foremost on the floor and did not know anything for a few minutes. The revolver went off and my wife said 'you have shot the child.' That is all that I remember, [illegible] and I hoisted the window and hollered and called Tom Phoebus.'"[517]
- "When asked if he saw his assailant long enough to identify him he answered, yes. He then, by a series of questions, said he fully identified [Sidney] Randolph as the man who committed the assault. Mr. Buxton said he did not see the man before he struck him, but afterward, and that after the second blow. The following is an example of the questions propounded: "You became unconscious after that?" which was answered "yes." Following the same method of questioning, Mr. Buxton informed the jury that his assailant put him in mind of Clem Johnson. When asked if he had a coat on, he said he could not swear to that, but he had a kind of reddish or brown looking shirt or coat of some kind. He also stated that there was a light burning out in the hall."[518]
- ""I do not recall that the man took hold of me. I did not see him in the girls' room. I do not remember that he wore a coat. He had on a brown shirt or something. I saw the axe when it was lying in the corner.""[519]
- 

Positive Identification of Randolph.

'Squire Baughman inquired: "Have you seen the man since that morning."

"Yes, sir," replied the witness; "at the hospital in Washington and at the jail in Rockville."

"What is his name?"

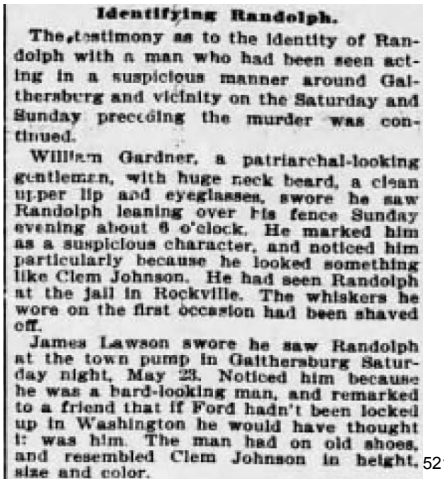
"Randolph."

"What is his first name?"

"I don't know."

Witness did not see the man until after the second blow was delivered on his head. Then he saw him distinctly.

520



Identifying Randolph.

The testimony as to the identity of Randolph with a man who had been seen acting in a suspicious manner around Gaithersburg and vicinity on the Saturday and Sunday preceding the murder was continued.

William Gardner, a patriarchal-looking gentleman, with huge neck beard, a clean upper lip and eyeglasses, swore he saw Randolph leaning over his fence Sunday evening about 6 o'clock. He marked him as a suspicious character, and noticed him particularly because he looked something like Clem Johnson. He had seen Randolph at the jail in Rockville. The whiskers he wore on the first occasion had been shaved off.

James Lawson swore he saw Randolph at the town pump in Gaithersburg Saturday night, May 23. Noticed him because he was a hard-looking man, and remarked to a friend that if Ford hadn't been locked up in Washington he would have thought it was him. The man had on old shoes, and resembled Clem Johnson in height, size and color.

521

- "David Virts, who testified yesterday, was recalled, and gave testimony as to having followed with several people some tracks in a field in the direction of the home of George Neale house calling to some one in the distance."[522]
- "George A. Phoebus was also recalled, and testified to having gone with David Virts to the [George] Neale house and to hearing a man calling to some one. When asked what the person said he replied 'Go back,' and said something else to the man which he could not hear. The man was too far off to tell who he was. Asked who was hollering he said he thought it was George Neale. Later they went after him and took him in custody and found it was [George] Neale."[523]

- "Dr. McCormick of Gaithersburg, gave evidence as to dressing [Sidney] Randolph's wounds the morning he was caught. He gave it as his opinion that the same bullet had gone through the hand and into the flesh of the leg of the man, and believed, from the looks of the wound, that it had been inflicted several hours. He noticed blood on the neck and face of [Sidney] Randolph. He did not think the blood came from [Sidney] Randolph's wounds, but from some severed artery. Dr. McCormick could not tell what size revolver bullet had inflicted the injury, and Mr. Buxton was recalled and asked as to the size of his pistol. He replied that it was a 32-caliber."[524]
- "Erasmus West testified to having seen [Sidney] Randolph coming out of the woods the morning of his capture, and also that he identified him as the man."[525]
    - Around 6 o'clock[526]
    - "[Sidney] Randolph was going as fast as he could without running. He had on no coat. The man was evidently a stranger. The witness testified to keeping the man in sight across open fields for 500 yards. He had recognized [Sidney] Randolph as the man he saw that morning without difficulty when he was in company with five or six other negroes at the Rockville jail several days afterward."[527]
- "R.C. Mace gave important testimony connecting [Sidney] Randolph with some other man. Mace said he was driving along the road in Gaithersburg about 5 o'clock. He passed through and came back the same way about nine or ten o'clock and stopped to water his horse near a branch. This was in the early evening. He said a colored man walked up behind him, a man whom he had seen before, but did not know. He saw him again that night on his return near Mrs. Rabbit's."[528]
    - "Witness thought he had previously seen the man who was with [Sidney] Randolph that night several times around Gaithersburg. Mr. Mace then said he couldn't identify him and didn't know who he was. [A] Witness had seen a man in the Rockville jail, called [George] Neale, but he was not able to say that [George] Neale was the man with [Sidney] Randolph, but didn't think it was."[529]
- Evidence of footprints supposedly placed Sidney Randolph near the scene of the crime: "The next witness was Benjamin F. Hicks, a merchant of Gaithersburg, who was known to have measured the now famous tracks found in the ploughed field and the wheat field. When the consultation was concluded Mr. Hicks said he had visited Buxton's and [George] Neale's houses on the morning of the assault. Then he went over the tracks and measured them carefully. He made three measurements of the barefoot tracks, and a few minutes before he took the stand had compared the measurements with [Sidney] Randolph's feet with a shoemaker's rule at the jail in Rockville. This showed that [Sidney] Randolph's foot was an inch shorter than the track in the ploughed field. The witness continued to say he had procured a box of soft earth or moist sand at the jail and had taken an impression of the prisoner's foot in that. '[Sidney] Randolph refused to put his foot in the box at first, saying he didn't have to do it, but he was made to do it.' said the witness. ' He tried not to put his whole weight on it at first.' Witness then declared that the impression made in the contents of the box measured exactly the same as those made in the ploughed wheat field. He had measured [George] Neale's foot and found it exactly the same length as [Sidney] Randolph's, but [George] Neale's instep was higher and the fall of his foot narrower. [Sidney] Randolph had a flat foot, and the tracks in the ploughed ground were made by a flat-footed man. An impression of [George] Neale's bare foot was not taken by witness at the jail, but on the morning of the murder [George] Neale's foot had fitted exactly to the track in the field. The latter tracks, said the witness, had been made by a man running, as there was a space of twenty-seven and a half inched between the toe of the left foot and the heel of the right one. In ordinary walking this distance is usually twelve and a half or fifteen inches. Witness admitted he was after [Sidney] Randolph's foot, and thus hadn't

taken the impression of [George] Neale's. He believed and swore that the track made in the field and that made in the sand at the jail were formed by the same foot, and that was [Sidney] Randolph's."[530]

- "'I was awakened about 2 o'clock by someone calling me to open the door, as there was a prisoner to be placed in jail. I got up and went downstairs. When I opened the door of the jail three or four men covered me with revolvers and said they wanted the jail keys. One of the men was blackened so as to represent a colored man. I demured about surrendering the keys, but the men demanded them, and said, while they had no desire to hurt me, yet they intended to have the keys. Then I surrendered them. The leader took the keys and opened the outer door leading into the jail corridor. When this was done they proceeded to the cell occupied by [Sidney] Randolph."" - Jailer, Charles Peyton[531]
- "The most important testimony given at last night's session [July 7, 1896] was that of Mr. James P. B. Velms, a lawyer, of Rockville, who said that last Friday afternoon [July 3, 1896], previous to his departure for Frederick, Cary Kingdom told him [Sidney] Randolph was to be lynched that night. The next morning, while in Frederick, at Dall's Hotel, the party he was with, which was composed of members of the Rockville Base Ball Club and their friends, were discussing the probability of [Sidney] Randolph''s having been lynched during the night when Somerville Bean offered to bet a dollar that the lynching had taken place. Harry Dawson took Bean's bet, and the money was posted in the hands of Mr. Veirs, but Dawson then drew the bet, declaring that Bean evidently was on the inside and knew too much. Mr. Veirs also testified that when the train on which he was a passenger passed Gaithersburg he saw Deputy Sheriff Horton G. Thompson and told the latter he had heard that [Sidney] Randolph would be lynched that night and that he should not let an innocent man be lynched. Carry Kingdom swore that Harry King had told him Friday evening that [Sidney] Randolph would be lynched that night. Somerville Bean had asked him not to go to Frederick that night, but to stay 'and see the fun,' but Bean had afterward said he was joking. Harry King testified that Somerville Bean had come to his store about 4 o'clock Friday afternoon [July 3, 1896] and said that [Sidney] Randolph was to be lynched that night. Bean said he had the news pretty straight."[532]
- "'In reply to communication in The evening Star of Saturday last [July 4, 1896], wherein it was stated that [Sidney] Randolph had been taken out of the Rockville jail and threatened with lynching, in order to extort a confession, I wish to make a statement. He was never taken from the jail at any time for such a purpose, and he was never threatened in any shape or form. I did state that we put him under a vigorous sweating, which accomplished nothing, to my mind. These instances were always witnessed by either newspaper men or county officials. [Sidney] Randolph never left the jail, except in my presence, and there were but two instances where he was taken out of prison before the lynchers carried him away.'" - J.W. Collier, Sheriff[533]
- [George] Neale and [Sidney] Randolph were moved from the Rockville jail to the Baltimore City jail[534]

The *Baltimore Sun* was one of the only news outlets to entice lynch law. They released an article that stated: "The removal of the prisoners from the Rockville jail was a wise plan and a good thing for the suspected men, as they would surely have been hanging at the end of a rope this morning. It is well for both the negroes that they are held in Baltimore, for [illegible] in Montgomery county they will be dealt with in accordance with lynch law."[535]

Alleged Chain of Events

There is no substantive evidence that provides Sidney Randolph with a motive for the Buxton family attack or places Sidney Randolph or at the scene of a crime, but a man

named Dr. G.R. Hollingsworth testified to offering Sidney Randolph a ride from Georgetown to Gaithersburg, where the Buxton family attack took place:

> "The first person to have seen Sidney Randolph within the past month, as far as is known, was Dr. G.R. Hollingsworth, of 1072 32nd St, Georgetown. To the Times correspondent, Dr. Hollingsworth has stated that the Friday before the assault he was driving [illegible] the Tenleytown road, having left Georgetown about 2 o'clock. Just a little beyond Woodley Inn, he noticed walking in the road ahead of him a tall negro, whose shoes he took particular notice of. Owing to the warm afternoon, Dr. Hoolingsworth was walking his horse which overtook the negro. The negro spoke and he replied and asked him which way he was going, the negro answered "I am going to Rockville. I'se been looking fur wuk and got word that I could get some there." The man had a small bundle which he said was a lunch. Dr. Hollingsworth gave the negro a ride as far as Tenleytown. The last seen of him was as he disappeared over the hill on the road to Rockville…The doctor read of the atrocious assault and the man named [Sidney] Randolph, and, from the description, determined it was his companion of two days before. When [Sidney] Randolph was taken into custody Dr. Hollingsworth went to Rockville, and there identified him as the man who rode with him to Tenleytown."[536]

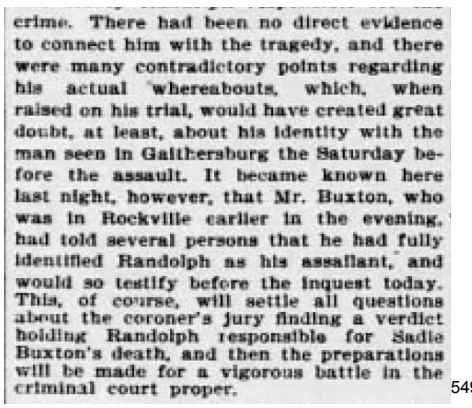
<u>Events Leading to the Lynching</u>

Triggering Incident:

- "On the morning of May 26 all Maryland within fifty miles of Washington was startled by news that during the night one or more intruders had entered the house of Mr. Buxton, a miller of Gaithersburg, and had murderously assaulted the head of the household, his wife and two daughters with an ax while they were asleep. It was feared all four might die, but though terribly injured all recovered save the youngest daughter. Suspicion pointed to Sidney Randolph, a negro who was found near Gaithersburg unable to give a satisfactory account of himself."[537]
- "The prisoners [George Neale and Sidney Randolph] were arraigned before Justice Sultzer at the central police station, where they had spent the night. Sheriff Collier made a formal charge against each of having committed [George] Neale and [Sidney] Randolph to jail for the action of the Montgomery county authorities."[538]
- "It was supposed he had been instigated to the deed by a companion named Neal, just released from the penitentiary, whether he had been sent chiefly through testimony given by Buxton, whose life he had threatened. Neal, however, could not be connected with the crime and was released, while [Sidney] Randolph was committed to jail to await trial, a coroner's jury having found that Sadie Buxton came to her death from blows inflicted by an axe in [Sidney] Randolph's hands, and that some one unknown was accessory to the deed. There had been frequent threats to lynch both Neal and [Sidney] Randolph."[539]
- "The officers also questioned [Sidney] Randolph. He said he spent Thursday, Friday, and Saturday [May 22 - 24, 1896] nights of last week in Georgetown, but did not know with whom he stayed, nor what street the house was on, as he had never been in the place before. He said also: 'I walked on the pike to Rockville and had not been in the other place before,' 'What other place?' said the Sheriff, 'The place where I was arrested and where they shot me,' he replied."[540]
    - "[Sidney] Randolph stoutly denied knowing anything about the crime for which he was arrested. He admitted he had once served a term in the House of Correction near Philadelphia, which was the only time he was ever arrested."[541]
- "The Star correspondent never said [Sidney] Randolph had been threatened with lynching. He repeated exactly what Sheriff Collier had told him: that he (Collier)

had taken [Sidney] Randolph out in the woods, and made the prisoner believe that the lynchers were after him; that he told [Sidney] Randolph he didn't think he could protect him, and that [Sidney] Randolph didn't have more than one chance in ten thousand, but that a truthful statement might secure that chance for him. The Sheriff Collier told The Star reporter that [Sidney] Randolph replied that he knew he was going to be hung, because the people had made up their minds to do it. Two minutes after Sheriff Collier told The Star reporter this, while seated on the bench in front of….."[542]

- "There was considerable talk in Gaithersburg last night about the verdict, and some of the more eager people were in favor of going to Rockville and taking [Sidney] Randolph out. The preponderance of sentiment was against this course, however, and all suggestions of violence were met with strong arguments against it. The best citizens are in favor of letting the law take its course, and it is highly probable their influence will prevail."[543]
- On June 13, 1896 "George Neale, suspected of complicity in the Buxton murder at Gaithersburg, and a number of other colored people held as witnesses were today released, no evidence having been adduced before the coroner's jury to hold [George] Neale as a participant in the crime. Sidney Randolph alone is held for the action of the grand jury at the November term of court. Before leaving the jail [George] Neale and the other prisoners were taken into [Sidney] Randolph's cell to bid him good-bye. [Sidney] Randolph said to [George] Neale and the others that he was glad they were to go if they were innocent of the crime. He admitted afterward that things looked bad for himself, but still persists that he had nothing to do with the crime. There is still some bad feeling exhibited among a few persons at Gaithersburg and Hunting Hill, but no lynching is anticipated at present. Citizens who believe [Sidney] Randolph is, as he says, innocent are at work on a new clue, which they think comes pretty close to the victims of the tragedy."[544]
- "There was no absolutely direct evidence connecting either [George] Neale or [Sidney] Randolph with the crime, but circumstances here and there joined together began to form a close net around them. These circumstances were carried by word of mouth from one to another, and quickly all the county knew it."[545]
    - "The country hereabout has an admirable system of telephones, and every subscriber who was not in person at Gaithersburg, or helping to search the country, and his mouth, full of interrogation marks, glued to the hello hole. So the rumors and facts flew over the miles, and men grew more serious looking and wives and daughters uttered sententious suggestions."[546]
    - Without evidence, it was declared that "[Sidney] Randolph had been a fellow prisoner with [George] Neale in the penitentiary, and had been in Gaithersburg several days ago looking for [George] Neale."[547]
- "All these various stories and rumors ran the gamut of gossip and increased the certainty of the community that the suspected men were in reality the guilty parties."[548]



crime. There had been no direct evidence to connect him with the tragedy, and there were many contradictory points regarding his actual whereabouts, which, when raised on his trial, would have created great doubt, at least, about his identity with the man seen in Gaithersburg the Saturday before the assault. It became known here last night, however, that Mr. Buxton, who was in Rockville earlier in the evening, had told several persons that he had fully identified Randolph as his assailant, and would so testify before the inquest today. This, of course, will settle all questions about the coroner's jury finding a verdict holding Randolph responsible for Sadie Buxton's death, and then the preparations will be made for a vigorous battle in the criminal court proper.[549]

Result of the Inquest:

- "We find that Sadie A. Baxton came to her death by a blow inflicted with an ax, on the morning of the 25th of May, in the hands of Sidney Randolph. We further believe he had an accessory who is unknown to this jury."[550]
    - "The said Sadie A. Baxton came to her death by blows upon her head by an axe, found in her room, in the hands of Sidney Randolph, and that there was an accessory thereto, at the present unknown to the jury."[551]
    - "It did not take the jury half an hour to come to a conclusion after hearing the remainder of the evidence which was submitted today. The first and most important witness was Mr. Richard Braxton…"[552]
- Justice of the Peace, Squire Baughman, acted as coroner[553] and the inquest jury consisted of the following individuals:
    - Mesars H.W. Gladhill, Upton Darby, John A. Belt, R.H. Miles, W.H. Coomed, Dr. I.G. Warfield, H.B. Cramer, L.B. Hayes, R.B. Briggs, George V. Crouse, W.H. Tschiffely, and R. Dorsey Trundle[554]

Role of Authorities:

- The grand jury was scheduled to convene in November
- "Sheriff Collier arrived in Rockville from Gaithersburg where he has been for the last few hours using his best efforts to quell the excitement caused by the verdict of the coroner's jury."[555]
- "Sheriff Collier talked with some of the residents of Gaithersburg and they assured him they would oppose any violence."[556]
- "Postmaster J.A. Belt, who was one of the jurors, mounted a box, appealed to them to use no violence and begged [the gathering crowd] to let the law take its course. His remarks were silently received but did not disperse the gathering."[557]

<u>Details of the Lynching</u>

Age at Time of Lynching: 28[558]

Date and Time: Saturday morning, July 4, 1896

Location of Lynching: Chestnut tree near the roadside

At what point did the lynching take place? After Sidney Randolph was found guilty of attacking the Baxton family and killing Sadie A. Buxton by a coroner's inquest, but before his case was taken to the grand jury.

Method of Lynching: Hanged to a chestnut tree

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Sidney Randolph and George Neale were transported to Baltimore the evening of May 25, 1896 after talk of a lynching began to circulate
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** The coroner's inquest found Sidney Randolph guilty of Sadie Buxton's death and let George Neale free even though George Neale had a previous relationship with the family and no motive or association for Sidney Randolph was found.
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Jailer, Charles Peyton, was charged with handing to Sidney Randolph's cell when the mob came to the jail. Accounts say he refused and was instead overpowered by the mob.

- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Sidney Randolph was lynched before his grand jury trial
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Governor Lloyd Lowndes Jr. offered a $1,000 reward for anyone who could identify and apprehend members of the lynch mob, however, no one was ever charged for the lynching.

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Asphexiated. “His eyes had started from their sockets, while his tongue protruded from his mouth, and in every line of his countenance you could read agony.”[559]

Additional Details:

- “Some of the younger and more hot headed of the people were undoubtedly in favor yesterday of taking summary action with Sidney Randolph and George Neale, the two men who were arrested on suspicion of murdering the Buxton family, but wiser counsels prevailed…’wait for the proof; then it will be time to take ‘em out.’ Not a word was heard about bringing the proof before a jury and a judge; not a word about a trial by the course of law. Everybody knew the tribunal that would try them would be their executioners as well…”[560]
- “About 2:30 o’clock in the morning Charles H.M. Peyton, jailer of Montgomery county, was aroused from his sleep by loud rappings at the front door of the jail. When he inquired who was there he was told to open the door to receive a prisoner. He did so and found confronting him a mob of 20 or 30 masked men. He quickly slammed the door in their faces and locked it, only to have it broken down a few minutes later. The crowd rushed in and demanded that he unlock the cell doors. Meeting a refusal they leveled revolvers at Peyton’s head and directed him to hand over his keys, which he did promptly.”[561]
- “The affair was well planned, for the mob proceeded at once to [Sidney] Randolph’s cell. [Sidney Randolph] was an exceedingly powerful man, over six feet tall and muscular. There must have been a hard struggle to secure him, the cell floor being covered with bloody marks. Prisoners in adjoining cells say that he strongly protested his innocence and begged for his life. The mob gave no heed to these pleadings, but gagged him and then dragged him to a vehicle in waiting and drove out of town. A hangman’s knot was tied around [Sidney Randolph’s] neck and soon afterwards his lifeless body was swinging from a convenient tree.”[562]
- “[Sidney Randolph] protested his innocence of the crime to the last.”[563]
    - “The negro had heard the commotion on the outside, and when he heard their footsteps coming in the direction of his cell, he seemed to realize what was going to take place. [Sidney] Randolph began to scream murder and to cry for help. This only increased the speed of the lynchers, who began quickly to undo the locks of the cell door. When the door was pushed back [Sidney Randolph] could be seen pressed close up in the far corner of his cell. The men rushed into the cell but [Sidney] Randolph was not to be taken without resisting. The negro made a hot battle with those who were trying to get hold of him. He fought like a wild man, and it was not until a heavy blow was dealt him that he finally subsided, and in doing this it was because his physical strength had given out. When struck he fell with a groan to the cell floor, and in an instant a rope was placed around his neck and the crowd started for the jail-yard.”[564]
    - “Seeming to realize that death was near, [Sidney] Randolph once more made a supreme effort to resist the lynching party. As he was being dragged from the cell the man grabbed the iron grating, and how firmly can be best judged from the condition of the man’s hands, which were utterly

peeled off their flesh. The effort of the negro incensed the crowd, who with a combined effort dragged him loose and darted out of the jail hauling [Sidney] Randolph after them like a log. When the yard was reached the men got [Sidney] Randolph on his feet and a covered wagon was driven up into which the struggling negro was thrust."[565]

- "The wagon with its driver and escort was hurried away from the jail, while two of the lynching party remained at the jail in order to prevent any alarm being given. When those at the jail felt assured that [Sidney] Randolph was out of reach, they, too, followed in carriages which had been left in the rear of the courthouse. As soon as Jailer Payton was unguarded he ran across to Kelchner's Hotel, where he gave the alarm, but it was then tool ate to follow the lynching party. The deputy telegraphed the news to Sheriff Collier and then began a search for the remains. The track of the wagon was followed until it stopped at a bar-gate which leads from the Frederick pike to the chestnut grove on the Anderson farm, which is about one and a half miles from the jail. There Messars, Minos Anderson and Samuel Riggs, two of the searching party, found the corpse dangling from a limb of a chestnut tree which stands near the roadside."[566]
- "What took place when [Sidney] Randolph was taken from the wagon can only be told by those who saw it, but the small undergrowth gave silent evidence of a superhuman effort which must have been made by [Sidney] Randolph, trusting that he could free himself from his captors. The bushes were trampled down. From small limbs hung pieces of the shirt and other clothing, which were identified as those worn by [Sidney] Randolph."[567]
- His lynching was the second lynching in Maryland within two weeks, Joseph Cockling, a white man in jail on a charge of murdering his wife, having been killed by a mob a short time ago.[568]
- Sidney Randolph was buried in an unmarked grave off Veirs Mill Road, 3½ miles from modern-day downtown Rockville, Maryland.[569]

Aftermath

An *Evening star* article provides its take on the aftermath of Sidney Randolph's lynching:

- "The people of Gaithersburg were quick on Saturday to disavow any knowledge of the intention to take [Sidney] Randolph out and hang him and were equally emphatic in their denunciation of the crime as the citizens here."[570]
- "None of the latter [e.g. people of Gaithersburg] was connected with the affair in the most remote degree, and that is absolutely certain." This statement is almost certainly false.
- "The feeling at Gaithersburg | There was absolutely no excuse for the strangling of [Sidney] Randolph. The belief in his innocence was and still is far greater than the belief in his guilt among the majority of Montgomery people."
- This article called for executive interference to ensure that nothing of the sort ever happened again:

  "If the people of Montgomery county, Md. really desire to prove their loyalty to law and order, they will spare no pains and no money to find and punish the cowardly brutes who murdered the defenseless prisoner, [Sidney] Randolph, last Saturday morning. There is a suspicion (let us hope it is unfounded) that this inquest will be a farce, like the pretended inquiry in the Cockling case. As all the "leading citizens" are not supposed to have participated in the [Sidney] Randolph lynching, it will require but little effort on the part of the officials to get testimony against the mob. The county officials had ample warning in this case, and they failed to exercise ordinary care. The Rockville jailer made no resistance worthy of the name. The brave men who dragged the helpless prisoner from his cell in the dead hour of darkness would have dropped their disguises and scattered like sheep if

the jailer had showed sufficient nerve to fire a single shot. Such people don't risk their precious skins even in a hanging bee. In such cases the legislature could and should make the responsible county answer in heavy damages. Also the voters have it in their power to elect brave officers who will do their duty under all circumstances without stopping to consider what is popular with the mob." – Thos. W. Gilmer

- "Mr. Wm. J. Lee writes suggesting that a remedy for lynchings such as that of [Sidney] Randolph, which is a 'stigma that fiends of Montgomery county have places upon her fair frame.' may be found 'if our lawmakers were to frame and pass a bill, and the same become a law, declaring that in any town, county, or city a lynching should occur that said town, county, or city, be made to pay and indemnity of $10,000 or $15,000 to the treasury of the state in which the crime was committed, we would immediately see a stop put to this manner of injustice, as some counties could not afford to pay so great an indemnity as above named, and the citizens thereof would strain every nerve to see that ample protection be given every one, regardless of race or color.".. He believes "that our lawmakers are responsible for these lynchings, and the burden of guilt rests heavily upon their shoulders as well as upon the shoulders of the lynchers themselves.""
- A Reward Suggested | "Dr. J. N. Johnson of 1217 Linden Street, Washington was written to Gov. Lowndes, asking that a reward be offered for the lynchers of Sidney Randolph of Montgomery county. The doctor goes a good deal into details, and declares [Sidney] Randolph innocent. He claims that the detective forces of Washington and Baltimore have been called off of the matter, and used to shield the guilty party and help convict [Sidney] Randolph, Gov. Lowndes is absent and nothing has yet been done in the matter."[571]

Coroner's Inquest:

Despite public outcries for retribution Sidney Randolph's murder was ruled as "death by strangulation at the hands of parties unknown to the jury; and further, that in justice to Sheriff John W. Collier, we would state, in view of unjust attacks made upon him by those high authority and others, that we think he performed his entire duty in the matter." – Signed, Benjamin C. Riggs, 'Foreman'[572]

"The body of Sidney Randolph, which was in the keeping of W. R. Pumphrey, was interred at the almshouse cemetery this morning [July 7, 1896]."[573]

Reaction from the Community:

According to the testimony of Reverend Tim Warner during the October 5, 2024 Montgomery County Public Hearing, "after the lynching, the Washington Evening Times reported the reaction of the local black community saying they deeply resent the lynching. Many met in Emory Grove to take up a collection of $1 or more from each person there to pay counsel to work upon the clues in trying to bring the lynchers to justice. However, this effort was ultimately unsuccessful and the lynchers were never arrested."[574]

He continues to state that "sacrifice a dollar or more those days was an awful lot of money. To pull money together to do something desperately to help this man. And it was unsuccessful. It wouldn't surprise me if, in fact, it is a fact that people were looking to go and seek some retribution."[575]

According to a *Washington Bee* article, community members and prominent Black leaders– like John Mercer Langston, Col. Perry H. Carson, Thomas L. Jones, andW. Calvin Chase– met at the 2nd Baptist Church in Washington, DC to take steps to apprehend the lynchers of Sidney Randolph.[576]

There were quite a few articles that mentioned possible retaliation from Black citizens of Montgomery County. It is important to note law enforcement's response to a possible retaliation versus the response when rumors of lynching Sidney Randolph were circulating:

- "Negroes Threaten Retaliation | Talk of Indulging in the Lynch Business on Their Own Account | A special to The Post from Rockville, Md," says: "The excitement caused by the lynching of the negro, Sydney Randolph, Saturday, which had almost entirely died out, was stirred to a high pitch last night when it became rumored that the colored people in the vicinity of Gaithersburg had organized a party and were coming to Rockville to lynch R.L. Buxton, the father of the Buxton family that was assaulted. As soon as the authorities here were apprised of this rumor steps were taken to prevent a recurrence of the events of Saturday. The deputy sheriff quickly informed a number of the citizens that their services might be needed, and then told Buxton of his danger, advising him to leave on the next train for Washington. Buxton seemed quite nervous and excited, while protesting against going to Washington. Arrivals from Gaithersburg stated that the rumor of the intended outbreak among the negroes had reached them, and that a party of 200 men had been armed and put on their guard. They informed Buxton that if he would accompany them back to Gaithersburg they would guarantee to protect him. Buxton went to Gaithersburg, where he spent the night with friends, guarded by able-boded men. There is no doubt that the colored people of the county are very indignant at the lynching of [Sidney] Randolph, and they are open in their denunciation of the act. It is stated also that they are bitter against Buxton, claiming that he knows more about the affair than he is willing to tell."[577]
- "There was evident expectation on the part of many in the audience when the hearing began that the jury would finish the case last night and render the verdict usual in such cases, that Sidney Randolph had come to his death at the hands of parties to the jury unknown, and there was not a little surprise when the announcement was made that further sittings would be held."[578]
- "The lynching of the negro Sidney Randolph…has created the greatest indignation among his race…The negroes have the impression that Mr. Buxton, father of the murdered girl, knows who were concerned in the lynching, and they have threatened to treat him in the same manner. The sheriff, hearing of these threats, swore in a large number of deputies last night to guard Buxton against any attack. The deputies were joined by a large number of people from Gaithersburg, the home of people from Gaithersburg, the home of the Buxton family. There was no disturbance, however, though it is feared that the anger of the negroes may lead them to do something in retaliation for the lynching of [Sidney] Randolph and great uneasiness prevails among the people generally."[579]

Media Coverage:

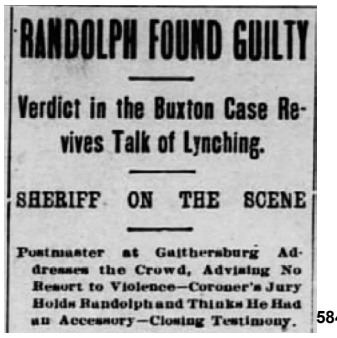
Media coverage spoke of an "excitement" around the possible lynching of Sidney Randolph after Sadie Buxton's coroner's inquest:

- "The inquest in the Buxton case was concluded this afternoon by a verdict finding Sidney Randolph guilty of the murder of little Sadie. The verdict has revived the excitement and tonight there is talk of a lynching. Quite a crowd has collected at Gaithersburg and it is feared that trouble may result."[580]
- "The situation there tonight is alarming. The people are more aroused over the verdict leaving out [George] Neale than they are against [Sidney] Randolph. A crowd of about 100 residents of Montgomery congregated tonight in the vicinity of the hall at Gaithersburg and openly expressed themselves against [Sidney] Randolph and [George] Neale…The latter escaped lynching eight years ago for

the most serious offense and the young girl who was his victim is now an invalid in consequence."[581]

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** Heinous but also confusion around the responsible parties
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Some news outlets enticed the idea of lynching while others questioned if Sidney Randolph was actually guilty of anything
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Condemnation by both the media and relevant parties.
    - "News of the lynching of Sidney Randolph at Rockville this morning was received here at about 5 o'clock and spread scarcely less rapidly than the report of the Buxton tragedy on the morning of May 25."[582]
    - "While it is now more strongly believed here than ever that [Sidney] Randolph was guilty, since the inquest over the remains of Sadie Buxton, the verdict of the just has served to cement public opinion to the belief that an accomplice was yet to be apprehended. For this reason the lynching meets with scarcely anything but condemnation."[583]

Headlines


RANDOLPH FOUND GUILTY

Verdict in the Buxton Case Revives Talk of Lynching.

SHERIFF ON THE SCENE

Postmaster at Gaithersburg Addresses the Crowd, Advising No Resort to Violence—Coroner's Jury Holds Randolph and Thinks He Had an Accessory—Closing Testimony.

584

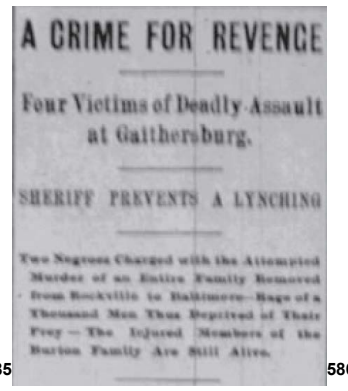
MOB LAW'S LATEST

Maryland Uses Independence Day for a Lynching.

QUITE A UNIQUE ENTERTAINMENT.

Presumably the "Best Citizens" Read the Declaration of Independence Before Stringing Up the Victim, Who Was a Negro Who Protested That He Was Innocent—"Late Soldiers" of the Czar Indulge in an "Elegant" Row.

585

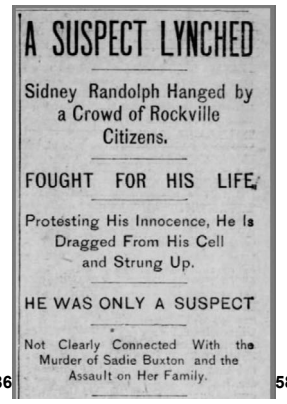

A CRIME FOR REVENGE

Four Victims of Deadly Assault at Gaithersburg.

SHERIFF PREVENTS A LYNCHING

Two Negroes Charged with the Attempted Murder of an Entire Family Removed from Rockville to Baltimore—Rage of a Thousand Men Thus Deprived of Their Prey—The Injured Members of the Buxton Family Are Still Alive.

586


A SUSPECT LYNCHED

Sidney Randolph Hanged by a Crowd of Rockville Citizens.

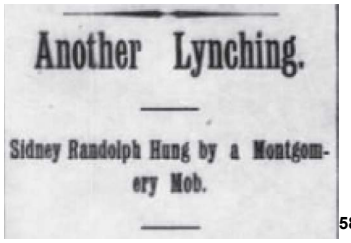
FOUGHT FOR HIS LIFE

Protesting His Innocence, He Is Dragged From His Cell and Strung Up.

HE WAS ONLY A SUSPECT

Not Clearly Connected With the Murder of Sadie Buxton and the Assault on Her Family.

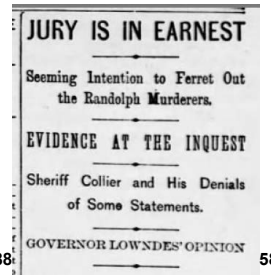
587



Another Lynching.

Sidney Randolph Hung by a Montgomery Mob.

588



JURY IS IN EARNEST

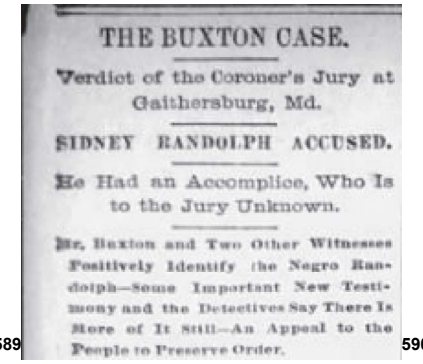
Seeming Intention to Ferret Out the Randolph Murderers.

EVIDENCE AT THE INQUEST

Sheriff Collier and His Denials of Some Statements.

GOVERNOR LOWNDES' OPINION

589



THE BUXTON CASE.

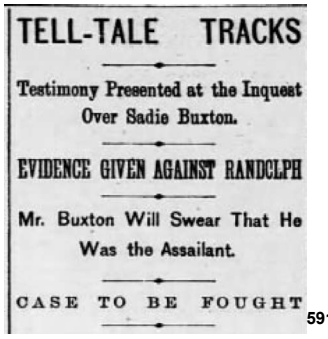
Verdict of the Coroner's Jury at Gaithersburg, Md.

SIDNEY RANDOLPH ACCUSED.

He Had an Accomplice, Who Is to the Jury Unknown.

Mr. Buxton and Two Other Witnesses Positively Identify the Negro Randolph—Some Important New Testimony and the Detectives Say There Is More of It Still—An Appeal to the People to Preserve Order.

590



TELL-TALE TRACKS

Testimony Presented at the Inquest Over Sadie Buxton.

EVIDENCE GIVEN AGAINST RANDOLPH

Mr. Buxton Will Swear That He Was the Assailant.

CASE TO BE FOUGHT

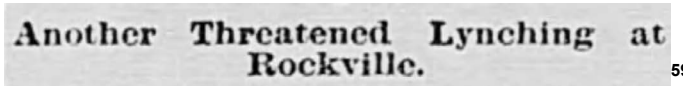
591

HUNG UP BEFORE DAWN

SECOND LYNCHING IN TWO WEEKS FOR MARYLAND.

Sidney Randolph, a Negro Who Had Committed an Awful Crime, Given a Hempen Send-Off Before Breakfast.

592



Another Threatened Lynching at Rockville.

593

RANDOLPH IS HELD

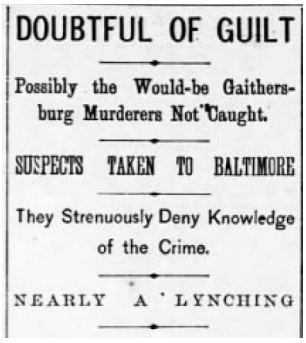
The Strange Negro Found Responsible for Sadie Buxton's Death.

HAD AN UNKNOWN ACCESSORY

Cumulative Circumstantial Evidence at the Inquest.

MR. BUXTON'S STORY

594



DOUBTFUL OF GUILT

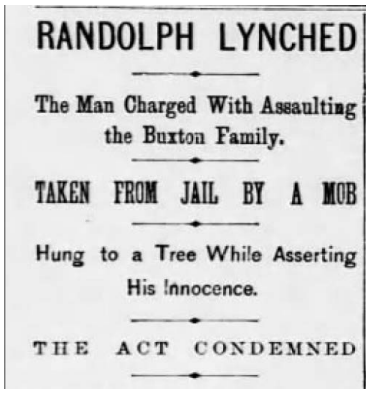
Possibly the Would-be Gaithersburg Murderers Not Caught.

SUSPECTS TAKEN TO BALTIMORE

They Strenuously Deny Knowledge of the Crime.

NEARLY A LYNCHING

595



RANDOLPH LYNCHED

The Man Charged With Assaulting the Buxton Family.

TAKEN FROM JAIL BY A MOB

Hung to a Tree While Asserting His Innocence.

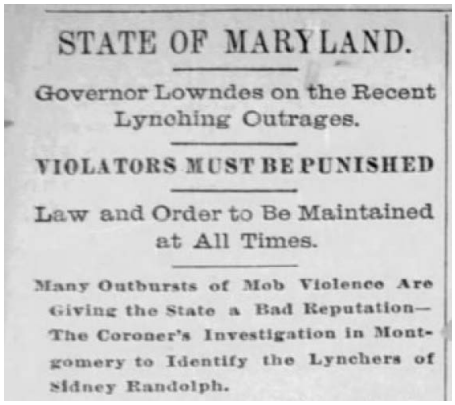
THE ACT CONDEMNED

596

BENT ON VENGEANCE.

Montgomery County Excited—Prisoners Removed From Rockville.

597



STATE OF MARYLAND.

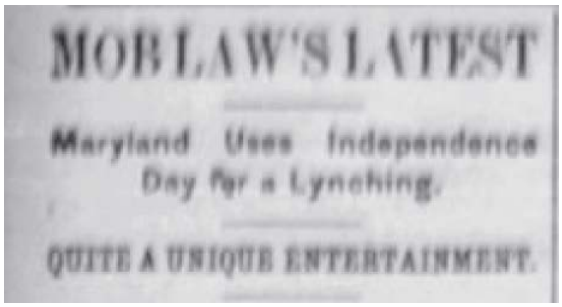
Governor Lowndes on the Recent Lynching Outrages.

VIOLATORS MUST BE PUNISHED

Law and Order to Be Maintained at All Times.

Many Outbursts of Mob Violence Are Giving the State a Bad Reputation—The Coroner's Investigation in Montgomery to Identify the Lynchers of Sidney Randolph.

598

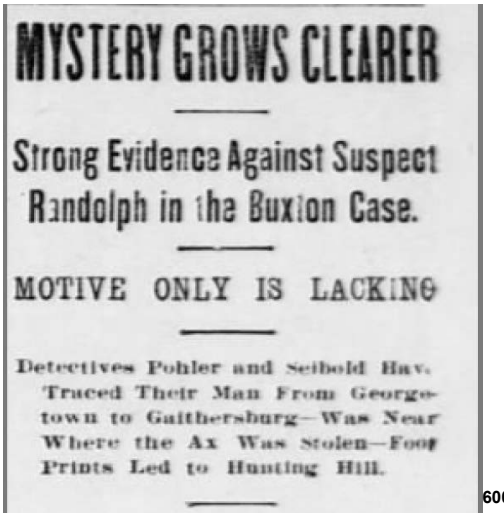


MOB LAW'S LATEST

Maryland Uses Independence Day for a Lynching.

QUITE A UNIQUE ENTERTAINMENT.

599



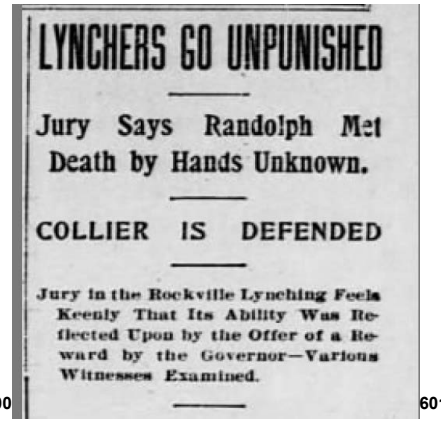
MYSTERY GROWS CLEARER

Strong Evidence Against Suspect Randolph in the Buxton Case.

MOTIVE ONLY IS LACKING

Detectives Pohler and Seibold Have Traced Their Man From Georgetown to Gaithersburg—Was Near Where the Ax Was Stolen—Foot Prints Led to Hunting Hill.

600



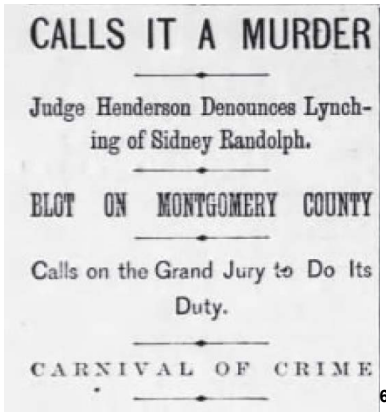
LYNCHERS GO UNPUNISHED

Jury Says Randolph Met Death by Hands Unknown.

COLLIER IS DEFENDED

Jury in the Rockville Lynching Feels Keenly That Its Ability Was Reflected Upon by the Offer of a Reward by the Governor—Various Witnesses Examined.

601



CALLS IT A MURDER

Judge Henderson Denounces Lynching of Sidney Randolph.

BLOT ON MONTGOMERY COUNTY

Calls on the Grand Jury to Do Its Duty.

CARNIVAL OF CRIME

602

Legal/Political Consequences:

Despite the overwhelming understanding of Sidney Randolph's innocence, no one was ever charged for his lynching and Governor Lloyd Lowndes Jr. reward $1,000 was never claimed.

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance:

While Sidney Randolph and George Neale were incarcerated, renowned Black attorneys Thomas L. Jones and John Mercer Langston led a series of indignation meetings at churches throughout Washington, D.C. Initially organized to demand due legal process

and protest Montgomery County's handling of their case, these gatherings evolved after Sidney Randolph's lynching into what became known as the Anti-Lynching Society. The group continued to meet and speak out against racial terror violence. Among its members and speakers were prominent Black professionals and activists, including W. Calvin Chase, Col. P. H. Carson, Rev. J. N. Johnson, and Reuben Smith. Notably, Ida B. Wells addressed the society in July 1896, lending national weight to its cause.

Whether due to the efforts of the Anti-Lynching Society or a broader shift in public sentiment, Sidney Randolph is the last known victim of a racial terror lynching in Montgomery County. Some sources indicate that he was the last person to be lynched in the county altogether.[603]

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements?

The Anti-Lynching Society grew from Sidney Randolph and George Neale's incarceration and further developed after Sidney Randolph's death. In addition,his story played a role in the work of people like Ida B. Wells and organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Memorialization/Commemoration:

In 2023, markers were erected to honor the lives and legacies of Montgomery counties three racial terror lynching victims: Mr. Sidney Randolph, Mr. John Diggs-Dorsey, Mr. George Peck.

> "The markers stand as truth tellers in relation to these known incidents of lynching that occurred in Montgomery County and to the circumstances surrounding these acts of injustice and to the larger picture of Montgomery County's troubled history of violence and discrimination against African Americans…These three historical markers also stand not only to name this unjust history, but to speak to us today and to prevent a repetition of such acts in the future."[604]–Jason Green (chair of the Commission on Remembrance and Reconciliation)

These markers will stand by the site where Sidney Randolph and John Diggs-Dorsey were abducted.

Reverend Alexa Fraser of the Montgomery County Lynching Memorial Project, along with community members, also filled jars with soil from the spot where Sidney Randolph was lynched to be honored and remembered at the National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama.

Ongoing Influence:

Bobbie Legg shared testimony during the 2024 Montgomery County Public Hearing based on the autobiography written by her great grandmother, Mrs. Minnie Fay Nye. According to the autobiography her great grandmother's youngest sister, Aunt Willie Mary William, was married to Alec Carlisle or Alexander Carlisle, who many name as lynching Sidney Randolph.[605]

"Minnie's mom, had another brother, had another sister, Susan Susie Combs, who was married to Alexander Carlisle's brother, Franklin J. Carlisle. And another one of the sisters, Kate Combs, was married to Carson Ward, who would possibly be related to Frank Ward, who was named as one of the initial vigilantes that shot, abused, and detained Sidney Randolph."[606]

After her great grandmother's 95th birthday, she gave a clear testimony of Mr. [Sidney] Randolph's lynching. She identifies that her uncle, Mr. Alec Carlisle, with other men in

positions of power, led the white mob that attacked and killed Mr. [Sidney] Randolph and spread racial terror throughout the region.[607]

In her memoir, Minnie reports "the events stating that her uncle quote, Alec, along with other important men about town, blackened their faces and went in search of the negro. He was in jail in Rockville. In the dark of the early morning, they got him out of jail. I don't know how, but they did. And they drove him down the road a little bit and they tied him to a tree and they lynched him." She also reports that "Alec Carlisle provided the hairdick that was used and following the lynching, he carried a gun in fear of retaliation from the black community. My great grandmother reports that her aunt would identify, quote the tree where the man was hanged whenever she visited."[608]

"Sidney Randolph's life was stolen by self righteous white men who believed they were greater than the justice system. They robbed him of his safety, they robbed him of his very breath and they ended his life. Their actions spread paralyzing fear across the black community and extended that fear to any persons who allied with black citizens."

Bobbie Legg continued to testify that while Sidney Randolph and his family were robbed of his future love, his future education, and his future children, her family "continued to be influential business leaders throughout Montgomery County. My family went on to have generations of children with educational and career opportunities."[609]

"I wonder if legal accountability occurred, would that have affected my great grandmother's ability to go to college, which she did, or buy a home, which she did, or have children, which she did. It is reasonable to assume that I have benefited from my great great uncle never facing criminal charges. On a larger scale, it is reasonable to assume that in these communities in Maryland and across these communities, sorry, in Maryland and across the country, one moment, were impacted. White communities had a reinforced sense of power from these lynchings and flexed their ability to never be challenged."

Bobbie Legg, descendant of Alec Carlisle, a lyncher of Sidney Randolph

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:
Some of the main controversies and discrepancies surrounding the Sidney Randolph case are: the overwhelming lack of evidence against Sidney Randolph even committing the crime he's accused of; 2) the overwhelming evidence in favor of George Neale; 3) evidence suggesting a man named Clem Johnson, who Mr. Buxton even says looks like Sidney Randolph, was suspected of the attack but not apprehended; and 4) confusion on the status of the Buxton family's health. Some articles allude to the entire family being murdered.

According to journalist and activist Ida B. Wells, who had spent the previous five years researching lynchings throughout the South, Sidney Randolph's murder fell in line with many typical lynch law actions she had observed against Black men. In a speech given to the Anti-Lynching Society in Washington, D.C. a few weeks after Sidney Randolph's murder, Ida B. Wells said: "Many a negro is lynched as a scapegoat for another man's crime. An editorial in one of the papers clearly states that the lynching of Sidney Randolph, the negro lynched in Montgomery County, Md, was instigated by the real murderer of Sadie Buxton. Randolph was a scapegoat."[610]

PRINCE GEORGE'S LYNCHING CASES

Case Study: Thomas Juricks
(Prince George's County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Thomas Juricks[611]

Date of Birth: Unknown[612]

Place of Birth: Frederick County

Occupation/Background: Thomas Juricks and his family lived on Thomas Adams's property and Thomas Jurics worked as a Freedman tenant farmer on the nearby Schoaff farm near Old Fort Road and Livingston Road

Marital Status: Married to Barbara Juricks

Family and Personal Background:

- Son of Jacob and Milly Juricks[613]
- Brother of Joseph, Edward, and Jacob (a Civil War veteran and co-founder of a Freedman's Bureau school for Black children in New Market, Frederick County)[614]
- Father of six children, named Milton, Abs, John, Mary Ella, Henry, and Jane[615]

Additional Background Information:

- Thomas Juricks' family had recently moved from Buckeystown near Frederick to the Washington D.C. area.[616]
- The Juricks family lived in what is now Fort Washington near the intersection of present-day Adams and Jackson Drives[617]
- While working on the Schoaff farm, Thomas Juricks injured his hand while using a scythe. There were no bandages available so he tore a piece off the leg of his trousers and fashioned a make-shift wrap for his wound.[618]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: October 12, 1869, in or right outside of Chapel Hill, a Black farming community with a Freedman's Bureau school and a Methodist meeting house.[619]

Description of Alleged Crime:

Victim of Alleged Crime: Miss Dooly, white, female, healthy

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Thomas Jurics, Black, male, healthy

Witness Statements or Claims:

- There were no witnesses to the alleged crime.

- A woman named Miss Dooly, a well-known Prince George's County teacher from Fort Washington, was on her way to teach class on the morning of October 12th. Dooly allegedly arrived at a bend in the road after receiving a ride from the docks, by buggy, from a young unidentified male acquaintance. Electing to travel the rest of the way on foot, she was at some point assaulted, and was beaten unconscious. Her initial screams alerted a pair of nearby hunters, and a fellow teacher, Mr. Eckert. They transported the incapacitated Dooly to the neighboring Rennoe household and then organized a posse of roughly fifty men to hunt down the assailant.[620]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

- The posse, made up of local residents, first apprehended a Black man named James Jackson. Soon after, they captured Thomas Juricks, who was transporting goods further down the road on an ox-drawn cart. Thomas Juricks was chained to James Jackson, who were the only two Black men in the area at the time of the attack. Both men were taken to Justice Brooke in Piscataway District, but without a witness or any evidence condemning them, Brooke decided to hold the two men in custody overnight in the hope that Dooly would recover enough to be able to identify her attacker. Around midnight, a group of men attempted to lynch both Thomas Juricks and James Jackson, but the guards convinced the mob to disperse and allow Brooke to find evidence to identify the perpetrator.[621]

- The following morning, Dooly had still not recovered and doctors were unsure if she would survive. It was at this time that members of the community claimed to have discovered a piece of fabric near the scene of the assault that matched Juricks' make-shift bandage from his scythe injury a few days prior. This was all that was needed to condemn Juricks.[622]

Role of Authorities:

- The decision was made to transport Thomas Juricks to Marlboro, Maryland. He was placed under the protection of Constables John Underwood and Anthony Anderson. As they set out for Marlboro, Juricks requested they pass by the house where his family lived so he could bid his wife farewell.[623]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: Unknown

Date and Time: October 12, 1869

Location of Lynching: near Piscataway

At what point did the lynching take place? After arrest but before any investigation or trial

Method of Lynching: Hanging and shooting

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role the local judiciary played in the lynching of Thomas Juricks, although they were aware of previous threats and the attempt to lynch Thomas Juricks earlier in the week. There was no effort to protect Thomas Juricks as he was being transported from one place to another.
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role the local executive played in the lynching of Thomas Juricks, although they were aware of previous threats and the attempt to lynch Thomas Juricks earlier in the week. There was no effort to protect Thomas Juricks as he was being transported from one place to another.
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role state law enforcement played in the lynching of Thomas Juricks.
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role the state judiciary played in the lynching of Thomas Juricks.
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role the state executive played in the lynching of Thomas Juricks.

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Strangulation and ridden with gunshot

Additional Details:

When the wagon transporting him to Marlboro came to a stop at the Thomas Juricks' household so that he could say farewell to his family, the group was approached by twenty men clad only in shirts and underwear with the exception of one man who only wore a shirt. The entire mob wore handkerchiefs over their faces with eyeholes cut out before attacking the wagon. Constable Underwood attempted to thwart the attack by firing several gunshots but he was subdued, tied, and left on the side of the road. Constable Anderson was forced to drive the wagon out into the woods before he was subsequently tied and left at the woods' edge.[624]

Pushing further into the forest, the mob stopped at an oak tree, where a noose was located. Thomas Juricks was forced into the noose and made to stand atop the wagon. When the wagon was moved, Thomas Juricks jumped and caused the rope to slip from its higher perch. His feet were now able to touch the ground saving him for a brief moment before one of the lynch mob jumped on Thomas Juricks' shoulders while the rest of the mob swung his body back-and-forth to strangle him. Following this, the mob arranged themselves in a firing line and shot a volley of bullets into Thomas Juricks' body.[625]

<u>Aftermath</u>

Reaction from the Community:

- In the year immediately following Thomas Juricks' lynching, and every subsequent Census count until the present, there is no record of the Juricks family in Prince

George's County. It is presumed that the remaining family moved to Pennsylvania, to escape the trauma of the lynching.[626]

- An Evening Star article describing the grand jury investigation of the lynching said the circuit court in Upper Marlboro dispatched Sheriff Dyer to safely bring the prisoner to jail. But that was not possible because, "Justice had already been satisfied."[627]

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** The press assumed that Thomas Juricks was guilty of a "terrible crime."
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** The disposition of the press toward the possibility of lynching is unknown.
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** The disposition of the press toward the lynching after the fact was celebratory. An Alexandria Gazette article admits that burying Thomas Juricks there on a public road was intentional. The site of his grave was hoped to be a constant and sufficient warning to the Black community of Chapel Hill.[628]

Headlines

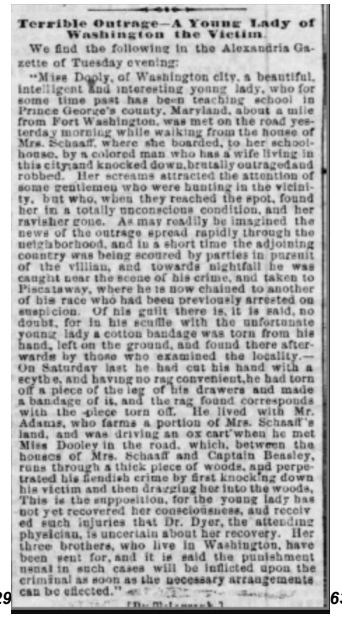
TERRIBLE OUTRAGE.

A Young Lady of this City the Victim

Miss Dooly, of Washington city, a beautiful, intelligent and interesting young lady, who for some time past has been teaching school in Prince George's county, Maryland, about a mile from Fort Washington, was met on the road yesterday morning, while walking from the house of Mrs. Schoaff, where she boarded, to her school-house, by a colored man, who has a wife living in this city, and knocked down, brutally outraged and robbed. Her screams attracted the attention of some gentlemen who were hunting in the vicinity, but who, when they reached the spot, found her in a totally unconscious condition, and her ravisher gone. As may readily be imagined, the news of the outrage spread rapidly through the neighborhood, and in a short time the adjoining country was being scoured by parties in pursuit of the villain, and towards nightfall he was caught near the scene of his crime and taken to Piscataway, where he is now chained to another of his race, who had been previously arrested on suspicion.

Of his guilt there is, it is said, no doubt, for in his scuffle with the unfortunate young a cotton bandage was torn from his hand, left on the ground, and found there afterwards by those who examined the locality. On Saturday last he had cut his hand with a scythe, and having no rag convenient, he had torn off a piece of the leg of his drawers, and made a bandage of it, and the rag found corresponds with the piece torn off. He lived with Mr. Adams, who farms a portion of Mrs. Schoaff's land, and was driving an ox cart when he met Miss Dooley in the road, which, between the houses of Mrs. Schoaff and Captain Beasley, runs through a thick piece of woods, and perpetrated his fiendish crime, by first knocking down his victim and then dragging her into the woods. This is the supposition, for the young lady has not yet recovered consciousness, and received such injuries that Dr. Dyer, the attending physician, is uncertain about her recovery. Her three brothers, who live in Washington, have been sent for, and it is said that the punishment usual in such cases will be inflicted upon the criminal as soon as the necessary arrangements can be effected.—*Alexandria Gazette*, 12th.

629



Terrible Outrage—A Young Lady of Washington the Victim.

We find the following in the Alexandria Gazette of Tuesday evening:

"Miss Dooly, of Washington city, a beautiful, intelligent and interesting young lady, who for some time past has been teaching school in Prince George's county, Maryland, about a mile from Fort Washington, was met on the road yesterday morning while walking from the house of Mrs. Schaaff, where she boarded, to her school-house, by a colored man who has a wife living in this city, and knocked down, brutally outraged and robbed. Her screams attracted the attention of some gentlemen who were hunting in the vicinity, but who, when they reached the spot, found her in a totally unconscious condition, and her ravisher gone. As may readily be imagined the news of the outrage spread rapidly through the neighborhood, and in a short time the adjoining country was being scoured by parties in pursuit of the villian, and towards nightfall he was caught near the scene of his crime, and taken to Piscataway, where he is now chained to another of his race who had been previously arrested on suspicion. Of his guilt there is, it is said, no doubt, for in his scuffle with the unfortunate young lady a cotton bandage was torn from his hand, left on the ground, and found there afterwards by those who examined the locality.—On Saturday last he had cut his hand with a scythe, and having no rag convenient, he had torn off a piece of the leg of his drawers and made a bandage of it, and the rag found corresponds with the piece torn off. He lived with Mr. Adams, who farms a portion of Mrs. Schaaff's land, and was driving an ox cart when he met Miss Dooley in the road, which, between the houses of Mrs. Schaaff and Captain Beasley, runs through a thick piece of woods, and perpetrated his fiendish crime by first knocking down his victim and then dragging her into the woods. This is the supposition, for the young lady has not yet recovered her consciousness, and received such injuries that Dr. Dyer, the attending physician, is uncertain about her recovery. Her three brothers, who live in Washington, have been sent for, and it is said the punishment usual in such cases will be inflicted upon the criminal as soon as the necessary arrangements can be effected."

630

Legal/Political Consequences:

- Thomas Juricks was left to hang from the tree for two hours before a coroner's jury was sent to cut him down and simultaneously declare him dead "from hanging by unknown persons."[631]

- A judge initially called for an investigation. Addressing the grand jury, he said, “No matter how heinous the crime, this tribunal can never sanction punishment by violence and mobs. It becomes your duty to investigate this matter fully and fairly.” Despite condemnation from local judges, no one was brought to trial for Juricks’ murder and the *Prince Georgian* went as far as to declare “whilst it is always desirable that the law should be allowed to take its course, the circumstances of this case justify, as fully as any could, the action of the community.”[632]

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance:

- Thomas Juricks’ body was moved a short distance to Hatton’s Hill near a public road leading from Broad Creek to Piscataway, where he was buried to serve as a warning to the nearby Black communities.[633]

- Following manumission, the Black families of Chapel Hill, Maryland lived and worked as tenant farmers on local white owned farms, until land became available for Black people to purchase. The town became a vibrant, self-sustaining community of homeowners and landowners. It was reported that “Everyone knew and looked out for each other like one large extended family.”[634]

- During the years before and after Thomas Juricks’ lynching, the Chapel Hill community grew to have its own school, churches, businesses such as grocery stores, restaurants, and entertainment venues. There was a gas station and a Masonic lodge. There was a Green Book-type lodging facility – similar to a bed and breakfast - that welcomed guests like Harry Belafonte, Pearl Bailey and other popular Blacks who could not get meals and accommodations in white-owned establishments. There were ball fields and baseball and softball teams. There were festivals and parades.

- Chapel Hill produced many enlisted military members and military officers up to the rank of colonels, veterans of all U.S. wars and conflicts since World War I. One of the first three Black men to enlist into the U.S. Marine Corps came from the Chapel Hill community and there were at least two military fighter jet pilots. Chapel Hill produced schoolteachers, County school administrators, a NASA mechanic who assembled spacecrafts, accountants, and bankers. Living and working in Chapel Hill were many federal, state, and local government employees and managers, nurses, barbers, and beauticians, skilled builders, craftsmen, and mechanics, farmers and entrepreneurs.

- An expert witness from the Chapel Hill community stated, “I heard it said that success is the best revenge. I am involved with this project because, but by the grace of God, this story could be about any one of our ancestors. Yes, they killed Thomas Juricks, but they did not kill the spirit of the Chapel Hill family. It just did not work.”[635]

- One white descendant of Maryland’s largest group of enslavers and segregationists - the Bowie family - was impacted upon learning of the Thomas Juricks’ lynching.

She is working to become more knowledgeable about the role of her family in Indigenous land theft, enslavement, lynching, and segregation. It has also helped her to become more involved in efforts to create and reparations at both a personal and political level.[636]

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There are no known legislative changes or social movements immediately following the lynching of Thomas Juricks.

Memorialization/Commemoration:

- Thomas Juricks was buried on Hattons Hill in Fort Washington, MD. Over the past six years the Prince George's County Lynching Memorial Project has hosted annual book discussions, led essay and creative arts contests, held a remembrance ceremony in honor of Thomas Juricks, organized monthly meetings, conducted extensive research, and hosted numerous webinars and worked tirelessly in service of this mission.[637]

- The Prince George's County Lynching Memorial Project worked with the Union Bethel AME Church's mentoring program, the Mighty Men, to collect soil for Thomas Juricks' memorialization in the Equal Justice Initiative Lynching Project. One of the participating middle schoolers went from a failing student to a star student and athlete, due to his engagement with the soil collection project.[638]

Ongoing Influence:

- In spite of this racial terror, the Black community in Chapel Hill prospered. The resilient farming community grew as a collection of tight knit families centered around two Methodist churches. And it remains a resilient and thriving Black community today.[639]

Additional Notes

- **Controversies or Discrepancies**: Given the swiftness with which the Upper Marlboro community, the local media, and the local law enforcement condemned Thomas Juricks in the absence of any credible evidence, it is possible that there are controversies and discrepancies in the case of Thomas Juricks' lynching.

Case Study: John Henry Scott
(Prince George's County)

Basic Information

Full Name: John Henry Scott

Date of Birth: 1847

Place of Birth: Unknown

Occupation/Background: Worker at the Notley Hill Estate in the employ of Edgar A. Nelson[640]

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- The 1870 Census lists John Scott, 45, Sarah Scott, 38, Joseph Scott, 13, and Jacob Scott, 8, as possible family members of John Henry Scott. It was reported that at the time of his lynching, John Henry Scott was survived by his mother and a brother.
- Descendants of John Henry Scott cannot be definitively determined based on the resources available.

Additional Background Information:

- According to the *Baltimore Sun*, the relationship between John Henry Scott and the Nelsons was, "reportedly friendly," and that John Henry Scott had stayed in the Nelson home previously when Mr. Nelson was out of town.

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: March 23, 1875, at the Notley Hill Estate

Description of Alleged Crime: Unsolicited physical violence; sexual violence.[641]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Mrs. Nelson, local, female, white, middle/upper class, healthy

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: John Henry Scott, local, male, Black, healthy

Witness Statements or Claims: Mrs. Nelson accused John Henry Scott of threatening her toddler child and raping her twice at gunpoint. The *Baltimore Sun* offered two different accounts from Mrs. Nelson about the alleged crime.[642]

After the alleged rape, John Henry Scott allegedly shot himself in the chest. Mrs. Nelson reportedly ran for the assistance of a neighbor, a Black man named Morris, and "Mrs. Nelson was unable to say anything, except that 'John shot himself.'" Morris went to wake the closest physician, Doctor Bayne, as well as Justice R. Walter Brooke.[643]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

Justice Brooke took Mrs. Nelson's affidavit on March 24, 1875, and by then she had "regained her senses and told what occurred."[644] John Henry Scott was taken to the Marlboro jail, by a deputy named Curtis Smith who left with the wounded prisoner at around eight o'clock. By the time they reached the jail, a crowd had formed. The *Baltimore Sun* claims that there were at least one hundred people. Smith handed John Henry Scott over to the mob. John Henry Scott was forced onto a horse and taken to a hollow, where he was hanged from a black walnut tree.[645]

The article claimed that "the colored people in the crowd [made] arrangements to roast [John Henry Scott's] body, having gone so far as to collect a quantity of wood and brush for that purpose. This, however, was not allowed, and the body was left hanging to the tree."[646]

John Henry Scott's body was cut down from the tree that afternoon and a coroner's jury was summoned. They returned the verdict that "the deceased was hung by persons unknown to the jury."[647]

Role of Authorities: Aside from the newly appointed deputy turning John Henry Scott over the lynch mob, the role of local law enforcement in the lynching of John Henry Scott is unknown.[648]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 28 years old

Date and Time: March 23, 1875

Location of Lynching: Notley Hall Plantation/Estate [near Oxon Hill], en route to Upper Marlboro (Fort Washington)[649]

At what point did the lynching take place? After a suspect had been apprehended and detained, but before any trial

Method of Lynching: Hanging; attempted burning[650]

Who Was Involved:

Unidentified town folk, masked, reportedly Black and white, from Prince George's County, Maryland and Alexandria, Virginia.[651]

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local executive became involved)
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state law enforcement became involved)

- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before the state judiciary became involved)

- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before the state executive became involved)

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Strangulation

Additional Details: Unknown

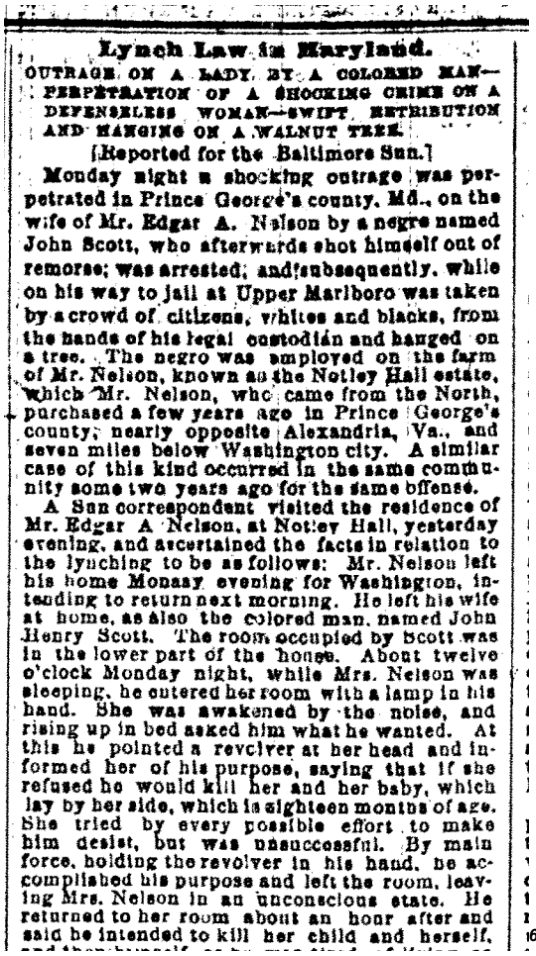
Aftermath

Reaction from the Community: Beyond the community residents who participated in his lynching, the reaction of the community to the lynching of John Henry Scott is unknown.

Media Coverage: There was only one news narrative about the alleged crime, reported in the Baltimore Sun and repeated in the Star Democrat (Easton-Maryland)

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** A particularly heinous crime
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** No known reporting
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** No known reporting

Headlines



Lynch Law in Maryland.

OUTRAGE ON A LADY BY A COLORED MAN—PERPETRATION OF A SHOCKING CRIME ON A DEFENSELESS WOMAN—SWIFT RETRIBUTION AND HANGING ON A WALNUT TREE.

[Reported for the Baltimore Sun.]

Monday night a shocking outrage was perpetrated in Prince George's county, Md., on the wife of Mr. Edgar A. Nelson by a negro named John Scott, who afterwards shot himself out of remorse; was arrested; and subsequently, while on his way to jail at Upper Marlboro was taken by a crowd of citizens, whites and blacks, from the hands of his legal custodian and hanged on a tree. The negro was employed on the farm of Mr. Nelson, known as the Notley Hall estate, which Mr. Nelson, who came from the North, purchased a few years ago in Prince George's county, nearly opposite Alexandria, Va., and seven miles below Washington city. A similar case of this kind occurred in the same community some two years ago for the same offense.

A Sun correspondent visited the residence of Mr. Edgar A Nelson, at Notley Hall, yesterday evening, and ascertained the facts in relation to the lynching to be as follows: Mr. Nelson left his home Monday evening for Washington, intending to return next morning. He left his wife at home, as also the colored man, named John Henry Scott. The room occupied by Scott was in the lower part of the house. About twelve o'clock Monday night, while Mrs. Nelson was sleeping, he entered her room with a lamp in his hand. She was awakened by the noise, and rising up in bed asked him what he wanted. At this he pointed a revolver at her head and informed her of his purpose, saying that if she refused he would kill her and her baby, which lay by her side, which is eighteen months of age. She tried by every possible effort to make him desist, but was unsuccessful. By main force, holding the revolver in his hand, he accomplished his purpose and left the room, leaving Mrs. Nelson in an unconscious state. He returned to her room about an hour after and said he intended to kill her child and herself,

1652

Legal/Political Consequences:

The legal and political consequences of the lynching of John Henry Scott are unknown. According to the newspaper articles at the time, a Coroner inquest was held. However, records from that time were not located. In addition, the newspaper articles state a casket was provided and burial was at the county's expense. Who provided the casket and the location of the burial cannot be found.[653]

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: The cultural/political significance immediately following the lynching of John Henry Scott is unknown. The newspaper articles state John Henry Scott's lynching occurred at or near the location of a prior lynching, presumed to be that of Thomas Juricks in October 1869.[654]

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? Legislative changes or social movements immediately following the lynching of John Henry Scott are unknown.

Memorialization/Commemoration: Memorialization and commemoration immediately following the lynching of John Henry Scott are unknown.

Ongoing Influence: The ongoing influence of the lynching of John Henry Scott is unknown.

Additional Notes

- **Controversies or Discrepancies**:

  As there was only one narrative documenting the events of March 1875 - one from the *Baltimore Sun*, and another from the *Star-Democrat* (Easton-Maryland) mimicking the *Baltimore Sun*, and only one witness to the alleged crime, there are likely controversies and discrepancies about the alleged crime itself and the participants in the lynching.

- The age of John H. Scott in the 1870 census as 23 would make him 28 in 1875 at the time of his death. Given that ages were not always accurate there is a possibility this John H. Scott is the same as the John Henry Scott lynched in 1875. However, this cannot be substantiated with any additional evidence. Unfortunately, there is not enough confirmatory evidence or information to confirm this John H. Scott is the same John Henry Scott that was lynched. Given the contradictory information in the same newspaper article regarding Mr. Scott's siblings, one cannot assume that this John H. Scott is the John Henry Scott being researched.

Case Study: Michael Green
(Prince George's County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Michael Green

Date of Birth: Around 1848

Place of Birth: Unknown

Occupation/Background: Laborer/tenant farmer[655]

Marital Status: Married to Laura Rideout (age 17) on August 30, 1872[656]

Family and Personal Background[657]:

- Father of Sophia Green[658]
- Grandfather to Mary Ann "Maggie" Queen
- Great-grandfather to Joseph D. Taylor, Arthur James Taylor, Charles Bernard Taylor, and Henrietta Taylor
- Great-great-grandfather to Lewis James Harris III of South Carolina in 2004

Additional Background Information:

- Michael Green served in the Civil War in the 3rd regiment, Maryland Infantry, Potomac Home Brigade, Company E, as a private from February 28, 1864 to May 29, 1865.
- Michael Green had a bank account with the Freedmen's Bureau Bank in 1871

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: late August 1878, 200 yards from the Sweeny family home in Upper Marlboro

Description of Alleged Crime: Sexual assault

Victim of Alleged Crime: Alice Sweeny, white, woman, 19 years old

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Michael Green, Black, man

Witness Statements or Claims: Alice Sweeny alleged that Michael Green accosted her near a spring near her home

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

- It is not known why the citizens of Upper Marlboro chose September 1, 1878 as the day to carry out their threats to lynch Michael Green.

Role of Authorities: The Prince George's County sheriff protected Michael Green in the jail for the week prior to his lynching, as there were many threats from citizens eager to punish Michael Green for his alleged "crime of an unusually aggravated character."[659]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: Around 30 years old

Date and Time: Sunday, September 1, 1878

Location of Lynching: Upper Marlboro in a wooded area about one mile from the Upper Marlboro jail at the intersection of Queen Anne's

At what point did the lynching take place? After arrest and prior to any investigation or trial

Method of Lynching: Hanging

Who Was Involved: Unidentified masked local town citizens

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** The role of the local judiciary in the lynching of Michael Green is unknown, although they were aware for a week of the threats being made to lynch Michael Green.
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** The role of the local executive in the lynching of Michael Green is unknown, although they were aware for a week of the threats being made to lynch Michael Green.
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** The role of state law enforcement in the lynching of Michael Green is unknown
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** The role of the state judiciary in the lynching of Michael Green is unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** The role of the state executive in the lynching of Michael Green is unknown

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Strangulation

Additional Details:

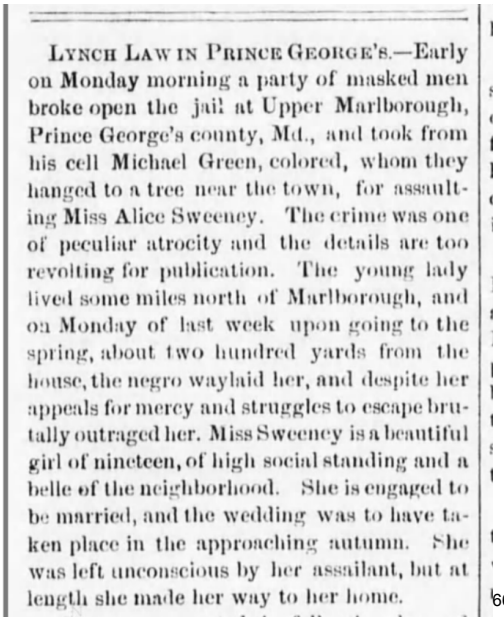
- A mob of men wearing masks broke into the jail at Upper Marlboro on Sunday, September 1, 1878.[660] The mob took Michael Green about a mile outside of Upper Marlboro, to the corner of Queen Anne's Road and Hills Lane where a cherry tree stood. It was reported that Green struggled with the men, and he confessed to the assault of Sweeny. After his alleged confession, the mob swung the rope over one of the overhanging branches, and hanged him until he was dead.[661]
- Michael Green's body was allowed to hang until 6:00 Monday morning, when an inquest was conducted.[662]

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community: Newspaper reports suggested that the (presumably white) community was outraged by the alleged crime and supportive of the lynching of Michael Green.

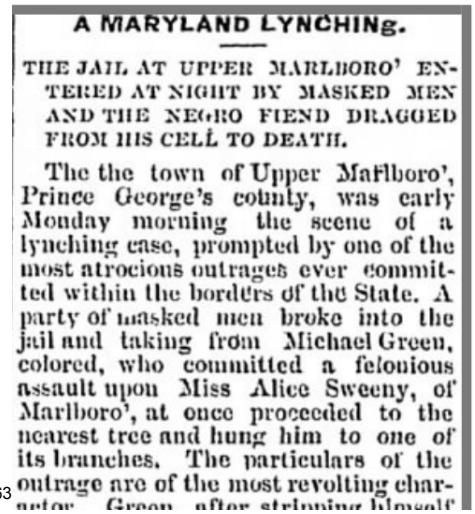
Media Coverage: The Aegis (Belair, MD), the Denton Journal (Denton-Maryland), the Pittsburgh (PA) Post, The Cincinnati (OH) Enquirer, the Democratic Advocate (Westminster -MD), the Kent News, and the Baltimore Sun.

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** Disgust; "A crime of peculiar atrocity and the details are too revolting for publication," and "One of the most atrocious outrages ever committed within the borders of the State."



LYNCH LAW IN PRINCE GEORGE'S.—Early on Monday morning a party of masked men broke open the jail at Upper Marlborough, Prince George's county, Md., and took from his cell Michael Green, colored, whom they hanged to a tree near the town, for assaulting Miss Alice Sweeney. The crime was one of peculiar atrocity and the details are too revolting for publication. The young lady lived some miles north of Marlborough, and on Monday of last week upon going to the spring, about two hundred yards from the house, the negro waylaid her, and despite her appeals for mercy and struggles to escape brutally outraged her. Miss Sweeney is a beautiful girl of nineteen, of high social standing and a belle of the neighborhood. She is engaged to be married, and the wedding was to have taken place in the approaching autumn. She was left unconscious by her assailant, but at length she made her way to her home.

663



A MARYLAND LYNCHING.

THE JAIL AT UPPER MARLBORO' ENTERED AT NIGHT BY MASKED MEN AND THE NEGRO FIEND DRAGGED FROM HIS CELL TO DEATH.

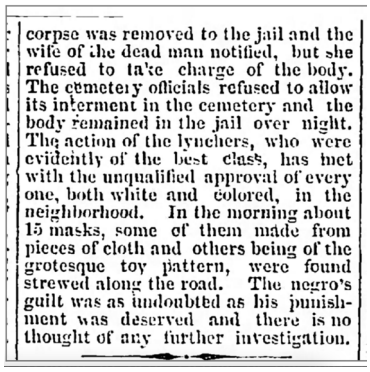
The the town of Upper Marlboro', Prince George's county, was early Monday morning the scene of a lynching case, prompted by one of the most atrocious outrages ever committed within the borders of the State. A party of masked men broke into the jail and taking from Michael Green, colored, who committed a felonious assault upon Miss Alice Sweeny, of Marlboro', at once proceeded to the nearest tree and hung him to one of its branches. The particulars of the outrage are of the most revolting char-

664

- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown

- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Celebratory

- The Denton Journal claimed that "the actions of the lynchers, who were evidently of the best class, has met with the unqualified approval of everyone, both white and colored, in the community…"[665]



corpse was removed to the jail and the wife of the dead man notified, but she refused to take charge of the body. The cemetery officials refused to allow its interment in the cemetery and the body remained in the jail over night. The action of the lynchers, who were evidently of the best class, has met with the unqualified approval of every one, both white and colored, in the neighborhood. In the morning about 15 masks, some of them made from pieces of cloth and others being of the grotesque toy pattern, were found strewed along the road. The negro's guilt was as undoubted as his punishment was deserved and there is no thought of any further investigation.

Legal/Political Consequences: The inquest concluded that Michael Green was "found hanged by parties unknown."[666]

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: The cultural/political significance immediately following the lynching of Michael Green is unknown.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? The legislative changes or social movements immediately following the lynching of Michael Green is unknown.

Memorialization/Commemoration:

Michael Green is buried outside the Upper Marlboro jail on the west lawn.

Ongoing Influence: The ongoing influence of the lynching of Michael Green includes: gathering soil from the original lynching site; holding annual racial and social justice arts and essay contests for Prince George's County public school students; a remembrance ceremony with an installation of a marker; and annual book chats related to racial violence over the last century.

Additional Notes

- **Controversies or Discrepancies**: With the limited evidence of a crime and the apparent intent to kill Michael Green without a trial, it is unknown what other factors impacted his lynching.

Case Study: Stephen Williams
(Prince George's County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Stephen Williams

Date of Birth: 1870[667]

Place of Birth: Unknown

Occupation/Background: Unknown

Marital Status: Married to Carrie Williams

Family and Personal Background:

- Stephen Williams was one of nine known children born to Thomas and Maria Julia Williams, who had been enslaved and may have had additional children.[668]

- Stephen Williams' siblings were named: Catherine, known as Carrie, Louisa, Thomas, Frank, Charles, Henry, Catherine, and Sam Elliot, according to the 1880 Federal Census.[669]

- Descendants of Stephen Williams include a niece, Agnes Norris Butler, born of Stephen Williams sister Carrie Williams and her husband James Norris. Agnes Norris Butler was listed as having been formerly enslaved, the oldest of 18 siblings, and the mother of ten children.[670]

Additional Background Information:

- One newspaper reported that Stephen Williams was survived by his father.[671]

- The *Maryland Independent* of Port Tobacco reported that Mr. Williams was survived by his brother-in-law, James Norris of Bel Alton, M.D. Mr. Norris was married to Mr. Williams' sister Carrie. This family connection led researchers to descendants of Mr. Williams' sister Carrie and the Norris Butler family tree and later locating the living descendants of Mr. Williams.[672]

- Three descendants of Stephen Williams include Crystal Queen, Melissa Sharpe, and Larry Butler

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: October 17, 1894 at the home of Albert and Katie Hardesty, near Woodmore

Description of Alleged Crime: Unsolicited non-fatal violence[673]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Katie Hardesty, local, female, white, adult (sick)

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Stephen Williams, local, male, Black, adult

Witness Statements or Claims:

- The reported witnesses to the alleged crime were Mrs. Hardesty and her adopted daughter, Rosie Ridgeway.
- They claimed that Stephen Williams entered the main bedroom at the Hardesty home, asked the whereabouts of Albert Hardesty, lunged at Katie Hardesty, and a struggle ensued between them. It is reported that the assailant released her only when the family dog started biting him.[674] The Hardesty's daughter heard the commotion and yelled for help and the assailant fled.[675]
- There are conflicting stories about whether Mrs. Hardesty went to Albert Hardesty's store to report what had happened, or whether she was found unconscious in the woods by Mr. Molans and Mr. Crosby.[676] Mrs. Hardesty and her daughter twice identified Stephen Williams as the assailant.[677]
- Newspapers claimed that Stephen Williams confessed to the crime in court, to the officers, and to Rev. Father Broderick of White Marsh Catholic Church, and attributed his behavior to drunkenness.[678]

<u>Events Leading to the Lynching</u>
Triggering Incident:

- The next morning, October 18th, the sheriff found Mr. Williams and charged him with attempting to assault Mrs. Hardesty. During the preliminary hearing, Mr. Williams allegedly confessed to the crime. He was sent to the County jail in Upper Marlboro.
- At 11:30 PM October 19th, a group of men on horseback went to the home of Warden W.J. Spicer. According to news accounts, the men told the warden they had a prisoner to be jailed and needed the keys.[679] Warden Spicer told them his key was in a deposit box at a drug store in town and that a second key held by the deputy warden was needed to get into the jail. Warden Spicer told them the Deputy Warden Dumbhard was at the jail and would receive the prisoner.
- A short time later the men returned to Warden Spicer's home with guns drawn, demanding the keys. Spicer then pulled out his gun and told them, "You can get the keys out of this," indicating his gun. At that moment, a gunshot rang out at the jailhouse two blocks away and the men ran off. Warden Spicer, fearing that a mob had broken into the jail, got dressed and ran to the jailhouse.

Role of Authorities: It is unknown what the role of authorities were in the lynching of Stephen Williams, although the intention to lynch Stephen Williams was considered well-known.[680] During the hour it took to break the back door of the jail, there is no evidence of an attempt by authorities to intercede.

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 24 years old

Date and Time: Saturday, October 20, 1894, around 3:00 a.m.

Location of Lynching: Upper Marlboro, on an iron bridge near the current County administration building.

At what point did the lynching take place? Shortly after the crime, but before any conclusive investigation

Method of Lynching: Strangulation by hanging and gunshot

Who Was Involved: There was no specified description of the participants or onlookers.[681]

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local executive became involved)
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before the state law enforcement became involved)
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before the state judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before the state executive became involved)

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Strangulation

Additional Details:

- A mob had gathered at the jail's back door, a double iron door with iron locks. It took the mob an hour with the sledgehammer to break the bricks around the door's foundation and gain entry, according to newspaper stories. A crowd witnessed the mob breaking into the jail. It is reported that Stephen Williams pleaded with the deputy warden to protect him. The men who entered the jail found Stephen Williams hiding under his mattress. Placing a rope around his neck, they dragged him down the stairs of the jail and out onto the lawn.

- The mob led Stephen Williams to an iron bridge in between the town and the railroad station. They threw the rope over one of the bridge's beams and hauled Stephey Williams up. The mob secured the rope to the bridge railing. A volley of shots were fired and the lynchers disappeared, leaving the body hanging.

- A few minutes later, Warden Spicer arrived and dispersed the crowd. There are conflicting stories concerning whether Warden Spicer took Stephen Williams' body and laid it under a sycamore tree, or whether Stephen Williams' body was left until the next morning.

- The newspaper stated, "While lawlessness is always to be deplored, the crime was of such brutal character that lynching was the only proper punishment."[682] One newspaper reported that Stephen Williams' father arrived on Saturday morning to view the remains and to state that Stephen Williams "deserved his fate, but had been for many years a good lad."[683]

Aftermath

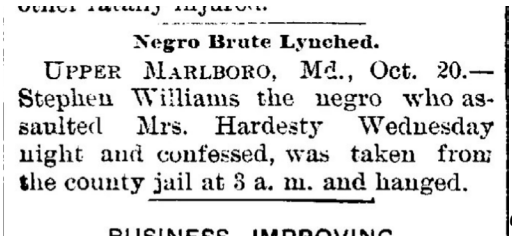
Reaction from the Community:

- Cardinal Gibbons was condemned by a Black newspaper for his comments on the lynching of Stephen Williams.[684] Gibbons stated that some lynchings are excusable due to delays in the legal system, but the newspaper asserted that Black lawbreakers are not afforded due process.[685]
- The reaction from the white community is unknown except for what was reported in the newspapers

Media Coverage: The story was covered by *The Prince George's Enquirer and Southern Maryland Advertiser*; *the Sun*[686] as well as newspapers as far away as Philadelphia, Indiana, Iowa, and Utah.

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** A particularly heinous crime;[687] "the most brutal in the criminal annals of Prince George's County."[688]
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Largely congratulatory; there was commentary about surprise that Stephen Williams would attempt such a deed so soon after the recent execution of James Allen for a similar offense.[689] The same newspaper claimed that the Upper Marlboro citizens, "Without respect of race, color or condition," agreed that Mr. Williams deserved his fate.[690]
- Some newspapers, such as the Evening Star (Washington, DC) condemned the lynching for its conspiracy to override the law and to cheapen life.[691]

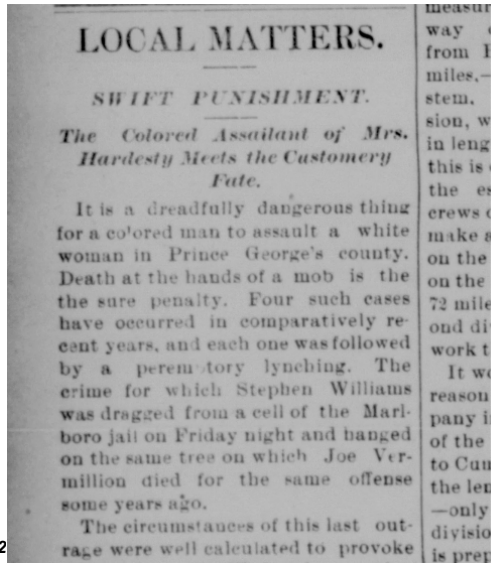
Headlines



Negro Brute Lynched.

UPPER MARLBORO, Md., Oct. 20.—Stephen Williams the negro who assaulted Mrs. Hardesty Wednesday night and confessed, was taken from the county jail at 3 a. m. and hanged.

692



LOCAL MATTERS.

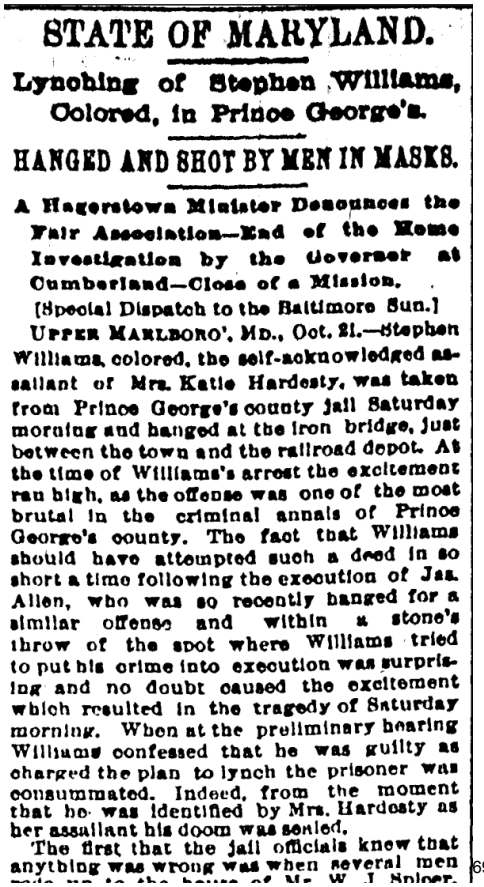
SWIFT PUNISHMENT.

The Colored Assailant of Mrs. Hardesty Meets the Customery Fate.

It is a dreadfully dangerous thing for a colored man to assault a white woman in Prince George's county. Death at the hands of a mob is the the sure penalty. Four such cases have occurred in comparatively recent years, and each one was followed by a peremptory lynching. The crime for which Stephen Williams was dragged from a cell of the Marlboro jail on Friday night and hanged on the same tree on which Joe Vermillion died for the same offense some years ago.

The circumstances of this last outrage were well calculated to provoke

693



STATE OF MARYLAND.

Lynching of Stephen Williams, Colored, in Prince George's.

HANGED AND SHOT BY MEN IN MASKS.

A Hagerstown Minister Denounces the Fair Association—End of the Home Investigation by the Governor at Cumberland—Close of a Mission.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

UPPER MARLBORO', MD., Oct. 21.—Stephen Williams, colored, the self-acknowledged assailant of Mrs. Katie Hardesty, was taken from Prince George's county jail Saturday morning and hanged at the iron bridge, just between the town and the railroad depot. At the time of Williams's arrest the excitement ran high, as the offense was one of the most brutal in the criminal annals of Prince George's county. The fact that Williams should have attempted such a deed in so short a time following the execution of Jas. Allen, who was so recently hanged for a similar offense and within a stone's throw of the spot where Williams tried to put his crime into execution was surprising and no doubt caused the excitement which resulted in the tragedy of Saturday morning. When at the preliminary hearing Williams confessed that he was guilty as charged the plan to lynch the prisoner was consummated. Indeed, from the moment that he was identified by Mrs. Hardesty as her assailant his doom was sealed.

The first that the jail officials knew that anything was wrong was when several men [694]

Legal/Political Consequences:

- The investigating jury's verdict was that Mr. Williams, "Came to his death by hanging and being shot by parties unknown."[695]

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: The cultural and political significance immediately following Stephen Williams lynching is unknown. However, Anna Holmes, a 79 year old Black resident of Prince George's County, recalled in 2005 "I used to hear them talking about the lynchings" as she grew up in central Prince George's County.[696]

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? Legislative changes or social movements immediately following Stephen Williams lynching is unknown.

Memorialization/Commemoration: Stephen Williams' body was turned over to Undertaker Hough who buried the remains at the jail yard cemetery.[697]

Ongoing Influence: The ongoing influence immediately following Stephen Williams lynching is unknown. Contemporary efforts to document the lynching of and to commemorate the life of Stephen Williams are ongoing.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

- As there was a singular narrative documenting the events of October 1894, only two witnesses to the alleged crime, and suggestions that the community was predisposed to do away with due process, there might be controversies and discrepancies about the alleged crime itself and the participants in the lynching.

- News accounts were conflicted about the age and infirmity of Katie Hardesty.[698]

Endnotes

362 https://docs.google.com/document/d/1xlx-SjxnqdMTL7tf11coRx9_MFco0FpW/edit "Attempted Rape and Lynch Law," Montgomery County Sentinel, January 12, 1880.
363 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Dc Washington Evening Star, January 12, 1880 Pg. 1, Washington, Washington-DC, US https://newspaperarchive.com/washington-dc-washington-evening-star-jan-12-1880-p-1/
364 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/371757105/
365 Montgomery County Public Hearing, October 5, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
366 The last name is spelled as "Hays" and "Hayes" depending on the source. The spelling will vary depending on the source being cited.
367 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
368 https://docs.google.com/document/d/1xlx-SjxnqdMTL7tf11coRx9_MFco0FpW/edit
369 Her name is spelled Ida in some articles (e.g. Jackson Citizen Patriot (Jackson, Michigan) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/1162202394/
370 "Lynch-Law in Maryland," Shepherdstown Register, January 17, 1880 Pg. 3, Shepherdstown, West Virginia, US https://newspaperarchive.com/shepherdstown-register-jan-17-1880-p-3/ other sources say that she was the step daughter of Mr. John Reeves "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Dc Washington Evening Star, January 12, 1880 Pg. 1, Washington, Washington-DC, US https://newspaperarchive.com/washington-dc-washington-evening-star-jan-12-1880-p-1/
371 Beall Family File. Montgomery History: Jane Sween Research Library and Special Collections (August 12, 2019).
372 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
373 "Lynch-Law in Maryland," Shepherdstown Register, January 17, 1880 Pg. 3, Shepherdstown, West Virginia, US https://newspaperarchive.com/shepherdstown-register-jan-17-1880-p-3/
374 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Dc Washington Evening Star, January 12, 1880 Pg. 1, Washington, Washington-DC, US https://newspaperarchive.com/washington-dc-washington-evening-star-jan-12-1880-p-1/
375 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Dc Washington Evening Star, January 12, 1880 Pg. 1, Washington, Washington-DC, US https://newspaperarchive.com/washington-dc-washington-evening-star-jan-12-1880-p-1/
376 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Dc Washington Evening Star, January 12, 1880 Pg. 1, Washington, Washington-DC, US https://newspaperarchive.com/washington-dc-washington-evening-star-jan-12-1880-p-1/
377 "A Negro's Swift Punishment," The New York Times (New York, New York) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/20425300/
378 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Dc Washington Evening Star, January 12, 1880 Pg. 1, Washington, Washington-DC, US https://newspaperarchive.com/washington-dc-washington-evening-star-jan-12-1880-p-1/
379 The Democratic Advocate (Westminster, Maryland) Sat, Jan 17, 1880 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/348122063/
380 "Lynching a Ravisher" The Kansas City Times (Kansas City, Missouri) Thu, Jan 15, 1880 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/649164146/
381 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
382 "Lynch-Law in Maryland," Shepherdstown Register, January 17, 1880 Pg. 3, Shepherdstown, West Virginia, US https://newspaperarchive.com/shepherdstown-register-jan-17-1880-p-3/
383 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Dc Washington Evening Star, January 12, 1880 Pg. 1, Washington, Washington-DC, US https://newspaperarchive.com/washington-dc-washington-evening-star-jan-12-1880-p-1/
384 "Lynching a Ravisher" The Kansas City Times (Kansas City, Missouri) Thu, Jan 15, 1880 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/649164146/
385 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/371757105/
386 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Dc Washington Evening Star, January 12, 1880 Pg. 1, Washington, Washington-DC, US https://newspaperarchive.com/washington-dc-washington-evening-star-jan-12-1880-p-1/
387 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/371757105/
388 "Served Him Right," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31347987/
389 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/371757105/
390 Irene C. Pierce, A History of Elijah United Methodist Church and Cemetery (Poolesville, MD: Historic Medley District, Inc., 1995).
391 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
392 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/371757105/
393 "A Negro's Swift Punishment," The New York Times (New York, New York) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/20425300/
394 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
395 "Served Him Right," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31347987/
396 "Lynching a Ravisher" The Kansas City Times (Kansas City, Missouri) Thu, Jan 15, 1880 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/649164146/
397 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Dc Washington Evening Star, January 12, 1880 Pg. 1, Washington, Washington-DC, US https://newspaperarchive.com/washington-dc-washington-evening-star-jan-12-1880-p-1/
398 "A Negro's Swift Punishment," The New York Times (New York, New York) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/20425300/
399 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/371757105/
400 National Republican (Washington, District of Columbia) Tue, Jan 13, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/77880422/
401 Montgomery County Public Hearing, October 5, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
402 Montgomery County Public Hearing, October 5, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
403 Montgomery County Public Hearing, October 5, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
404 Montgomery County Public Hearing, October 5, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
405 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Jackson Citizen Patriot (Jackson, Michigan) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/1162202394/
406 "A Negro's Swift Punishment," The New York Times (New York, New York) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/20425300/
407 "Served Him Right," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) · Tue, Jan 13, 1880 · Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31347987/
408 "Yanked," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353613/ . It is unclear why John Diggs-Dorsey has so many aliases
409 Testimony of David Armenti, Leads Research Committee, Montgomery County Public Hearing, October 5, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
410 Based on the age of 23 at the time of lynching that was given in "Terrible Outrage," Shepherdstown Register (Shepherdstown, West Virginia) Sat, Jul 31, 1880 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/848784400/

411 "A Tale of Brutality," National Republican (Washington, District of Columbia) Mon, Jul 26, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/77883735/
412 "A Tale of Brutality," National Republican (Washington, District of Columbia) Mon, Jul 26, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/77883735/
413 "A Tale of Brutality," National Republican (Washington, District of Columbia) Mon, Jul 26, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/77883735/
414 "A Tale of Brutality," National Republican (Washington, District of Columbia) Mon, Jul 26, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/77883735/
415 "The Description of a Brute," The Morning News (Wilmington, Delaware) · Wed, Jul 28, 1880 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/153956640/
416 "A Tale of Brutality," National Republican (Washington, District of Columbia) Mon, Jul 26, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/77883735/
417 "The Description of a Brute," The Morning News (Wilmington, Delaware) · Wed, Jul 28, 1880 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/153956640/
418 "Terrible Outrage," Shepherdstown Register (Shepherdstown, West Virginia) Sat, Jul 31, 1880 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/848784400/
419 "Crimes and Casualties," Rutland Daily Herald (Rutland, Vermont) · Tue, Jul 27, 1880 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/533465914/
420 "Terrible Outrage," Shepherdstown Register (Shepherdstown, West Virginia) Sat, Jul 31, 1880 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/848784400/
421 "A Tale of Horror," The Daily Gazette (Wilmington, Delaware) Tue, Jul 27, 1880 Page 4 //www.newspapers.com/image/466058486/
422 "A Tale of Horror," The Daily Gazette (Wilmington, Delaware) Tue, Jul 27, 1880 Page 4 //www.newspapers.com/image/466058486/
423 "Crimes and Casualties," Rutland Daily Herald (Rutland, Vermont) · Tue, Jul 27, 1880 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/533465914/
424 Sheriff, John H. Kelchner is spelled differently throughout articles and sources. His spelling will interchange based on what sources are being cited, but it is usually spelled "Ketchner" or "Kelchner"
425 "Yanked," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353613/
426 "Lynching a Negro," The Philadelphia Times (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/52207522/
427 "The Maryland Outrage," Harrisburg Telegraph (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) Tue, Jul 27, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/44279495/
428 "The Crime Record," The Tribune (Scranton, Pennsylvania) · Wed, Jul 28, 1880 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/529253407/
429 "A Black Demon in Prison," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) · Tue, Jul 27, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353605/
430 "Lynching a Negro," The Philadelphia Times (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/52207522/
431 "Shocking Outrage by a Negro Man," The Democratic Advocate (Westminster, Maryland) Sat, Jul 31, 1880 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/348125694/
432 "A Black Demon in Prison," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) · Tue, Jul 27, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353605/
433 An example of said article: The Rutland Weekly Herald and Globe (Rutland, Vermont) · Thu, Jul 29, 1880 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/442848809/
434 "A Black Demon in Prison," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) · Tue, Jul 27, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353605/
435 "Terrible Outrage," Shepherdstown Register (Shepherdstown, West Virginia) Sat, Jul 31, 1880 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/848784400/
436 "A Black Demon in Prison," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) · Tue, Jul 27, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353605/
437 "Terrible Outrage," Shepherdstown Register (Shepherdstown, West Virginia) Sat, Jul 31, 1880 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/848784400/
438 "A Horrible Crime Avenged," The Boston Globe (Boston, Massachusetts) · Thu, Jul 29, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/430692819/
439 "A Horrible Crime Avenged," The Boston Globe (Boston, Massachusetts) · Thu, Jul 29, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/430692819/
440 "Yanked," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353613/
441 "Terrible Lynching Scene," Daily Register (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/831015867/
442 "The Maryland Outrage," Harrisburg Telegraph (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) Tue, Jul 27, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/44279495/
443 "Yanked," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353613/
444 "The Maryland Outrage," Harrisburg Telegraph (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) Tue, Jul 27, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/44279495/
445 "Yanked," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353613/
446 "Terrible Outrage," Shepherdstown Register (Shepherdstown, West Virginia) Sat, Jul 31, 1880 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/848784400/
447 "Yanked," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353613/
448 "Suspended at Sunrise," The Washington Post (Washington, District of Columbia) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1037732293/
449 "A Horrible Crime Avenged," The Boston Globe (Boston, Massachusetts) · Thu, Jul 29, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/430692819/
450 "A Horrible Crime Avenged," The Boston Globe (Boston, Massachusetts) · Thu, Jul 29, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/430692819/
451 "The Crime Record," The Tribune (Scranton, Pennsylvania) · Wed, Jul 28, 1880 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/529253407/
452 "A Horrible Crime Avenged," The Boston Globe (Boston, Massachusetts) · Thu, Jul 29, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/430692819/
453 "A Horrible Crime Avenged," The Boston Globe (Boston, Massachusetts) · Thu, Jul 29, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/430692819/
454 "A Horrible Crime Avenged," The Boston Globe (Boston, Massachusetts) · Thu, Jul 29, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/430692819/
455 "A Horrible Crime Avenged," The Boston Globe (Boston, Massachusetts) · Thu, Jul 29, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/430692819/

456 "A Horrible Crime Avenged," The Boston Globe (Boston, Massachusetts) · Thu, Jul 29, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/430692819/
457 "Yanked," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353613/
458 "A Horrible Crime Avenged," The Boston Globe (Boston, Massachusetts) · Thu, Jul 29, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/430692819/
459 His name is spelled differently in different sources: Kitchen, Kilchner, Kitchner
460 The Republic (Columbus, Indiana) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/128012183/
461 "Yanked," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353613/
462 "Suspended at Sunrise," The Washington Post (Washington, District of Columbia) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1037732293/
463 "Suspended at Sunrise," The Washington Post (Washington, District of Columbia) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1037732293/
464 "Yanked," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353613/
465 "Yanked," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353613/
466 "The Maryland Outrage," Harrisburg Telegraph (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) Tue, Jul 27, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/44279495/
467 "The Maryland Outrage," Harrisburg Telegraph (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) Tue, Jul 27, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/44279495/
468 "The Maryland Outrage," Harrisburg Telegraph (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) Tue, Jul 27, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/44279495/
469 "Crimes and Casualties," Rutland Daily Herald (Rutland, Vermont) · Tue, Jul 27, 1880 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/533465914/
470 An example of said article: The Rutland Weekly Herald and Globe (Rutland, Vermont) · Thu, Jul 29, 1880 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/442848809/
471 "Hemp Justice," The Marion Star (Marion, Ohio) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/299502295/
472 "A Black Demon in Prison," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) · Tue, Jul 27, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353605/
473 "The Crime Record," The Tribune (Scranton, Pennsylvania) · Wed, Jul 28, 1880 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/529253407/
474 "A Brute's End," Chicago Daily Telegraph (Chicago, Illinois) · Wed, Jul 28, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/756420796/
475 The Cleveland Leader (Cleveland, Ohio) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1058177078/
476 "Judge Lynch Avenges an Outraged Woman in Maryland," The Weekly Journal (Lafayette, Indiana) · Fri, Jul 30, 1880 · Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1050151177/
477 "A Maryland Mob" The Tennessean (Nashville, Tennessee) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/603962957/
478 "The Villain Diggs Captured," Fall River Daily Evening News (Fall River, Massachusetts) · Tue, Jul 27, 1880 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/589977501/
479 "The End of Diggs," Public Ledger (Memphis, Tennessee) Tue, Jul 27, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/587067370/
480 "Crimes and Casualties," Rutland Daily Herald (Rutland, Vermont) · Tue, Jul 27, 1880 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/533465914/
481 The Indianapolis News (Indianapolis, Indiana) Tue, Jul 27, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/34979759/
482 "The Fiend Lynched," The Virginian-Pilot (Norfolk, Virginia) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/604931425/
483 "The Maryland Outrage," Harrisburg Telegraph (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) Tue, Jul 27, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/44279495/
484 "Hung By a Mob," Star Tribune (Minneapolis, Minnesota) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/179497139/
485 "Death of Diggs," St. Joseph Gazette (St. Joseph, Missouri) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/558901098/
486 "A Horrible Crime Avenged," The Boston Globe (Boston, Massachusetts) · Thu, Jul 29, 1880 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/430692819/
487 "Yanked," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353613/
488 The Daily Gazette (Wilmington, Delaware) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1/www.newspapers.com/image/466058495/
489 "Suspended ay Sunrise," The Washington Post (Washington, District of Columbia) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1037732293/
490 "A Scoundrel Hung," Democrat and Chronicle (Rochester, New York) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/135077732/
491 "A Tale of Brutality," National Republican (Washington, District of Columbia) Mon, Jul 26, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/77883735/
492 The Democratic Advocate (Westminster, Maryland) Sat, Jul 31, 1880 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/348125694/
493 "Yanked," The Cincinnati Enquirer (Cincinnati, Ohio) Wed, Jul 28, 1880 Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/31353613/
494 Montgomery County Public Hearing, October 5, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
495 Montgomery County Public Hearing, October 5, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
496 "The Crime Record," The Tribune (Scranton, Pennsylvania) · Wed, Jul 28, 1880 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/529253407/
497 "A Tale of Horror," The Daily Gazette (Wilmington, Delaware) Tue, Jul 27, 1880 Page 4 //www.newspapers.com/image/466058486/
498 "Terrible Outrage–A Maryland" South Branch Intelligencer (Romney, West Virginia) · Fri, Jul 30, 1880 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/836467827/
499 "A Tale of Brutality," National Republican (Washington, District of Columbia) Mon, Jul 26, 1880 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/77883735/
500 "Randolph Lynched," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jul 4, 1896 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146348367/
501 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
502 Based on a reported age of 28 at the time of lynching from "A Shameful Affair: The Last Man Lynched in Montgomery County, Md," The Washington Post, August 22, 2018, page 3
503 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
504 "A Shameful Affair: The Last Man Lynched in Montgomery County, Md," The Washington Post, August 22, 2018, page 3
505 "A Shameful Affair: The Last Man Lynched in Montgomery County, Md," The Washington Post, August 22, 2018, page 3
506 Almost all found documentation of Sidney Randolph comes as a result of the Buxton family assault. A Washington Post article is one of the few that contains any background on Sidney Randolph ("A Shameful Affair: The Last Man Lynched in Montgomery County, Md," The Washington Post, August 22, 2018, page 3)
507 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
508 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
509 "A Shameful Affair: The Last Man Lynched in Montgomery County, Md," The Washington Post, August 22, 2018, page 3
510 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
511 "Tell-Tale Tracks," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) · Fri, Jun 12, 1896 ·

Page 15 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146335385/
512 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
513 The family's name is spelled Buxton in most sources but at times will appear as "Baxton"
514 "The Buxton Assault," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Wed, May 27, 1896 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374510016/
515 "A Shameful Affair: The Last Man Lynched in Montgomery County, Md," The Washington Post, August 22, 2018, page 3
516 "The Buxton Case," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Sat, Jun 13, 1896 Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374508889/
517 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
518 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
519 "The Buxton Case," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Sat, Jun 13, 1896 Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374508889/
520 "Randolph is Held,"Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146336796/
521 "Tell-Tale Tracks," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) · Fri, Jun 12, 1896 ·
Page 15 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146335385/
522 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
523 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
524 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
525 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
526 "Randolph is Held,"Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146336796/
527 "Randolph is Held,"Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146336796/
528 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
529 "Randolph is Held,"Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146336796/
530 "Randolph is Held,"Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146336796/
531 "Another Lynching" Saint Mary's Beacon (Leonard Town, Maryland) Thu, Jul 9, 1896 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/319341432/
532 "Jury is in Earnest," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Wed, Jul 8, 1896 Page 5 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146352872/
533 "Jury is in Earnest," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Wed, Jul 8, 1896 Page 5 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146352872/
534 "The Buxton Assault," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Wed, May 27, 1896 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374510016/
535 "The Buxton Assault," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Wed, May 27, 1896 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374510016/
536 "Mystery Grows Clearer," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Wed, Jun 3, 1896 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79792322/
537 "Mob Law's Latest" The Champaign Daily Gazette (Champaign, Illinois) Mon, Jul 6, 1896 Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/668223371/
538 "The Buxton Assault," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Wed, May 27, 1896 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374510016/
539 "Mob Law's Latest" The Champaign Daily Gazette (Champaign, Illinois) Mon, Jul 6, 1896 Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/668223371/
540 "The Buxton Assault," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Wed, May 27, 1896 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374510016/
541 "The Buxton Assault," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Wed, May 27, 1896 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374510016/
542 "Jury is in Earnest," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Wed, Jul 8, 1896 Page 5 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146352872/
543 "Randolph is Held,"Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146336796/
544 "Randolph is Held,"Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146336796/
545 Bent on Vengeance," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Tue, May 26, 1896
Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146323530/
546 Bent on Vengeance," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Tue, May 26, 1896
Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146323530/
547 Bent on Vengeance," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Tue, May 26, 1896
Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146323530/
548 Bent on Vengeance," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Tue, May 26, 1896
Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146323530/
549 "Tell-Tale Tracks," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) · Fri, Jun 12, 1896 ·
Page 15 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146335385/
550 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
551 "The Buxton Case," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Sat, Jun 13, 1896 Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374508889/
552 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
553 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
554 "Tell-Tale Tracks," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) · Fri, Jun 12, 1896 ·
Page 15 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146335385/
555 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
556 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
557 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
558 "A Shameful Affair: The Last Man Lynched in Montgomery County, Md," The Washington Post, August 22, 2018, page 3
559 "Another Lynching" Saint Mary's Beacon (Leonard Town, Maryland) Thu, Jul 9, 1896 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/319341432/
560 Bent on Vengeance," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Tue, May 26, 1896
Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146323530/
561 "Mob Law's Latest" The Champaign Daily Gazette (Champaign, Illinois) Mon, Jul 6, 1896 Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/668223371/
562 "Mob Law's Latest" The Champaign Daily Gazette (Champaign, Illinois) Mon, Jul 6, 1896 Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/668223371/
563 "Mob Law's Latest" The Champaign Daily Gazette (Champaign, Illinois) Mon, Jul 6, 1896 Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/668223371/
564 "Another Lynching" Saint Mary's Beacon (Leonard Town, Maryland) Thu, Jul 9, 1896 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/319341432/
565 "Another Lynching" Saint Mary's Beacon (Leonard Town, Maryland) Thu, Jul 9, 1896 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/319341432/
566 "Another Lynching" Saint Mary's Beacon (Leonard Town, Maryland) Thu, Jul 9, 1896 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/319341432/
567 "Another Lynching" Saint Mary's Beacon (Leonard Town, Maryland) Thu, Jul 9, 1896 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/319341432/
568 "Mob Law's Latest" The Champaign Daily Gazette (Champaign, Illinois) Mon, Jul 6, 1896 Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/668223371/
569 "A Shameful Affair: The Last Man Lynched in Montgomery County, Md," The Washington Post, August 22, 2018, page 3
570 "The Randolph Case" Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Mon, Jul 6, 1896 Page 12 .newspapers.com/image/146350101/
571 This was stated in the Evening star but originated in "Colored" - The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Tue, Jul 7, 1896 Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/371048434/
572 "Lynchers Go Unpunished," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Tue, Jul 14, 1896 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79794897/
573 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Tue, Jul 7, 1896 Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/371048434/
574 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
575 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s

576 "Lynch Law Must Go" The Washington bee. [volume] (Washington, D.C.), 18 July 1896. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84025891/1896-07-18/ed-1/seq-4/>
577 "Mob Law's Latest" The Champaign Daily Gazette (Champaign, Illinois) Mon, Jul 6, 1896 Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/668223371/
578 "Jury is in Earnest," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Wed, Jul 8, 1896 Page 5 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146352872/
579 "Another Threatened Lynching at Rockville," Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria, Virginia) · Mon, Jul 6, 1896 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/86805795/
580 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) · Sat, Jun 13, 1896 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
581 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) · Sat, Jun 13, 1896 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
582 "Randolph Lynched | Dispatch to The Evening Star" Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) · Sat, Jul 4, 1896 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146349069/
583 "Randolph Lynched | Dispatch to The Evening Star" Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) · Sat, Jul 4, 1896 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146349069/
584 "Randolph Found Guilty," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) · Sat, Jun 13, 1896 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79793090/
585 "Mob Law's Latest" The Champaign Daily Gazette (Champaign, Illinois) Mon, Jul 6, 1896 Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/668223371/
586 "A Crime for Revenge" The Washington Post (Washington, District of Columbia) Tue, May 26, 1896 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1040527694/
587 "A Suspect Lynched," The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) Sun, Jul 5, 1896 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/168209475/
588 "Another Lynching" Saint Mary's Beacon (Leonard Town, Maryland) Thu, Jul 9, 1896 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/319341432/
589 "Jury is in Earnest," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Wed, Jul 8, 1896 Page 5 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146352872/
590 "The Buxton Case," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Sat, Jun 13, 1896 Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/374508889/
591 "Tell-Tale Tracks," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) · Fri, Jun 12, 1896 · Page 15 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146335385/
592 "Hung Up Before Dawn," Chattanooga Daily Times (Chattanooga, Tennessee) Sun, Jul 5, 1896 Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/604391643/
593 "Another Threatened Lynching at Rockville," Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria, Virginia) · Mon, Jul 6, 1896 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/86805795/
594 "Randolph is Held,"Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jun 13, 1896 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146336796/
595 "Doubtful of Guilt," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Tue, May 26, 1896 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146323530/
596 "Randolph Lynched," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Sat, Jul 4, 1896 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146348367/
597 Bent on Vengeance," Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Tue, May 26, 1896 Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146323530/
598 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Tue, Jul 7, 1896 Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/371048434/
599 "Mob Law's Latest," Champaign County Gazette (Champaign, Illinois) Wed, Jul 8, 1896 Page 12 https://www.newspapers.com/image/667966358/
600 "Mystery Grows Clearer," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Wed, Jun 3, 1896 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79792322/
601 "Lynchers Go Unpunished," The Times (Washington, District of Columbia) Tue, Jul 14, 1896 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/79794897/
602 Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) Wed, Nov 11, 1896 Page 10 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146438298/

603 "A Shameful Affair: The Last Man Lynched in Montgomery County, Md," The Washington Post, August 22, 2018, page 3.
604 Montgomery County Public Hearing, October 5, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
605 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
606 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2s
607 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2
608 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2
609 Montgomery County Public Hearing October 5, 2024 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vo6zLjl0m2
610 "Anti-Lynching Agitation," Evening star. [volume] (Washington, D.C.), 24 July 1896. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1896-07-24/ed-1/seq-12/>
611 There are as many as 16 different spellings of the surname according to research by Carolyn C. Rowe and Janet Simpson, "Thomas Juricks (1830-1869) Research Summary," Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society (AAHGS), Inc. Prince George's County Maryland Chapter, December 20, 2024.
612 There is a manumission document for a Thomas Jurick that was born ca. 1801. The document is dated 1824 and says that the freedman is about 24 years old. Therefore, he is too old to be the lynching victim (Thomas Juricks (1830-1869) Research Summary," AAHGS,. Prince George's County Maryland Chapter).
613 Jacob Juricks (presumed father of Thomas) is listed as a free head of household on the 1840 census in Frederick County, MD. It notes that there were two boys under the age of 10, two boys between the ages of 10 and 23 and two girls under the age of 10 and one adult woman over the age of 24 and one adult man over the age of 24 in the same household with Jacob Juricks, presumably the male adult over the age of 24. (Thomas Juricks (1830-1869) Research Summary," AAHGS,. Prince George's County Maryland Chapter).
614 "Thomas Juricks (1830-1869) Research Summary," AAHGS,. Prince George's County Maryland Chapter
615 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing (Statement of Isabella Carrero- Baptista); Thomas Juricks Freedom Papers, C761-1, Entry 1, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/images/thomas_juricks_freedom_papers_c761_1entry1.pdf
616 Thomas Juricks Freedom Papers, C761-1, Entry 1; 1860 Federal Census Data, Free Inhabitants of Frederick County, Buckeystown District, Page 289, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/images/1860federal_census_thomasjuricks.jpg
617 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing (Statement of Isabella Carrero- Baptista)
618 "Terrible Outrage - A Young Lady of Washington the Victim."Baltimore Sun, 14 October 1869, Page 1, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/images/terrible_outrage_nationalrepublican13oct1869page2.jpg; "Terrible Outrage."National Republican, 13 October 1869, Page 2, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/images/terrible_outrage_nationalrepublican13oct1869page2.jpg
619 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing (Statement of Isabella Carrero- Baptista)

620 "Late Outrage." Evening Star, 14 October 1869, Page 4, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/images/late_outrage_eveningstar14oct1869page4.jpg; "Terrible Outrage."Evening Star, 13 October 1869, Page 4, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/images/terrible_outrage_eveningstar13oct1869page4.jpg
621 "The Late Outrage."; "Perpetrator Hung."Baltimore Sun, 14 October 1869, Page 1, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/images/perpetrator_hung_baltimoresun14oct1869page1.jpg
622 "Perpetrator Hung."Baltimore Sun, 14 October 1869, Page 1; "Horrible Outrage Near Fort Washington."Evening Star, 13 October 1869, Page 1, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/images/horrible_outrage_near_fort_washington_eveningstar13oct1869page1.jpg
623 "Perpetrator Hung."Baltimore Sun, 14 October 1869, Page 1; "Horrible Outrage Near Fort Washington."Evening Star, 13 October 1869, Page 1
624 "The Late Outrage."
625 Prince George's County Circuit Court, (Coroner Inquests), 1719-1884, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/images/prince_georges_county_coroner_inquests.jpg
626 "Thomas Juricks (1830-1869) Research Summary," AAHGS,. Prince George's County Maryland Chapter, p 4
627 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing (Statement of Isabella Carrero- Baptista)
628 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing (Statement of Isabella Carrero- Baptista)
629 "Terrible Outrage."National Republican, 13 October 1869, Page 2, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/images/terrible_outrage_nationalrepublican13oct1869page2.jpg
630 "Terrible Outrage - A Young Lady of Washington the Victim."Baltimore Sun, 14 October 1869, Page 1
631 Prince George's County, Circuit Court, (Coroner Inquests), 1719-1884, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/images/prince_georges_county_coroner_inquests.jpg
632 The details as published in the Prince Georgian were reported by other newspapers in the region. No known issues of the paper survive for October 1869. "Late Outrage in Prince Georges County, Md."National Republican, 16 October 1869, Page 1, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/images/late_outrage_in_prince_georges_county_md_nationalrepublican16oct1869page1.jpg; "Recent Outrage in Prince Georges County."Evening Star, 16 October 1869, Page 1, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018090/images/recent_outrage_in_prince_georges_county_eveningstar16oct1869page1.jpg
633 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing (Statement of Isabella Carrero- Baptista)
634 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing (Statement of Dora Davis Proctor)
635 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing (Statement of Dora Davis Proctor)
636 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing (Statement of Blair Bowie)
637 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing (Statement of Crystal Carpenter)
638 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing (Statement of Rodney Taylor)
639 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing (Statement of Isabella Carrero- Baptista)

640 National Republic, District Columbia, March 24, 1875 Alexandria Gazette, March 23, 1875.
641 Judge Lynch's Court, Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, John Henry Scott, MSA SC 3520-13730, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000070/000000/000044/restricted/00061875scott.html
642 "Lynch Law in Maryland," The Baltimore Sun, March 24, 1875; "The Outrage and Lynching in Prince George County," The Baltimore Sun March 25, 1875; "The Outrage and Lynching in Prince George's County - the Further Particulars," The Baltimore Sun March 25, 1875
643 "Lynch Law in Maryland," The Baltimore Sun, March 24, 1875; "Statement of Naira Wiley,"Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing, January 25, 2025
644 "Lynch Law in Maryland," The Baltimore Sun, March 24, 1875
645 "Lynch Law in Maryland," The Baltimore Sun, March 24, 1875; "Lynch Law in Maryland," The The Star-Democrat (Easton, Maryland) · Tue, Apr 6, 1875 · Page 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/100762662/
646 "Lynch Law in Maryland," The Baltimore Sun, March 24, 1875
647 "Lynch Law in Maryland," The Baltimore Sun, March 24, 1875
648 "Lynch Law in Maryland," The Baltimore Sun, March 24, 1875
649 Judge Lynch's Court, Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, John Henry Scott, MSA SC 3520-13730; Diane Thompkins, AAHGS Prince George's County MD Chapter
650 Judge Lynch's Court, Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, John Henry Scott, MSA SC 3520-13730.
651 Judge Lynch's Court, Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, John Henry Scott, MSA SC 3520-13730; Diane Thompkins, AAHGS Prince George's County MD Chapter
652 "Lynch Law in Maryland," The Baltimore Sun, March 24, 1875
653 Diane Thompkins, AAHGS Prince George's County MD Chapter; https://www.aahgs-pgcmd.org/about-our-chapter-1/
654 Diane Thompkins, AAHGS Prince George's County MD Chapter; https://www.aahgs-pgcmd.org/about-our-chapter-1/
655 Michael Green appears in the 1850 United States federal censuses living in the household of Rachel Curtin, a white farmer in Nottingham, Prince George's County, Maryland. Michael and the other Green named household members are recorded as free persons of color. This fact could conceivably mean Michael Green and his family were tenant farmers living with the Curtin family because Rachel Curtin's forebearers were most likely enslaved Michael' Greens ancestors during their period of enslavement. The source of this information is the research of Isaac L. Prentice, "The Lynching Of Michael Green In Upper Marboro, Prince George's County," Maryland," December 2004, Nicholas M. Creary, "Strange Fruit in the "Free State": An Overview of Lynching in Maryland, 1854-1933," , Narrative Account of the Lynching of Mike Green, September 1, 1878, Page 29; United States Census, 1850, Maryland, Prince George's County, Nottingham & List of Free Blacks in Prince George's County 1790-1860 by The Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission, June 2009;
United States Census, 1850, Maryland, Prince George's County, Nottingham & List of Free Blacks in Prince George's County 1790-1860 by the Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission, June 2009; Gail Thomas, Kenvi Phillips, and Stacey Shorter, African Americans in Prince George County, A Brief History of the First 300 Years,
656 Maryland, U.S. Compiled Marriages, 1669-1869, https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/4729/]
657 "The Lynching Of Michael Green (1 September 1878) In Upper Marboro, Prince George's County," Maryland," December 2004,
658 1880 United States Federal Census
659 "Lynching at Upper Marlboro," The Sun, September 3, 1878;
660 "Lynching at Upper Marlboro." The Kent News, September 7, 1878,
661 "Lynching at Upper Marlboro," The Sun, September 3 1878.
662 "Lynch Law in Prince George's County." The Aegis September 6, 1878
663 "Lynch Law in Prince George's County," The Aegis 6, 1878.
664 "A Maryland Lynching," Denton Journal 7, 1878.
665 "A Maryland Lynching," Denton Journal, (Denton, Maryland) · Sat, SeptemberSep 7, 1878 · Page 2

666 "A Maryland Lynching." Denton Journal September 7, 1878
667 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing, January 25, 2025. (Statement of Akua Bandele-Asante)
668 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing, January 25, 2025. (Statement of Akua Bandele-Asante)
669 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing, January 25, 2025. (Statement of Akua Bandele-Asante)
670 Melodye Robinson, "STEPHEN WILLIAMS Prince George's County Upper Marlboro lynching victim, October 20, 1894," Prince George's County Chapter, African American Historical & Genealogical Society (AAHGS), p. 2.
671 "Lynch Law." Prince George's County Enquirer and Southern Maryland Advertiser, 26 October 1894, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013742/images/pg26oct1894.pdf (this article acknowledges the Baltimore News as its source of information).
672 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing, January 25, 2025. (Statement of Akua Bandele-Asante)
673 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Stephen Williams, MSA SC 3520-13742, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000070/000000/000044/restricted/00061894williams.html
674 "Saved by a Faithful Dog," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Fri, Oct 19, 1894 · Page 6; https://www.newspapers.com/image/374496946/; "Saved by Her Faithful Dog." Frederick News, October 19, 1894 Pg. 1, Frederick, Maryland, US, https://newspaperarchive.com/frederick-news-oct-19-1894-p-1/; New York Evening World, October 19, 1894 Pg. 21, New York, New York, US, https://newspaperarchive.com/new-york-evening-world-oct-19-1894-p-21/
675 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing, January 25, 2025. (Statement of Akua Bandele-Asante)
676 "Attempted Assault." Staunton Spectator, October 24, 1894 Pg. 9, Staunton, Virginia, US https://newspaperarchive.com/staunton-spectator-oct-24-1894-p-9/
677 "Lynch Law." Prince George's County Enquirer and Southern Maryland Advertiser, 26 October 1894
678 "Stephen Williams Lynched." New York Sun, October 21, 1894 Pg. 4, New York, New York, US, https://newspaperarchive.com/new-york-sun-oct-21-1894-p-4/; "Lynch Law." Prince George's County Enquirer and Southern Maryland Advertiser, 26 October 1894
679 "Lynch Law." Prince George's County Enquirer and Southern Maryland Advertiser, 26 October 1894; "State of Maryland: Lynching of Stephen Williams, Colored, in Prince George's County." The Baltimore Sun, 22 October 1894, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013742/images/sun22oct1894.pdf
680 "Admits His Guilt - Later," Alexandria Gazette, October 20, 1894 Pg. 2, Alexandria, Virginia, US https://newspaperarchive.com/alexandria-gazette-oct-20-1894-p-2/
681 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Stephen Williams, MSA SC 3520-13742
682 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Prince George's County Public Hearing, January 25, 2025. (Statement of Akua Bandele-Asante)
683 "Lynch Law." Prince George's County Enquirer and Southern Maryland Advertiser, 26 October 1894; "A Lynching in Marlyand." Philadelphia Times, October 21, 1894, Pg. 1, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, US, https://newspaperarchive.com/philadelphia-times-oct-21-1894-p-1/
684 "Gibbons on Lynching." Dubuque Times, October 25, 1894 Pg. 1, Dubuque, Iowa, US https://newspaperarchive.com/dubuque-times-oct-25-1894-p-1/
685 "Not Infallible." The Herald and Torch Light (Hagerstown, Maryland), Thu, Oct 25, 1894, Page 4, https://www.newspapers.com/image/6539548/
686 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Stephen Williams, MSA SC 3520-13742
687 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Stephen Williams, MSA SC 3520-13742
688 "State of Maryland: Lynching of Stephen Williams, Colored, in Prince George's County." The Baltimore Sun, 22 October 1894, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013742/images/sun22oct1894.pdf
689 "State of Maryland: Lynching of Stephen Williams, Colored, in Prince George's County." The Baltimore Sun, 22 October 1894.
690 "State of Maryland: Lynching of Stephen Williams, Colored, in Prince George's County." The Baltimore Sun, 22 October 1894
691 Washington DC Washington Evening Star, October 22, 1894 Pg. 6, Washington, Washington-DC, US https://newspaperarchive.com/washington-dc-washington-evening-star-oct-22-1894-p-6/

692 Columbus Daily Times, October 21, 1894 Pg. 1, Columbus, Indiana, US https://newspaperarchive.com/columbus-daily-times-oct-21-1894-p-1/
693 "Local Matters - Swift Punishment." Hagerstown Herald And Torch Light, October 25, 1894 Pg. 15, Hagerstown, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/hagerstown-herald-and-torch-light-oct-25-1894-p-15/
694 "State of Maryland: Lynching of Stephen Williams, Colored, in Prince George's County." The Baltimore Sun, 22 October 1894
695 "State of Maryland: Lynching of Stephen Williams, Colored, in Prince George's County." The Baltimore Sun, 22 October 1894
696 "Repairing Senate's Record on Lynching," Washington Post June 11, 2005 https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2005/06/11/repairing-senates-record-on-lynching/2a05a380-1a77-440e-8d3a-6b4101155dc9/
697 "State of Maryland: Lynching of Stephen Williams, Colored, in Prince George's County." The Baltimore Sun, 22 October 1894.
698 Mount Pleasant Weekly News, October 31, 1894 Pg. 2, Mount Pleasant, Iowa, US https://newspaperarchive.com/mount-pleasant-weekly-news-oct-31-1894-p-2/; Salt Lake Tribune, October 21, 1894 Pg. 1, Salt Lake City, Utah, US, https://newspaperarchive.com/salt-lake-tribune-oct-21-1894-p-1/; New Philadelphia Times, October 25, 1894 Pg. 2, New Philadelphia, Ohio, US, https://newspaperarchive.com/new-philadelphia-times-oct-25-1894-p-2/

ALLEGANY COUNTY LYNCHING CASE

Case Study: Robert Hughes (a.k.a. William Burns)
(Allegany County)

Basic Information

Full Name: **Robert Hughes (a.k.a. William Burns)**

Date of Birth: 1889

Place of Birth: The Pot House in the village of St. Louis in Loudoun County, Virginia; Delaplane, Fauquier County, VA

Occupation/Background: A porter at Alpine Hall hotel in Cumberland and a driver for George Palmore, a Black owner of the Old Dominion restaurant.

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- **Family:** Robert Hughes's parents were Wormley H. Hughes (a preacher from Charlottesville, VA and great-grand nephew of Sally Hemings[699]) and Georgetta Hughes, a school teacher from Pittsburgh, PA, who married in 1885 in Washington, DC. His siblings were his twin sister Ethel May, his younger brother John Henry Hughes (wife Mary Wanda Hughes), Selena Hughes Johnson, who lived in Pittsburgh with her aunt, and his youngest sister Sarah Myrtle. Karen Hughes White and Angela Hughes Davidson, both granddaughters of John Henry Hughes, attested to another generation of descendants - Carin Elliot, Myca Gray and Ebonne Sanders are all great-granddaughters of Robert's brother, John Henry Hughes.[700]

- **Additional Background Information:** There is no known additional background information on Robert Hughes.

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: Thursday, October 3, 1907, on Wineow Street near the canal wharf outside of either Kate Preston's or Hussey's Saloon.

Description of Alleged Crime: Unsolicited fatal violence. Robert Hughes was accused of shooting and killing police officer August Baker. William Burns allegedly admitted to being drunk at the time but did not remember the incident.[701]

Victim of Alleged Crime: August Baker, a white police officer (Local, white male, adult)

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Robert Hughes (Outsider, Black male, adult)

Witness Statements or Claims: Abram Speck, a witness to the events, was taken to the Cumberland police station. Robert Hughes' companion, a local and well-respected Black man named Jesse Page[702], was later taken into custody but was cleared of any charges and released on October 5, 1907, after Robert Hughes stated that Page was not involved in the incident.

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: Robert Hughes was arrested on October 3, 1907, for disorderly conduct with another African American, Jesse Page, both accused of making threats to patrons outside of Hussey's Saloon. Robert Hughes was said to have resisted arrest and mace was used to subdue him. During this struggle, Robert Hughes allegedly shot Baker in the abdomen. Baker was said to have managed to beat Robert Hughes with a club and handcuff him, despite the gunshot wound. Robert Hughes was transported to the jail house by an African American ice wagon driver named Humphrey Green.[703] Baker died of the gunshot wound on the evening of October 5, 1907.

Role of Authorities: Gus Baker was the only authority on the scene of the shooting. On the same day as the lynching, and without further investigation or due process, the coroner's jury announced that Baker died from a bullet wound from a gun shot by Robert Hughes. Sheriff Horace R. Hamilton chose not to put extra guards on duty at the jail because he did not fear any uprising would threaten his prisoner. Sheriff Hamilton left Deputy Sheriff Noah Hendley on guard.[704]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 18 years old

Date and Time: Approximately 1:00 a.m., Sunday, October 6, 1907

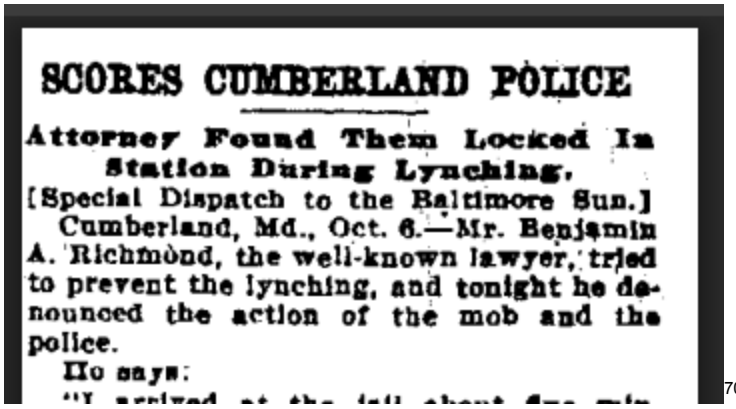
Location of Lynching: Outside of the Cumberland County jailhouse, Cumberland, Maryland, Allegany County, reportedly the first lynching in the history of Cumberland County.

At what point did the lynching take place? After Robert Hughes had been apprehended and detained, but before any trial; on the same day as the coroner's report.

Method of Lynching: Beatings and repeated shooting

Who Was Involved: Several small groups of men were lingering on the streets, making their way towards the jail located on Washington Street with conflicting accounts about the number of men. *The Baltimore Sun* reported on October 6 that by 1:00 a.m., a group of about fifty men with their coats turned inside out and with handkerchiefs covering their faces approached the jail, with the crowd eventually doubling or tripling in number.

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Chief Judge A. Hunter Boyd reportedly urged the lynchers to disperse, but his calls were ignored. Boyd called out to those participants he recognized and those men did eventually leave the scene.[5]
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown, however, a local white attorney, Benjamin Richmond, who arrived as the mob was beginning to storm the jail, attempted to locate other officers who could intervene. Known to be a close friend of Governor Lloyd Lowndes, Richmond reported to have seen several of Cumberland's prominent men participating in the lynching. [705]



SCORES CUMBERLAND POLICE

Attorney Found Them Locked In Station During Lynching.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

Cumberland, Md., Oct. 6.—Mr. Benjamin A. Richmond, the well-known lawyer, tried to prevent the lynching, and tonight he denounced the action of the mob and the police.

He says:

[706]

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Riddled with gunshots

Additional Details: There are differing accounts as to how the mob managed to reach Robert Hughes in his cell. Spectators at the time claimed that the mob obtained the keys with ease and removed Robert Hughes from the jail with resistance from the deputy. However, Deputy Hendley claimed that he refused the mob's demands to hand over Robert Hughes. He stated that the mob used a telegraph pole to break down the door, and that even with the mob pushing pistols in his face, he still refused to turn over the keys.[707] Hendley estimated that the mob was in excess of 2,000 men. Other reports claim that Hendley's wife convinced him to give up the keys or that the mob forcefully gained entry.[708]

- When the mob finally reached Robert Hughes, the mob beat him and dragged him out of the jail. Several men from the mob sought to make Robert Hughes confess to the shooting, but others were already convinced of Burns' guilt.[709]
- Intent on proceeding with the lynching, the mob beat Robert Hughes, shooting him repeatedly even after he had already died. The mob intended to burn Mr. Burns' body but Reverend William Cleveland Hicks, the rector of Emmanuel Episcopal Church, pleaded with the mob to stop the mutilation of Mr. Burns' body. The Cumberland police officers failed to arrest any of the mob participants who had participated in lynching Mr. Burns.[710]
- None of the 16 members of the Cumberland police force were on the scene of the lynching. Benjamin Richmond later reported that after he left the jail, he managed to find one additional officer, by the name of Goss. Richmond convinced officer Goss to take him to the police station in search of more officers. Once there, they found four policemen, with Lieutenant Schmutz among them, sitting quietly with the door locked and lights low. After the officers returned to the jail, the mob had already dispersed. Richmond stated that when he urged the officers to go after the mob, they "moved in a rather leisurely fashion," and "of course...they arrived too late."[711]

The crowd checked to see if Burns was dead, and once it was confirmed, the mob dispersed. Subsequently, it was reported that thousands of persons, including hundreds of Sunday school children, closely examined the naked body of Robert Hughes as it lay at the undertaker.[712]

When Robert Hughes' sister came to claim his body, it was revealed that the mob stripped his body of everything, including a gold watch and $20 in cash.[713]

Burns' Sister Claims The Body
Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun
The Sun (1837-); Oct 10, 1907; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Baltimore Sun
pg. 11

Burns' Sister Claims The Body

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

Cumberland, Md., Oct. 9.—Selenea Johnson, a sister of William Burns, colored, who was lynched here Sunday morning, arrived here today from Pittsburg to claim the body. She says that her brother was only 18 years of age and that he bore the reputation of having been a good boy. She says that her mother, who resides at Delaplaine, Va., is 42 years of age. She called at the jail for his effects, but only found his derby hat. Persons in the mob stripped the body of almost everything. The woman with whom Burns boarded said that when he left her house last Thursday he had a gold watch and about $20 in cash.

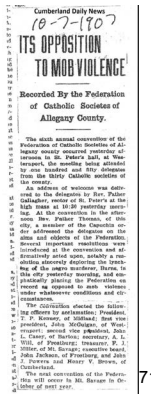
714

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community: After Robert Hughes' lynching, Benjamin Richmond strongly criticized the Cumberland police force, stating, "The conduct of the police of Cumberland was simply shameful and disgraceful. Although the disorder was going on for more than half an hour, not one of them appeared on the scene until after the negro was dead, and would not have come then but for my action."[715]

Reverend Hicks also spoke out against the lynching. Delivering a sermon later in the day on the Sunday that Robert Hughes was lynched, Reverend Hicks stated that, "Last night a crime far worse was committed, committed in cold blood. The righteous anger of Thursday and Friday was cast to the winds, and license, vengeance, and savagery were given full sway. Ah, my friends, who are responsible for these awful crimes against civilization and against God? Is it that band of men alone who dragged the criminal from his cell and who fired those shots? No. It is your fault and it is mine. We must share in this disgrace, for we, as a city, have allowed that pesthole, the saloon, to spring up everywhere, and to bring forth its deadly, devilish offspring."[716]

Rev. Father Thomas of the Federation of Catholic Societies of Allegany County similarly condemned the lynching/mob.[717]



Cumberland Daily News
10-7-1907

ITS OPPOSITION TO MOB VIOLENCE

Recorded By the Federation of Catholic Societes of Allegany County.

The sixth annual convention of the Federation of Catholic Societies of Allegany county assumed yesterday afternoon in St. Peter's hall, at Westernport, the meeting being attended by one hundred and fifty delegates from the thirty Catholic societies of the county.

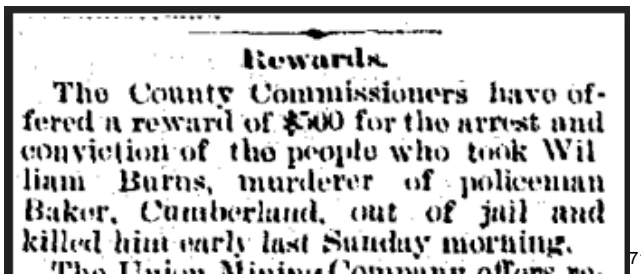
A address of welcome was delivered to the delegates by Rev. Fuller Gallagher, rector of St. Peter's at the high mass at 10:30 yesterday morning. At the convention in the afternoon Rev. Father Thomas, of this city, a member of the Capuchin order, delivered an address on the aims and objects of the Federation. Several important resolutions were introduced at the convention and favorably acted upon, notably a resolution sincerely deploring the lynching of the negro murderer, Burns, in this city yesterday morning, and emphatically placing the Federation on record as opposed to mob violence under whatsoever conditions and circumstances.

The convention elected the following officers by acclamation; President, T. P. Kenney, of Midland; first vice president, John McGuigan, of Westernport; second vice president, John L. Casey, of Barton; secretary, A. L. Miller, of Mt. Savage; treasurer, Jos. Miller, of Mt. Savage; executive board, John Jackson, of Frostburg, and John J. Powers and Henry V. Brown, of Cumberland.

The next convention of the Federation will occur in Mt. Savage in October of next year.

718

On October 12, the Cumberland County Commissioners offered a $500 reward for the arrest and conviction of Robert Hughes's lynchers.



Rewards.

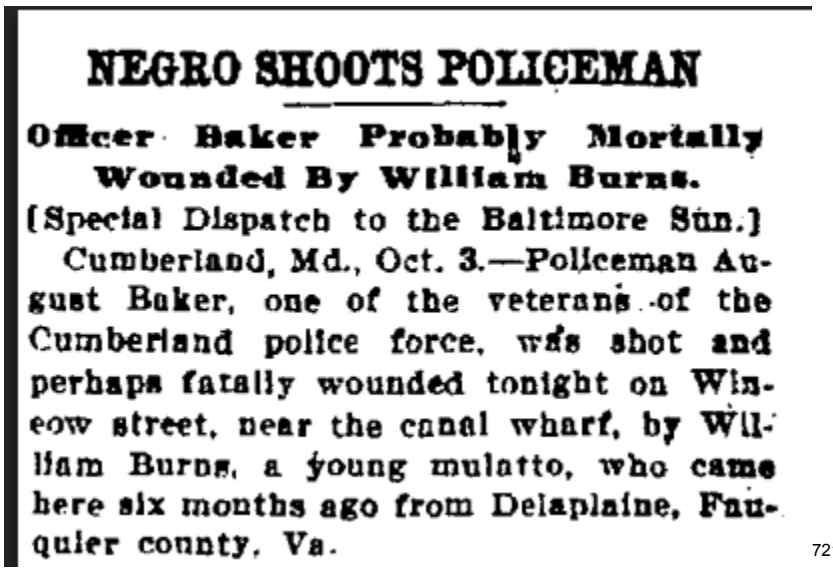
The County Commissioners have offered a reward of $500 for the arrest and conviction of the people who took William Burns, murderer of policeman Baker, Cumberland, out of jail and killed him early last Sunday morning.

719

Despite the fact that the mob that lynched Mr. Burns had grown to at least 2,000 people, Deputy Sheriff Hendley stated that he was unable to identify anyone in the crowd, "some of whom seemed respectable and others who were not." Other witnesses also claimed they could not remember, let alone identify, those who participated in the lynching. Chief Judge A. Hunter Boyd then directed a grand jury to investigate Mr. Burns' lynching.

Media Coverage:

- The Baltimore Sun, the Afro-American Ledger, and the Washington (DC) Herald all reported on the events; there are reports of newspapers in Arizona and Seattle also referencing the Robert Hughes lynching.[720] In many cases, the newspapers repeated the information.
- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** The press, including the Afro-American Ledger, condemned the shooting of August Baker.



NEGRO SHOOTS POLICEMAN

Officer Baker Probably Mortally Wounded By William Burns.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

Cumberland, Md., Oct. 3.—Policeman August Baker, one of the veterans of the Cumberland police force, was shot and perhaps fatally wounded tonight on Winegow street, near the canal wharf, by William Burns, a young mulatto, who came here six months ago from Delaplaine, Fauquier county, Va.

[721]

- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown

- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?**

  The Afro-Ledger protested the lynching in an article:

  - "*The men who lynched Burns are greater murderers than he was, for while he shot his man while under the influence of liquor, and without premeditation, these men deliberately planned and carried their plans in execution. Without doubt, everyone of them is guilty of murder in the first degree and justice will not be done until everyone implicated in it is brought before the bar and receives the penalty of his crime.*" The article also implicated Deputy Sheriff Hendley, stating that, "without doubt, the deputy sheriff should be immediately removed for he certainly failed in his duty, if he did not connive with the law breakers in carrying out their deadly purpose. The idea of a man standing with a weapon in his hand, allowed by the law to use it, and then failing to protect not only the prisoners, under his charge, but the property of the government of the state. The sheriff

heard that there were threats being made, but took no interest in the matter save to remove himself as far from the scene as his duty would allow."[722]

The Baltimore Sun suggested that the people of Cumberland "regret sincerely that the law was not allowed to take in the regular and orderly way as prescribed by the statutes of Maryland." [723]

Headlines

10,000 SEE CORPSE

Sunday-School Children Are Among Throngs That Gaze At Lynched Negro.

NO INQUEST IS HELD YET

Coroner Says He Can Find No One To Identify Single Rioter.

MINISTER PREACHES ON MOB

Scores Those Who Shot Burns To Death—Morbid Crowd After Souvenirs Tears Clothing From The Body—Mob Wanted To Burn And Hang Negro.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]
Cumberland Md., Oct. 6.—It is expected

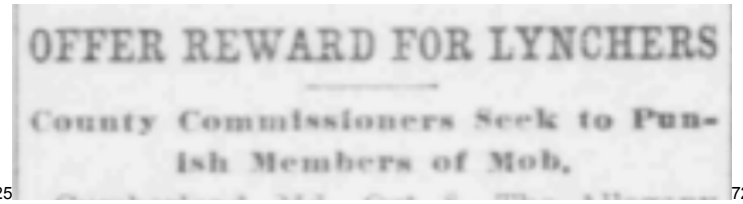
MONDAY — OCTOBER 7, 1907.

BULLET RIDDLED BODY OF WM. VIEWED BY VAST THRONG OF

SCENE OF THE HORRIFYING TRAGEDY ALSO SCRUTINIZED WITH SCRUPULOUS EXACTNESS

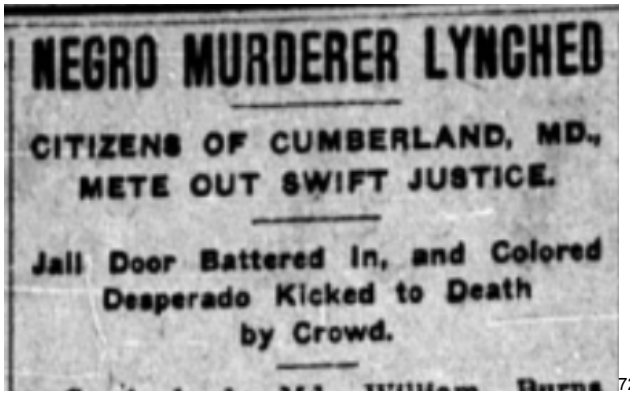
"Are we going to sit still and do nothing? If so, the blood of future murder will rest upon us. This is the time to act, and I call you my people who are the leaders in our city to so speak and to so act that such a crime may never be repeated. I call upon good men of all parties to unite for the common good, and to put into office men who are pledged to remedy Cumberland's curse, the curse of drink. I call all men to this service for humanity, for God and the state, and I

724


OFFER REWARD FOR LYNCHERS

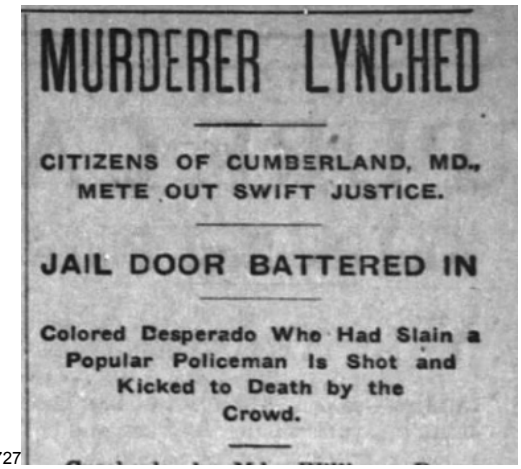
County Commissioners Seek to Punish Members of Mob.

725 726


NEGRO MURDERER LYNCHED

CITIZENS OF CUMBERLAND, MD., METE OUT SWIFT JUSTICE.

Jail Door Battered In, and Colored Desperado Kicked to Death by Crowd.


MURDERER LYNCHED

CITIZENS OF CUMBERLAND, MD., METE OUT SWIFT JUSTICE.

JAIL DOOR BATTERED IN

Colored Desperado Who Had Slain a Popular Policeman Is Shot and Kicked to Death by the Crowd.

727

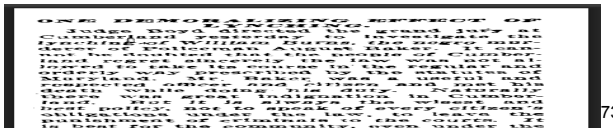
LYNCH NEGRO WHO SHOT POLICEMAN

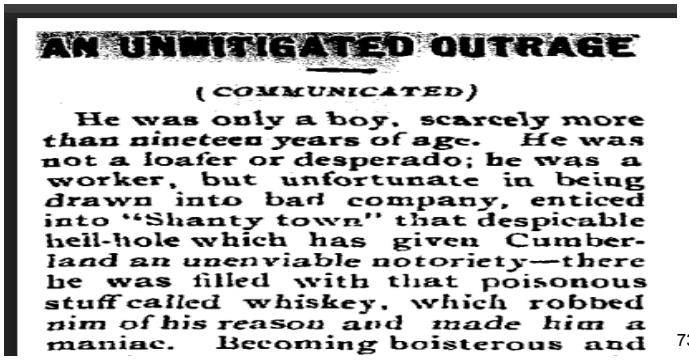
Mob Batters Its Way Into Jail at Cumberland, Md.

OFFICERS THOUGHT THREAT IDLE

Members of His Own Race Help in the Lynching of Williams Burns, Colored -- Shot and Kicked to Death.

728 729


730


AN UNMITIGATED OUTRAGE

(COMMUNICATED)

He was only a boy, scarcely more than nineteen years of age. He was not a loafer or desperado; he was a worker, but unfortunate in being drawn into bad company, enticed into "Shanty town" that despicable hell-hole which has given Cumberland an unenviable notoriety—there he was filled with that poisonous stuff called whiskey, which robbed him of his reason and made him a maniac. Becoming boisterous and

731

Legal/Political Consequences:

- The grand jury convened, but returned a verdict on October 19, 1907 that no one could be identified for prosecution of the crime. Although several local officials were present, no one would identify members of the mob, and no one was ever held accountable for the lynching of Robert Hughes.

Grand Jury Report.

This return is an important document, conveying, however, the astonishing information that nobody concerned in the Burns murder could be identified. From newspaper accounts of the affair there were more witnesses than participants in the killing, yet nobody knows of anybody in the *killing* crowd.

Some radical amendment of the liquor-license law is suggested, and other healthy recommendations made.

732

BURNS LYNCHED

Negro Slayer Of Cumberland Policeman Taken From Jail By A Mob.

BODY RIDDLED WITH SHOT

Left To Lie Where It Fell, Near The Jail Doors.

POLE TO BATTER DOWN DOORS

Mob, Not Large At First, Augmented As It Neared Jail Till It Numbered Hundreds — Sheriff Had Feared No Attack And Was Absent When Crowd Came.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

733

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: There is no known cultural and political significance immediately following the lynching of Wiliam Burns.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There are no known legislative changes or social movements immediately following the lynching of Wiliam Burns.

Memorialization/Commemoration:

- Robert Hughes's sister, Selina, who lived in Pittsburgh was unable to raise enough funds to transport his body to Pennsylvania. An announcement in a local newspaper reported that Burns was buried on October 10, 1907, in a "quietly conducted" funeral at the Sumner Cemetery in an unmarked grave in Cumberland, MD

- Clory Jackson, founder of The Brownsville Project, a grassroots organization dedicated to helping communities heal from suppressed history, helped form the Allegany County Truth and Reconciliation Committee (ALTRC) in 2019. On August 28, 2021, the Brownsville Project, the ALTRC, the Allegany County NAACP #7007, and the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project dedicated a historical marker created as part of the Equal Justice Initiative's Community Historical Marker Project. Soil from the lynching site was collected for the ongoing documentation by the Equal Justice Institute, of lynching sites all over the country.[734]

Ongoing Influence:

- The Brownsville Project, the ALTRC, the Allegany County NAACP #7007, the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, and the Maryland Lynching Oral History Initiative continue to examine and unearth the enduring legacy of racial terror lynching on Allegany County and its residents. In particular, Tiffani Fisher of the NAACP stated in the public hearings that the work of documenting and humanizing Robert Hughes has helped Black and white members of the Allegany County community to work together more closely, particularly around issues of public safety and law enforcement.[735]

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

- There is uncertainty, among research historians and the descendants of Robert Hughes, about why he was named William Burns in the news accounts of his lynching.

- The Brownsville Project states that William Burns's sister Selena reported his age as 18, while news accounts state that he was 22 at the time of his death.[736]

FREDERICK COUNTY LYNCHING CASES

Case Study: James Carroll
(Frederick County)

Basic Information

Full Name: James Carroll

Date of Birth: 1853 or 1855

Place of Birth: Born enslaved near Smithsburg in Washington County, MD[737]

Occupation/Background: Laborer at the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and on local farms, including the farm of Peter N. Leapley[738]

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- James Carroll's parents were deceased, and he had been raised by a Doctor Bishop in Smithsburg[739]

Additional Background Information:

- There is no known additional background information on James Carroll.

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: April 14, 1879 in Licksville, MD[740]

Description of Alleged Crime: A white woman was allegedly assaulted and raped on April 14, 1879 by a young Black man.[741]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Regina Thomas, white, 30 years old, mother of 5 or 7 children, wife of Richard Thomas, a Chesapeake and Ohio Canal boat operator

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: James Carroll, Black, man

Witness Statements or Claims: There are no known witnesses to the alleged assault and rape. Richard Thomas, who had been away from home on the evening of April 14, 1879, alleged the next day that James Carroll was the person who assaulted his wife.[742]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: Word of an attack on Regina Thomas circulated throughout the Licksville community, causing outrage. Roughly fifty men sought out James Carroll in the immediate area, but did not locate him.[743]

When the news of his wife's alleged attack reached Richard Thomas, he wrote State's Attorney John C. Motter requesting to know who he had to contact in order to "prosecute the case." Further included in Thomas's letter, which was published in several local papers, was a description of Carroll's appearance, and a generic recollection of the man's outfit.[744] This description led to the capture and holding of a man named Adam Austin in Washington D.C. Two unidentified men from Point of Rocks managed to vouch for Austin's claims of innocence, and he was released on April 16.[745]

By April 17, Thomas had made his way to Georgetown, originally to identify Austin, but following the latter's release, he restarted his search for James Carroll. Based on James Carroll's previous work history as a canal boatman, Thomas thought that he would find James Carroll along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Thomas intended to shoot James Carroll immediately, but instead followed James Carroll who was making his way into Georgetown.[746]

James Carroll was eventually located in Georgetown on Thursday, April 17, three days after the alleged attack. He had worked on canal boats and reportedly said he had left Licksville to earn more money on a boat going to Georgetown than he earned as a farmhand.[747] In Georgetown, Thomas alerted Officer Henry C. Volkman and the two men continued following James Carroll, who became aware of the men and tried to get away. Volkman, mounted on horseback, quickly apprehended James Carroll. James Carroll maintained his innocence, claiming that Mrs. Thomas could not identify him as the attacker, and agreed to go willingly back to Maryland.[748]

Officers Volkman and B.T. Harper escorted James Carroll to Maryland, with Thomas in tow. This was reportedly done so as to avoid Thomas taking off ahead of them to rally a lynch mob. Additionally, the officers allegedly did not alert officials in Frederick County in order to avoid the assembly of a crowd.[749]

Yet, before the train left Washington, Thomas's brother F.C. Thomas telegraphed others in Point of Rocks to meet the train on its way to Frederick. Frederick's Mayor Lewis Moberly had earlier in the afternoon received an anonymous telegram telling him he should be at the Point of Rock Station to meet the Washington train carrying James Carroll. One account reports that thirty men boarded the train in the city of Tuscarora, did not make a move for James Carroll, choosing instead to hide in the smoking car of the train until they arrived at Washington Junction; other accounts state that six men boarded the train and told the police officers that "the jig was up." [750] When the train approached Point of Rocks late in the afternoon, a crowd estimated to number as many as 300 people met it. Seeing the crowd, the train's engineer stopped the train before getting all the way to the station.[751]

Role of Authorities: Mayor Mobberly was on the train platform from the moment it arrived and provided an account of the mob's activities but failed to intervene or summon any law enforcement personnel.[752] The crowd had become a mob and one of the policemen later recalled "the mob fairly howled." Although the two Georgetown policemen tried to prevent Carroll from being taken by the mob, they were quickly overpowered.[753]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 22 or 24 years old

Date and Time: Thursday, April 17, 1879 in the evening

Location of Lynching: Point of Rocks, MD

At what point did the lynching take place? After arrest but before trial

Method of Lynching: Hanging on a tree

Who Was Involved: Reporters for several newspapers wrote that the approximately 300 men lynched James Carroll who did not wear masks and were well-known farmers and residents of the Point of Rocks area. The Washington Post and The Baltimore Sun implicated wealthy Maryland and Virginia farmers from Frederick, Montgomery, and Loudoun Counties.[754] The Baltimore Sun reported that "there would be a difficulty in

obtaining a jury as almost every man in the neighborhood had lent a hand in the lynching." Further, The Baltimore Sun predicted that "in as much as the names of quite a number of those who participated in the lynchings are known and others can be easily obtained, it is believed that the state's attorney and jurors will consider it incumbent upon them to make the investigation as searching as possible."[755]

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?**
- The Coroner's Jury for James Carroll's death met on the Monday following the lynching. The called witnesses consisted of Frank Hipsley, the Point of Rocks telegraph operator; M.J. McLack, a night watchman; Charles M. Boyle, a resident of Point of Rocks; Capt. J.R. Michael, the conductor of the train; Joseph Payne, who had been a passenger on the train; Lewis Moberly, the mayor of Frederick; Oliver Mussetter, baggage master on the train; and Dr. Justin Dunott, the doctor who had examined James Carroll's body in the livery stable.[756]

- McLack and Hipsley did not appear before the jury. Five witnesses, including Charles Boyle, Mr. Ebberts, and Mr. Mussetter, were interviewed and they claimed to not recognize anybody. Reportedly, one child stated that he was the one that climbed the tree and threw the rope over the limb and helped pull James Carroll up as they hung him. Yet, when asked by the Coroner's Jury whether he was indeed the same child, the child responded "hell no" and "you might as well just forget, you can go to hell before I give you an answer".[757]

- The Coroner's Jury complained that it was impossible to find anyone who knew anything about the lynching and after the jury interviewed witnesses they returned a verdict that James Carroll's "death [was] caused by persons unknown."[758]

- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** The Frederick Mayor did nothing to stop the lynching. He was standing on the station platform and when the train came around the bend and stopped, "The crowd that had been standing around the depot immediately made a great rush." Men on horsebacks surrounded the train and a dozen or more men "almost falling over each other's shoulders according to the train conductor rushed into the car where James Carroll and the police officers were now trapped."[759]

- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown

- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Maryland state authorities later objected to the Georgetown policemen taking James Carroll to Point of Rocks, since they had no jurisdiction in Maryland. They claimed Maryland state authorities would have taken Carroll back to Frederick via Baltimore, and avoided the lynching.[760]

- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Strangulation

Additional Details:

One hundred of the 300 who arrived at the train station came on horseback. When the train came to a stop, twenty men armed with pistols and knives subdued Officers Volkman and Harper. Once the mob separated James Carroll from the officers, a noose was fastened

around his neck and he was dragged from the train platform "about 100 yards to the nearest tree." One man kicked Carroll in the head as he lay on his back. The rope was wrapped around the limb of the tree and Carroll was lifted off the ground. It took 10 minutes for James Carroll to die because according to one report, the rope was poorly knotted. [761]

Dr. Justin Dunott testified that upon examination, the rope was deeply embedded in James Carroll's neck, probably from the dragging prior to hanging.[762] A report of the incident characterized the lynching as "cool and deliberate" [763]

After the hanging, pieces of James Carroll's coat and shirt were cut off by those "wishing to carry away mementos." Someone cut off one of James Carroll's fingers as a souvenir. James Carroll's body continued to hang from the tree all that night. The next morning, many people visited the site of the lynching to look at the body. The county coroner finally, finally, arrived around 4 o'clock that afternoon and took Carroll's body to a livery stable in Frederick.[764]

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community: The white press reported a sense of outrage regarding the alleged crime, and in some cases about the behavior of the lynch mob. However, there is no known documentation of how Black Frederick Countians reacted to James Carroll's lynching.

Media Coverage:

What was the disposition of the press toward crime?

The Baltimore Sun claimed that James Carroll had been accused of breaking into the homes of P. N. Leaply and Richard Thomas, on the night of April 14, 1879, and that James Carroll crawled into an open window and made his way up to the room where Mrs. Thomas and her five children were sleeping. James Carroll is further alleged to have broken down the door to the room, threatening the occupants with a knife, before proceeding to rape Regina. Thomas, and assaulting one of her children, prior to his escape.[765] There is no evidence to support these claims.

What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching? There was press speculation that "if caught, it is thought that [James Carroll] will certainly be lynched."

Horrible Outrage Near Lickville, Frederick County, Md.—Brutal Assault by a Negro Upon Mrs. Richard Thomas—Escape of the Criminal.

FREDERICK, MD., April 16.—The following letter was received here late last evening by Mr. John C. Motter State's attorney for this county, from Mr. Richard Thomas, dated Lickville, Frederick county, April 15:

"I write to say that a negro, named James Carroll, committed an outrage on the person of my wife last night, during my absence from home, and I am advised to write to you as the proper person to prosecute the case. Carroll had on when he left here an old slouch hat without a band, new pair of pants and a run down pair of shoes. He is of medium size, and has a rather repulsive-looking countenance. Use every effort in your power to have him arrested, for, besides the outrage, he has left my wife in a very precarious condition from severe choking and fright."

This information obtained rapid circ-

Mrs. Thomas is a small, delicate woman, aged about 32 years, and the mother of five or six children. She is the daughter of Thomas Trundle, a prominent and highly respected farmer living near Licksville. The husband is a son of the late Captain Richard Thomas, who was a well-known citizen of this county. As soon as the outrage became known in the village the greatest excitement and indignation was aroused, and almost immediately more than fifty armed men began scouring the country in search of the villian. Up to this time, however, he has eluded arrest. If caught it is thought he will certainly be lynched. Carroll was formerly employed on the canal as a boatman, and is about 22 years of age.

ca[766]

What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?

- The Baltimore Sun protested the use of lynch law to address reported crimes stating that the use of "lynch law" as an act which could "never be justified" with "men's minds darkened by passion."[767] Other newspapers such as the Hagerstown Herald and Torchlight and the Washington Evening Star also protested the lynching, lamenting the lawlessness and barbarity of otherwise law-abiding citizens.[768]

instead. But lynch law, the violent presumption of excited men in taking the law in their own hands, can never be justified—if for no other reason, for this, at least, that no judgment can be clear, or be a safe one when men's minds are darkened by passion, and must ever be deprecated because of the frightful abuses to which it may lead; and because, without the observance due to the enacted law, society itself is in jeopardy. The West Baltimore street homicide was the inevitable sequence of a like attempt, and had Carroll's pursuers hung the wrong man, as they might have done, their crime would have been the direct result of the lawlessness in which they were engaged. As regards Carroll, no possible punishment could be too extreme for the deserts of such a criminal, but he should have been punished by the law in all its severity, with all its majesty, and he should not have been disposed of as he was, by excited men. It is true such terrible outrages as that of Carroll, as well as circumstances which led [769]

However, most reports in the white press approved of the lynching

kill me quick." It is said by those present that if the prisoner had been taken to the county jail they had determined to visit Frederick with at least 500 armed men and take him from the sheriff, police and the people of the town, if necessary. [770]

Headlines

- The Baltimore Sun subsequently reported that James Carroll and his father had been prisoners at the state penitentiary at the same time in 1874, offering as evidence "his record on the books of the State's prison," but there is no substantiating evidence of either conviction or imprisonment.

remain.

A Bad Record.—The colored man Jas. Carroll, lately lynched at Point of Rocks, was a penitentiary convict. His record on the books of the State's prison in this city is as follows: "James Carroll, born in Hagerstown, age 19 years, wooly hair, hazel eyes, height 5 feet 6¼ inches; convicted of larceny in Allegany county; sentence 1 year 6 months. Received May 1, 1874. Discharged October 29, 1875." His father, of the same name, was a convict in the penitentiary at the same time. [771]

Legal/Political Consequences:

- There are no known legal or political consequences immediately following the lynching of James Carroll

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: There are no known cultural or political actions immediately following the lynching of James Carroll.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There are no known legislative changes immediately following the lynching of James Carroll.

Memorialization/Commemoration: James Carroll was buried in the county's Alms House Cemetery on the outskirts of Frederick, a potter's field that was the final resting place for those who died forgotten without family unclaimed and discarded. The Alms House is now gone but the cemetery remains still on Frederick County property.

Ongoing Influence: There are no known ongoing influence following the lynching of James Carroll.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

- There is some uncertainty about James Carroll's age at the time of his murder, due to varying newspaper accounts
- The size of the knife that Regina Thomas claimed that James Carroll used is disputed by newspaper accounts.[772]
- There are no known controversies immediately following the lynching of James Carroll. However, newspaper accounts differ as to whether James Carroll confessed to having assaulted Regina Thomas.[773]

Case Study: John Biggus
(Frederick County)

Basic Information

Full Name: John Biggus

Date of Birth: 1868

Place of Birth: The Woodville area of Eastern Frederick County near Mount Airy[774]

Occupation/Background: Unknown

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- John Biggus's parents were Henry and Emma Biggus
- John Biggus declared his love for Ida Burns in a letter that was found in his clothes and published in a newspaper[775]

Additional Background Information:

- John Biggus had only lived in Frederick a short time and he himself had been the victim of an assault soon after he moved to town[776]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: Friday, November 18, 1887

Description of Alleged Crime: Mary Yeakle was walking down South Market Street in Frederick toward her home when she was attacked and knocked to the ground. She struggled with her assailant and when others arrived on the scene, the attacker fled.[777]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Mary Yeakle, white, woman, healthy, described as "a well-known and prominent resident of Frederick."[778]

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Unknown; Yeakle said her attacker was a young Black man unknown to her. Within a day, several African American men were detained by the police including John Biggus.[779]

Witness Statements or Claims:

- There were no credible witnesses that tie John Biggus to the alleged crime.
- John Biggus was suspected in part because someone claimed to have seen him near the site of the attack and also because he wore brass rings and Yeakle thought her attacker had used brass knuckles in the assault. John Biggus said he was at a Salvation Army event that evening which was confirmed by several of his friends[780] and although eyewitnesses to the attack were unable to positively identify John Biggus, he became the primary suspect.[781]
- The Baltimore Sun reported, "It is not generally believed however that the right person has yet been apprehended." Two days after the incident, John Biggus was

taken before a Frederick magistrate.[782] John Biggus proclaimed his innocence and witnesses were called but no one was able to identify Biggus as the culprit.

- Reportedly, the magistrate had been reluctant to ask Mary Yeakle herself to try and identify her assailant because she was recovering from her injuries. But since no one else could identify John Biggus, the magistrate made arrangements to take him to Yeakle's house so that she could see him. Although other men had also been suspected of the attack and detained, John Biggus was the only suspect shown to Yeakle. She claimed John Biggus was the person who had attacked her and again John Biggus said he was innocent.[783]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

- John Biggus was taken to the city jail on South Street to await the Grand Jury's decision as to whether he should stand trial.[784]

- An angry crowd had gathered on South Market Street in front of Yeakle's home when she was identifying John Biggus. Intentions remained high throughout the day. Frederick County State Attorney Frank Norwood later testified that the threatening appearance of the crowd made him uneasy. That evening, there was an attempt to lynch John Biggus. A mob of men and boys gathered at the jail around 11 PM and put out all the streetlights near the jail. Before they could do anything else, however, someone said the police were coming and the mob dispersed.[785]

- On Monday, November 21, a small crowd approached the jail, but then dispersed when authorities were alerted. According to one news report, at some point prior to the lynching, "a number of small boys hanged a dummy on the telegraph pole in front of the jail."[786] The next evening, on Tuesday evening, November 22, a mob of about 200 mostly masked men approached the jail cell and demanded that Sheriff Luther C. Derr hand John Biggus over to them. The crowd blocked traffic preventing any intervention, and after being denied access to the jail by the sheriff, six men armed with an axe broke in through the basement door. They then entered through a second door before reaching John Biggus's cell, breaking the lock, and removing him.[787]

Role of Authorities:

- Frederick County State's Attorney Frank Norwood, noticed what he called "Suspicious Circumstances" in the streets of Frederick, and he warned Sheriff Luther C. Derr about the possible danger to John Biggus and reminded Derr that he had the power to call for extra men to guard the jail. The Frederick News also published an editorial that day urging quote "proper police vigilance."

- Sheriff Luther C. Derr had not called for reinforcements and had only two jail employees with him along with a civilian whom a sheriff had asked to help protect the jail. Also present was the sheriff's wife and six children since the jail was attached to and positioned behind a big house which served as the home of the sheriff and his family. Reportedly, the sheriff was reportedly overwhelmed by the mob storming the jail. Even after he rang a siren bell for assistance, he was

approached by armed men and reportedly could do little to stop the crowd from accomplishing their goal.[788]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 19 years old

Date and Time: November 23, 1887

Location of Lynching: Jefferson Pike to a field nearly opposite to the current McCurdy Field and reportedly the childhood home of Mary Yeakle.[789]

At what point did the lynching take place? After arrest but before any investigation or conviction

Method of Lynching: Hanging and multiple gunshots

Who Was Involved:

- It unknown who was involved in the lynching of John Biggus, although it was later confirmed that the rope and axe used by the mob were supplied by the United Fire Engine Company. Interviews with witnesses who were near the jail confirmed that most of the men were masked, and that the night was too dark to identify those who were not masked.[790]

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role the local judiciary had in John Biggus's lynching

- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role the local executive had in John Biggus's lynching

- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role the state law enforcement had in John Biggus's lynching

- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role the state judiciary had in John Biggus's lynching

- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role the state executive had in John Biggus's lynching

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Strangulation and multiple gunshot wounds

Additional Details:

- Ida Burns, the woman to whom John Biggus declared his love, visited him in jail prior to his murder.

- A rope was placed around John Biggus's neck, and he was dragged to the farm of Mr. George H. Rider, who lived in a community called Jefferson Heights, about a quarter mile from the jail.[791] The mob, still blocking the streets from outsiders,

led John Biggus to a large locust tree on Rider's lot. Responding to his captor's attempt to force a confession, John Biggus said that he watched Mrs. Yeakle get accosted by Joe Hall, a local Black man who was first questioned by the police on November 18. The crowd was not convinced by John Biggus's story, and threw the rope over a branch on the locust tree about eight feet off the ground.[792]

- The mob again coerced John Biggus to confess, and it was reported that he explained that he was scared to admit that he saw the attack for fear that he would be accused of being an accessory to the crime. Proceeding with the lynching, John Biggus was pulled up by the rope, but somehow able to untie his hands and attempt to grab the noose from his throat. He was overtaken by the mob and hung, and was also shot multiple times.[793]

- John Biggus' body remained hanging all night and the press reported that hundreds of (presumably white) men, women, and children visited the scene of the lynching and the jail.[794]

- John Biggus's lynching was reportedly the first known racial terror lynching in the city of Frederick,[795] although the second in the county after the lynching of James Carroll in 1879.

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community:

- Black leaders in Frederick issued a resolution condemning the lynching and called on the Frederick County Justice System to identify and charge those involved in the murder of John Biggus.[796]

- One group that protested John Biggus's lynching was one of the first civil rights groups formed in the United States, The United Mutual Brotherhood of Liberty, created in Baltimore in 1885. The Brotherhood's annual meeting in 1887 happened to convene only a few days after the lynching of John Biggus. One of the actions taken was a resolution denouncing the lynching as "a crime against the state, society, the colored race, and humanity." The group accused the sheriff and other public officers as guilty of gross criminal neglect. They also offered a reward of $500 for the arrest and conviction of anyone implicated in the lynching.[797]

- Rumors floated around town that a Black mob was going to storm Frederick and seek revenge for John Biggus's murder, by lynching former police officer Marshall F. Harding, who was acquitted for the murder of a Black man, Joshua Herbert, the previous May. The Black community in Frederick never actually threatened Officer Harding.[798]

- Eventually, the rumor of a Black mob was proven to be false, but not before the sheriff gathered 200 armed men including members of a local militia to protect the town. One newspaper pointed out the irony of the sheriff's swift reaction to an unconfirmed rumor of Blacks attacking his jail compared to his complete lack of preparation when there had been much more reliable intelligence that a white mob was going to storm the jail to lynch John Biggus.[799]

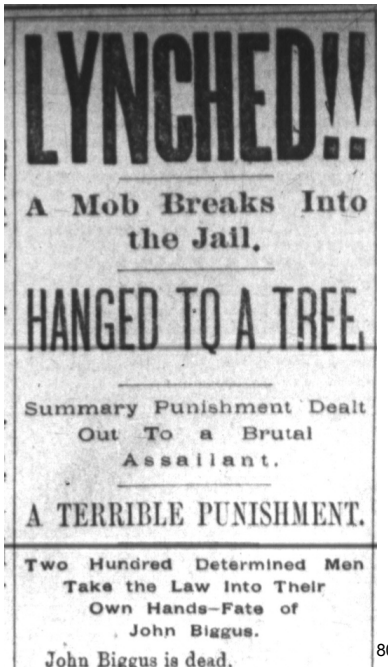
Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** An article in the Baltimore Sun reported that, "It is not generally believed however that the right person has yet been apprehended."[800] However, most newspapers believed and reported that John Biggus had brutally assaulted Mary Yeakle, taking her word against his.

- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** The Frederick News also published an editorial on November 23, 1887 urging "proper police vigilance" regarding the possibility of John Biggus's lynching.[801]

- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Newspaper articles condemned the lynching, purported to be the first in Frederick's history, and argued that the legal system and proper execution of due process, would have satisfied the outraged citizens of Frederick.[802]

Headlines


LYNCHED!!

A Mob Breaks Into the Jail.

HANGED TO A TREE.

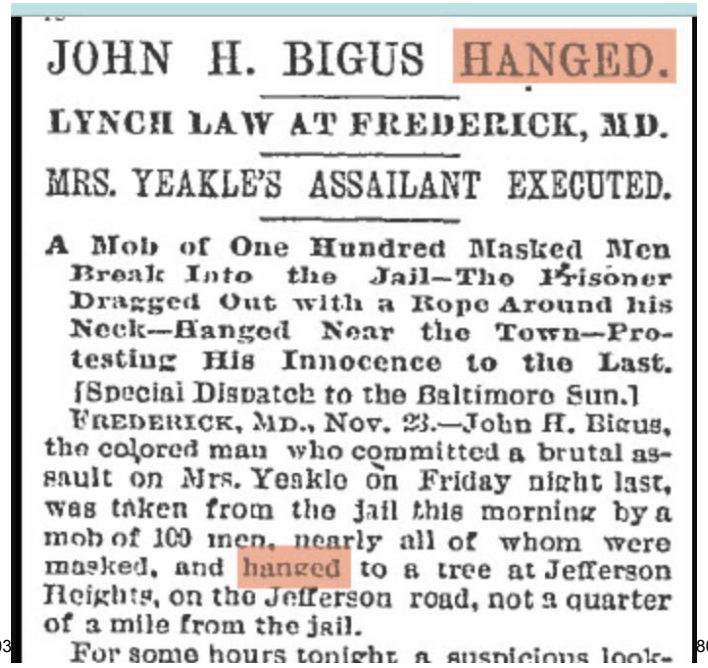
Summary Punishment Dealt Out To a Brutal Assailant.

A TERRIBLE PUNISHMENT.

Two Hundred Determined Men Take the Law Into Their Own Hands—Fate of John Biggus.

John Biggus is dead.

803


JOHN H. BIGUS HANGED.

LYNCH LAW AT FREDERICK, MD.

MRS. YEAKLE'S ASSAILANT EXECUTED.

A Mob of One Hundred Masked Men Break Into the Jail—The Prisoner Dragged Out with a Rope Around his Neck—Hanged Near the Town—Protesting His Innocence to the Last.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

FREDERICK, MD., Nov. 23.—John H. Bigus, the colored man who committed a brutal assault on Mrs. Yeakle on Friday night last, was taken from the jail this morning by a mob of 100 men, nearly all of whom were masked, and hanged to a tree at Jefferson Heights, on the Jefferson road, not a quarter of a mile from the jail.

For some hours tonight a suspicious look-

804

One of Frederick's newspapers The Examiner concluded that "If the jail officials had been half as solicitous last week over the safety of their prisoners as they were Monday night over their own, our laws would not have been set at defiance by a mob."[805]

Legal/Political Consequences:

- At 10:00 AM on November 23, 1887, Coroner Thomas Turner convened a jury– composed of Louis G. Kemo, Benjamin F. Brown, L.C. Mullinix, George Eissler, M.A. Woodward, John Baumgardner, Robert M. Ramsburg, Henry Schmidt, Rufus Rager, Sr. and John Ebert– to investigate the lynching.[806]

- The verdict of the jury found no one responsible for John Biggus's murder. There was a great deal of anger in Frederick over the death of John Biggus and much of the blame was directed at the sheriff for not taking adequate precautions when it was clear that a lynching was threatened.[807]

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance:

- The cultural and political significance of John Biggus's lynching was part of the larger push for anti-lynching legislation and social and racial justice efforts throughout the 19th, 20th, and 21st centures.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements?

- There are no known legislative changes related to the lynching of John Biggus.
- The United Mutual Brotherhood of Liberty (founded two years before John Biggus's murder) continued to fight for civil rights, justice, and education for Blacks until 1891 and served as a model for national organizations (such as the Afro-American League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People - NAACP) and other social movements well into the 20th century.[808]

Memorialization/Commemoration: John Biggus' body was turned over to his father, Henry Biggus, who took his son home to Woodville and buried him in the Woodville Methodist Church Cemetery. Later, the tree on which John Biggus was murdered was struck by lightning and shattered.[809]

Ongoing Influence: There are no known ongoing influences related to the lynching of John Biggus beyond the ongoing work of racial justice social movements in Maryland and beyond.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies: Beyond the fact that there were never any credible witnesses that identified John Biggus as the perpetrator of a crime, there are no known controversies or discrepancies related to the lynching of John Biggus.

Case Study: James Bowens
(Frederick County)

Basic Information

Full Name: James Bowens

Date of Birth: 1872

Place of Birth: Frederick County, MD

Occupation/Background: Laborer

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- James Bowens was the son of Minnie[810] and Samuel Bowens who was a Civil War veteran. Born in Buckystown in about 1842, Samuel Bowens had been enslaved by the Pierre and Hayes families in Buckystown, Frederick County and Komitz in Montgomery County. Samuel Bowens gained his freedom in November 1864 when Maryland abolished slavery, and was drafted into the 41st Colored Infantry Regiment shortly before the end of the war. Simon Bowens was in Texas serving in the Union Army during the 1st Juneteenth in 1865.[811]

- James Bowens played on one of Frederick's amateur Black baseball teams.[812]

Additional Background Information:

- The surname of the family was alternately spelled Bowins and Bowens through the subsequent generations. The family cemetery is the Point of Rocks Colored Cemetery 1879 on Ballinger Creek Pike in Point of Rocks, Frederick Maryland.[813]

- The family tree for James Bowens buried in the family cemetery includes: Charles Bowens of an unknown birth year who died in 1887, Elanor Wailing Bowens, (1882 - 1895), Charles O. Bowens (1876- 1949), Edna Roberta Weeden Bowens (1910 -1948). Georgiana Bowens (unknown birth year- 1941), Hattie Bowes (1888 -1913), Helen M. Bowes (1911 - 1927), Lula L. Hallman Bowens (1885 - 1932), Raymond Joseph Bowens (1915 - 1944), William Bowens (1877 - 1945), and William Thomas Bowens Jr., (1943 - 1944).[814]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: November 16, 1895 on the farm of Hamilton Geisbert, one mile south of Frederick in Frederick County

Description of Alleged Crime: Unsolicited non-fatal sexual violence

Victim of Alleged Crime: Lily Long, a local, female, white, middle/upper class

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: James Bowens, local, Black, male, adult, healthy

Witness Statements or Claims:

- Mr. Padgett, near Buckeystown, stated that James Bowen told the truth about unloading wheat for him on Saturday, November 16, 1895, and that James Bowens was a good workman.[815]

- Roger Geisbert claimed to have been sent to the barn to tend the cows when he and his son heard Lily Long's screams and rallied men from the field to her assistance.[816]
- Lily Long and William Warner, an adjoining farmer, claimed to have identified James Bowens as Lily Long's assailant.[817]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: James Bowens was accused of causing severe cuts from either scissors or a butcher knife[818] in an attempt to rape Lily Long at the Geisbert Farm where she lived. James Bowens was soon accosted by two white men with pistols who said they were making a citizen's arrest. James Bowens claimed he was innocent, saying that he could not have attacked Long because he was working loading wheat in Buckeystown for Mr. Padgett and at the time of the assault he was at the home of Hiram Brown's brother. James Bowens said he was walking around All Saints Street to the south and was walking on South Street when arrested.[819] The men took James Bowens to the Frederick Mayor's office where he was given a preliminary hearing before the county magistrate Edward Hewes, arrested, placed in the Frederick County jail, and given a $300 bail until a hearing could be held the following Monday.[820] Once placed under arrest, Bowen continued to proclaim his innocence and said that all the men "had it in for me" because he was a Republican and they were all Democrats.[821]

As false rumors spread that Lily Long had died from her injuries, an estimated 300 to 400 people gathered in front of the jail late that night. Armed with revolvers and knives, the mob broke into a blacksmith shop along the way and stole sledgehammers and crowbars before arriving at the jail at about 12:45 a.m. on Sunday, November 17.[822] The men stormed the jail, overwhelmed a few defenders in the building and took Bowens from his cell.[823]

Role of Authorities: Local law enforcement played a preventative role (through action, even if unsuccessful)

- Sheriff Daniel P. Zimmerman, Lily Long's uncle, was away from the jail on business in Woodsboro, despite having received warnings of a potential lynching.[824]

- Deputy Sheriff James Crum and his wife were present at the jail, but unable to stop the mob from breaking into James Bowens' cell. There are reports that James Bowens was shot in the leg while still in his cell as the men were attempting to break the lock. The same story reports that Crum and his associate actually fired upon the mob in an attempt to prevent them from entering the cell, but to no avail.[825]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 23 years old

Date and Time: 12:30 a.m. on Sunday, November 17, 1895

Location of Lynching: Frederick City, Frederick County on a locust tree at the Kennedy Butler farm off Jefferson Pike, nearly opposite of the site of James Biggus's lyncing in 1887.[826]

At what point did the lynching take place? Shortly after the crime, but before any conclusive investigation.

Method of Lynching: Hanging

Who Was Involved: An estimated 300-400 men, few of whom wore masks, participated in the lynching.

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local judiciary became involved)

- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local executive became involved); James Bowens was taken to the mayor's office where he was arrested and taken to the Frederick jail.[827]

- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state law enforcement became involved)

- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state judiciary became involved)

- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state executive became involved)

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Strangulation

Additional Details:

- One newspaper reported that James Bowen "refused to make a confession."[828] Another stated that James Bowen was "insolent and defiant" at the trial, but pleaded for mercy before he was hanged.[829]

- Reportedly, as the crowd quieted, a voice was quoted as saying "We want you to confess Bowens. Do not die with a lie on your lips, you have got to go anyhow, so tell the truth and be done with it." James Bowens is reported to have responded "Indeed I didn't do it, I'm not the man." Two men from the Salvation Army, Captain Eugene Mott and Lieutenant Williams Anthem, supposedly requested to pray with him. They each prayed for James Bowens and then led him and the lynchers in a recitation of the Lord's Prayer.[830] Reportedly, another unidentified speaker addressed the crowd and asserted that the lynchers were "gathered not in a spirit of malice toward the colored race, but to set an example for the protection of homes and firesides and to teach the lesson that the women and children of Frederick county must be saved from the fear of assault."[831]

- As Bowens was being pulled up by a rope, someone in the crowd fired a shot at James Bowens that grazed his temple. After the lynching, the body was left hanging overnight.[832]

- From early Sunday morning until late in the evening, hundreds of white men, women, and children went to gawk at James Bowens' body as it hung from the locust tree. It was reported that "several Kodak fiends" took photographs of the scene and of James Bowens' body. Small pieces of the rope that hung James Bowens were cut up and distributed as souvenirs.[833]

- Subsequently, the Schroeders Undertakers cut James Bowens' body down, placed it in a coffin, and took it to the jail for public viewing. Members of the Black community paid their respects while the jail warden gave a tour of the jail facilities with details of the mob break-in.[834]

- James Bowens' body eventually was taken to his father's house in Locust Alley, where additional members of the Black community offered condolences to the family.[835]

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community:

- Black ministers were reported to have denounced the lynching the very next day. One white newspaper reported that "members of the [Black] race declare that while they do not uphold the mob, they think [James] Bowens' deed deserved severe punishment. Many sympathize with the father of the negro who is a sober, industrious, well-behaved man."[836] Despite this report, there is no evidence that Black community members believed that James Bowens was guilty of a crime.

- Many Black citizens and others in Frederick were outraged by the lynching and as after the lynching of John Biggus, rumors circulated that a group of young Black men planned to lynch a white man being held in the Frederick Jail who had been charged with assaulting two young (presumably Black) girls. In contrast to the incredibly lax security at the jail on the night that James Bowens was lynched, when the sheriff heard the rumor that Black men might attack the jail, he summoned a large posse to protect the jail and posted a heavy guard to patrol the jail yard, and vicinity of the jail. No attack on the jail was ever attempted nor was it ever determined that one had even been contemplated.[837]

- One (presumably white) minister said, "A mob is citizenship in anarchy, let no young man here think he did justice or womanhood a service in the lynching of that black." He added that because of the lynching "The anger or scorn of 60 million of people in this country was today directed at the fair fame of this city."[838]

- Ministers, the "better thinking [white] people of the city," and the visiting minister Rev. E.H. Delk of Hagerstown condemned lynch mob behavior, even as they perceived that James Bowens was guilty of a crime.[839]

- The Frederick News report on the lynching caused 1,000 extra copies of the newspaper to be sold due to demand to send copies out of state.[840]

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** A particularly heinous crime

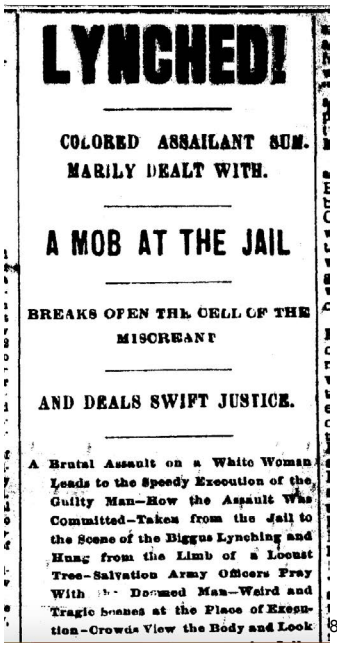
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Silent on the prospects

- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Disapproving yet understanding

- Several newspapers promoted theories and accusations after the fact regarding James Bowens' behavior and the use of a butcher knife instead of scissors in the assault to justify the lynching, based only on hearsay evidence.[841]

Headlines

The Frederick News, 18 November 189



LYNCHED!

COLORED ASSAILANT SUMMARILY DEALT WITH.

A MOB AT THE JAIL

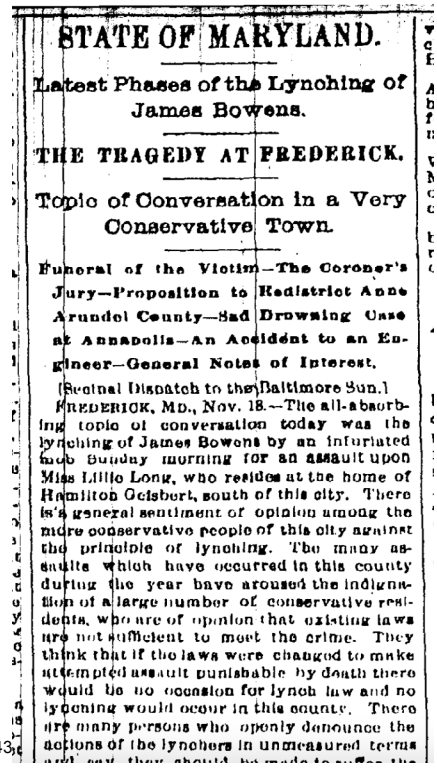
BREAKS OPEN THE CELL OF THE MISCREANT

AND DEALS SWIFT JUSTICE.

A Brutal Assault on a White Woman Leads to the Speedy Execution of the Guilty Man—How the Assault Was Committed—Taken from the Jail to the Scene of the Biggus Lynching and Hung from the Limb of a Locust Tree—Salvation Army Officers Pray With the Doomed Man—Weird and Tragic Scenes at the Place of Execution—Crowds View the Body and Look

842

The Baltimore Sun, 19 November



STATE OF MARYLAND.

Latest Phases of the Lynching of James Bowens.

THE TRAGEDY AT FREDERICK.

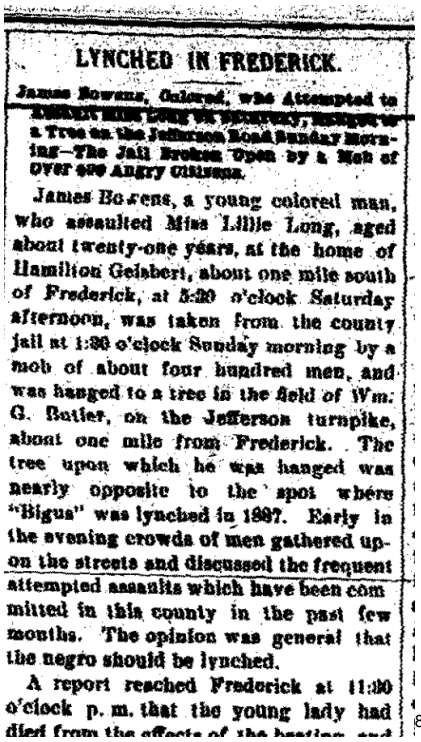
Topic of Conversation in a Very Conservative Town.

Funeral of the Victim—The Coroner's Jury—Proposition to Redistrict Anne Arundel County—Sad Drowning Case at Annapolis—An Accident to an Engineer—General Notes of Interest.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

FREDERICK, MD., Nov. 18.—The all-absorbing topic of conversation today was the lynching of James Bowens by an infuriated mob Sunday morning for an assault upon Miss Lillie Long, who resides at the home of Hamilton Geisbert, south of this city. There is a general sentiment of opinion among the more conservative people of this city against the principle of lynching. The many assaults which have occurred in this county during the year have aroused the indignation of a large number of conservative residents, who are of opinion that existing laws are not sufficient to meet the crime. They think that if the laws were changed to make attempted assault punishable by death there would be no occasion for lynch law and no lynching would occur in this county. There are many persons who openly denounce the actions of the lynchers in unmeasured terms

843



LYNCHED IN FREDERICK.

James Bowens, Colored, who Attempted to [illegible] Lillie Long on Saturday, Hanged to a Tree on the Jefferson Road Sunday Morning—The Jail Broken Open by a Mob of Over 400 Angry Citizens.

James Bowens, a young colored man, who assaulted Miss Lillie Long, aged about twenty-one years, at the home of Hamilton Geisbert, about one mile south of Frederick, at 5:20 o'clock Saturday afternoon, was taken from the county jail at 1:30 o'clock Sunday morning by a mob of about four hundred men, and was hanged to a tree in the field of Wm. G. Butler, on the Jefferson turnpike, about one mile from Frederick. The tree upon which he was hanged was nearly opposite to the spot where "Bigus" was lynched in 1897. Early in the evening crowds of men gathered upon the streets and discussed the frequent attempted assaults which have been committed in this county in the past few months. The opinion was general that the negro should be lynched.

A report reached Frederick at 11:30 o'clock p. m. that the young lady had died from the effects of the beating and

[844]

Legal/Political Consequences:

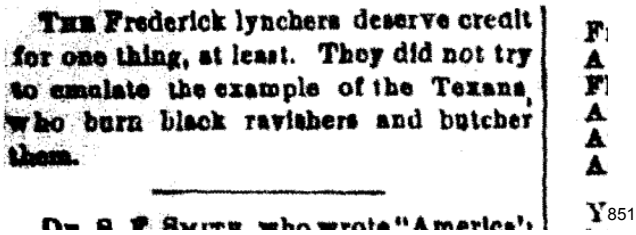
- The coroner's jury met on Monday, November 17, 1895 and was composed of E.T.H. Delasmutt as foreman, Robert T. Danner, George W. Plunkard, Reuben E. Hann, Cyrus A. Fout, George Esterly, John W. Poole, C. Elmer Hull, Henry G. Dull, Lewis E. Burck, William A. Hann, and Thomas Eaves. Shortly after 1:00 in the afternoon, having interviewed several witnesses, the jury determined that "James Bowens came to his death…of strangulation…at the hands of parties unknown to this jury."[845]
- One newspaper editorialized that if the death penalty were an option for crimes such as James Bowens was accused, there would "be no longer a necessity for lynching mobs."[846] The same newspaper stated that State Attorney General Eichelberger's administration had demonstrated swifter processes for legal, rather than extra-legal, recourse.[847] However, Eichelberger himself stated that the grand jury would not be called into special session to investigate the James Bowens lynching.[848]

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance:

- The public sentiment of the white community, as expressed in local newspapers, was that lynching served the purpose of making a "deep and lasting impression" on Black men who "dared to commit any act against the laws and decency of this community."[849] One newspaper reported that there had been four assaults in the prior six months, including by a Black man named Wilson who "was still at large."[850] One newspaper expressed pride that the Frederick lynching mob "deserved credit" as compared with Texas lynchings where Black men were burned and butchered.

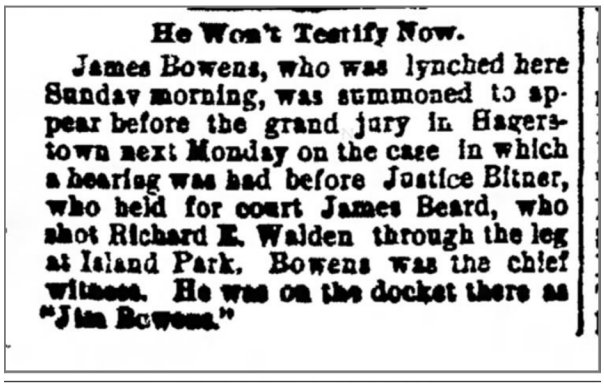
The Frederick News, 18 November 1895



The Frederick lynchers deserve credit for one thing, at least. They did not try to emulate the example of the Texans, who burn black ravishers and butcher them.

Y[851]

One white newspaper, the *Frederick News*, celebrated the fact that James Bowens, who was scheduled to testify as the chief witness to a shooting, would not be able to appear before the grand jury, due to his having been lynched the week before.[852]



He Won't Testify Now.

James Bowens, who was lynched here Sunday morning, was summoned to appear before the grand jury in Hagerstown next Monday on the case in which a hearing was had before Justice Bitner, who held for court James Beard, who shot Richard E. Walden through the leg at Island Park. Bowens was the chief witness. He was on the docket there as "Jim Bowens."

- After the lynching of James Bowens, there were no other documented lynchings in Frederick County. But there were threats and fears of lynching for years afterwards. The threat of racial terror as a means of control by white supremacists was a constant in the lives of African Americans in Frederick County for many years.[853]

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There are no known legislative changes or social movements immediately following the lynching of James Bowens.

Memorialization/Commemoration: The body was taken to the home of James Bowens' father Simon Bowens, on Locust Alley. A large gathering of the Black community attended the funeral at 2:00 in the afternoon, presided over by Rev. W.P. Arnold. Rev. Arnold stated that the same men who sold liquor to James Bowens and deprived him of his reason are "the ones almost foremost in taking his life." The pall bearers were G. Bowman, William Brown, Samuel Thompson, and Joseph Yost. James Bowens was buried at the Laboring Sons Cemetery in Frederick.[854]

There are no other known memorializations or commemorations immediately following the lynching of James Bowens.

Ongoing Influence:

Eric Ashby Bay, a descendant of James Bowens, visited his grandmother and great grandmother in Point of Rocks, and the cemetery right up the street. He learned about the lynching from his father, who was born in Baltimore in 1919. Mr. Bay's father was told in elementary school by his elders to "mind your teachers, be good in school, and don't talk to any little white girls you know because that could have ended up not in a good way." The father also talked about going to school in the morning and seeing somebody hanging from a light pole in Baltimore City in the late 1920's and 1930's.[855]

Another descendant of James Bowens, Devonte Freeland who is a New Jersey native, reported being the only living person in his family who knows this story of James Bowens' murder, partly because no living relatives knew that the family had roots in Maryland. The national "racial reckoning" prompted by George Floyd's murder in 2020 and the isolation of the COVID pandemic inspired Mr. Freeland to learn more of his family's history. Learning of James Bowens' murder 129 years prior was "really hard to process," as Mr. Freeland feels a burden to pass the story down, even though he wondered if the reason that prior generations refrained from talking about James Bowen was a concern about passing the tragedy to subsequent generations.[856] In his research, Mr. Freeland reflected on the fact that Simon Bowens, was a war veteran and patriot, a formerly enslaved man who would 30 years later see his son dragged from the Frederick jail and lynched by a mob.[857]

Additional Notes

- **Controversies or Discrepancies**: There is insufficient evidence supporting the reasons given for the racial terror lynching of James Bowens.

Endnotes

699 It is through researching Sally Hemings - whose children were fathered by Thomas Jefferson - that the Allegany County Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Committee have gathered compelling evidence to validate William Burns as Robert Hughes and to locate his descendants.
700 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Allegany County Hearings (October 21, 2021) (statements of Heidi Gardner, Angela Davidson, and Karen Hughes White).
701 "Burns Lynched." The Baltimore Sun, 6 October 1907. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013759/tif/sun6oct1907.pdf
702 According to research by the Allegany Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Committee and reported by Clory Jackson, https://mdlynchingmemorial.wixsite.com/acltrc
703 The Baltimore Sun, 6 October 1907, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013759/tif/sun6oct1907.pdf
704 The Baltimore Sun, 6 October 1907
705 The Baltimore Sun, 7 October 1907
706 The Baltimore Sun, 7 October 1907
707 Maryland State Archives, William Burns, MSA SC 3520-13759, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013759/html/13759bio.html
708 The Brownsville Project - Robert Hughes a.k.a. William Burns https://www.thebrownsvilleproject.com/about-william-burns
709 "Scores Cumberland Police." The Baltimore Sun, 7 October 1907. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013759/tif/sun7oct1907b.pdf
710 The Brownsville Project
711 The Brownville Project
712 "10,000 See Corpse." The Baltimore Sun, 7 October 1907. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013759/tif/sun7oct1907.pdf
713 "Burns' Sister Claims the Body," Baltimore Sun, Oct 10, 1907, p. 11, https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1tej31OlPhncetLzKSHzIVWY8VkZ0goVd
714 "Burns' Sister Claims the Body"
715 The Brownsville Project
716 The Brownsville Project
717 "Its Opposition to Mob Violence," The Cumberland Daily News, Oct 7, 1907
718 "Its Opposition to Mob Violence"
719 "Rewards" and "Murder for Murder." Frostburg Mining Journal, 12 October 1907.
720 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Allegany County Hearings, (Statement of David Armenti)
721 "Negro Shoots Policeman, The Baltimore Sun, October 3, 1907
722 "An Unmitigated Outrage." The Afro-American Ledger, 12 October 1907. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013759/tif/afro12oct1907b.pdf
723 "One Demoralizing Effect of Lynching." The Baltimore Sun, 8 October 1907. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013759/tif/sun8oct1907.pdf
724 Cumberland Daily News, Oct 7 1907, https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1tej31OlPhncetLzKSHzIVWY8VkZ0goVd
725 The Baltimore Sun, 6 October 1907
726 Washington Herald, Wed Oct 9, 1907
727 Iowa State Bystander, [n.d]
728 Marshfield News and Wisconsin Hub, October 7 1907
729 Morris County Chronicle, Tues Oct 8, 1907
730 The Baltimore Sun, 8 October 1907.
731 The Afro-American Ledger, October 12, 1907
732 "Grand Jury Report," Frostburg Mining Journal, 19 October 1907, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013759/tif/frost19oct1907.pdf
733 The Baltimore Sun, 6 October 1907.
734 Allegany County (MD) Truth and Reconciliation Committee, Dedicating the Allegany County Historical Marker, https://mdlynchingmemorial.wixsite.com/acltrc/post/dedicating-the-allegany-county-historical-marker
735 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Allegany County Hearings, (Statement of Tifanni Fisheri)
736 Allegany County (MD) Truth and Reconciliation Committee, ACLTRC Moves Forward with Soil Collection, https://mdlynchingmemorial.wixsite.com/acltrc/post/acltrc-moves-forward
737 Dean Herrin, March 2020, "The Mob Fairly Howled:" Lynching in Frederick County, Maryland, 1879 - 1895, A report prepared under the auspices of African American Resources, Cultural and Heritage Society (AARCH) of Frederick County, Maryland, https://aarchsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/History-of-Lynching-Frederick-County-MD_Dean-Herrin.pdf, p. 9;
Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Dean Herrin); Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Dean Herrin)
738 The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 9
739 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p.13.
740 "Licksville was probably the greatest slave market in Maryland." William J. Grove, History of Carrolton Manor,
Frederick County, Md. (n.p., 1922), 63; "The Mob Fairly Howled." p. 7-8
741 "Horrible Outrage Near Licksville, Frederick County, Md.," The Sun (Baltimore, Maryland), April 17, 1879, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018055/images/horrible_outrage_near_lickville_frederick_county_thesun17apr1879.pdf.; "Horrible Outrage Near Licksville, Frederick County, Md.," The Sun (Baltimore, Maryland), April 23, 1879, "Horrible Outrage Near Lickville, Frederick County, Md. - Brutal Assault by a Negro Upon Mrs. Richard Thomas - Escape of the Criminal "https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018055/images/horrible_outrage_near_lickville_frederick_county_thesun23apr1879.pdf
742 "The Point of Rocks Lynching," Baltimore Sun, April 19, 1879 (newspaper scan from ProQuest Historical Newspapers database, accessed through Enoch Pratt Free Library's "Historical Newspapers" online database at https://www.prattlibrary.org/research/database/?sbj=152)
743 "Outrage by a Negro Upon a White Woman." Stauton Spectator and Vindicator, 22 April 1879; https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018055/images/outrage_by_a_negro_upon_a_white_woman_stautonspectatorandvindicator22apr1879.pdf
744 "Horrible Outrage Near Licksville, Frederick County, Md. - Brutal Assault by a Negro Upon Mrs. Richard Thomas - Escape of the Criminal." The Sun, 17 April 1879, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018055/images/horrible_outrage_near_lickville_frederick_county_thesun17apr1879.pdf
745 "Horrible Outrage - Lynching of the Criminal." Spirit of Jefferson, Page 1, 22 April 1879, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018055/images/horrible_outrage_lynching_of_the_criminal_spiritofjefferson22apr1879page1.pdf ; The Licksville, Md.,

Outrage." Evening Star, 17 April 1879, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018055/images/licksville_md_outrage_eveningstar17april1879.pdf

746 "Summary Vengeance." Daily National Republican, 18 April 1879, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018055/images/summary_vengeance_dailynationalrepublican18april1879.pdf ; "Horrible Outrage - Lynching of the Criminal." Spirit of Jefferson.

747 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Evening Star, April 18, 1879 (newspaper scan from online database "Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers," at https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/)

748 "Horrible Outrage - Lynching of the Criminal."; "Summary Vengeance."; "Beast Lynched," Princeton Union (Princeton, Minnesota), April 23, 1879, "

749 "Horrible Rape and Lynching in Frederick County." Star Democrat, Page 2, 22 April 1879, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018055/images/horrible_rape_and_lynching_in_frederick_county_stardemocrat22apr1879page2.pdf.

750 Maryland State Archives, James Carroll (b. 1857 - d. 1879) MSA SC 3520-18055, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018055/html/18055bio.html; "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Evening Star, April 18, 1879; The Point of Rocks Lynching Affair," Baltimore Sun, April 22, 1879 (newspaper scan from ProQuest Historical Newspapers database, accessed through Enoch Pratt Free Library's "Historical Newspapers" online database at https://www.prattlibrary.org/research/database/?sbj=152;

751 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Evening Star, April 18, 1879 (newspaper scan from online database "Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers," at https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/); "The Point of Rocks Lynching Affair," Baltimore Sun, April 22, 1879; "The Frederick County, Md., Outrage," Baltimore Sun, April 18, 1879 (newspaper scan from ProQuest Historical Newspapers database, accessed through Enoch Pratt Free Library's "Historical Newspapers" online database at https://www.prattlibrary.org/research/database/?sbj=152)

752 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Ashley Bush)

753 The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 15.

754 "Summarily Strangled," Washington Post, April 18, 1879 (newspaper scan from ProQuest Historical Newspapers database, accessed through Enoch Pratt Free Library's "Historical Newspapers" online database at https://www.prattlibrary.org/research/database/?sbj=152); "The Frederick County, Md., Outrage," Baltimore Sun, April 18, 1879

755 "The Point of Rocks Lynching," Baltimore Sun, April 21, 1879 (newspaper scan from ProQuest Historical Newspapers database, accessed through Enoch Pratt Free Library's "Historical Newspapers" online database at https://www.prattlibrary.org/research/database/?sbj=152)

756 "The Thomas Outrage Case," Frederick Daily Times, April 21, 1879 (microfilm in Maryland Room, Frederick County Public Library, Frederick, MD); "The Point of Rocks Lynching Affair," Baltimore Sun, April 22, 1879 (newspaper scan from ProQuest Historical Newspapers database, accessed through Enoch Pratt Free Library's "Historical Newspapers" online database at https://www.prattlibrary.org/research/database/?sbj=152

757 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Frederick County Public Hearing, April, 13, 2024, (Statement of Kitty Claggin); The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Tue, Apr 22, 1879 · Page 4, https://www.newspapers.com/image/372003876/

758 "Maryland Affairs." Democratic Advocate, 26 April 1880, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018055/images/maryland_affairs_democraticadvocate26april1879.pdf

759 The Point of Rocks Lynching Affair," Baltimore Sun, April 22, 1879.

760 "The Point of Rocks Lynching," Baltimore Sun, April 19, 1879; "An Investigation on Foot," Washington Post, April 21, 1879 (newspaper scan from ProQuest Historical Newspapers database, accessed through Enoch Pratt Free Library's "Historical Newspapers" online database at https://www.prattlibrary.org/research/database/?sbj=152); The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 12

761 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Evening Star, April 18, 1879

762 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Tue, Apr 22, 1879 · Page 4, https://www.newspapers.com/image/372003876/

763 "Beast Lynched."; "Horrible Outrage - Lynching of the Criminal"; "Spirit of Jefferson.; "Lynch Law in Maryland," The Sun

764 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Dean Herrin)

765 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Dean Herrin); "Horrible Outrage Near Licksville, Frederick County, Md.," The Sun (Baltimore, Maryland), April 17, 1879, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018055/images/horrible_outrage_near_lickville_frederick_county_thesun17apr1879.pdf.; "Horrible Outrage Near Licksville, Frederick County, Md.," The Sun (Baltimore, Maryland), April 23, 1879, "Horrible Outrage Near Lickville, Frederick County, Md. - Brutal Assault by a Negro Upon Mrs. Richard Thomas - Escape of the Criminal "https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018055/images/horrible_outrage_near_lickville_frederick_county_thesun23apr1879.pdf

766 "Horrible Outrage Near Licksville, Frederick County, Md. - Brutal Assault by a Negro Upon Mrs. Richard Thomas - Escape of the Criminal." The Sun, 17 April 1879.

767 "Lynch Law in Maryland." The Sun, 18 April 1879, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018000/018055/images/lynch_law_in_maryland_thesun18apr1879.pdf.

768 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Evening Star, April 18, 1879 (newspaper scan from online database "Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers," at https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/) ; "Coroner's Verdict," Hagerstown Herald and Torch Light, April 30, 1879 (newspaper scan from Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/np_newspapers/)

769 "Lynch Law in Maryland." The Sun, 18 April 1879,

770 "Beast Lynched."

771 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Mon, Apr 21, 1879 · Page 4, https://www.newspapers.com/image/372003236/

772 "Lynch Law in Maryland," Washington Evening Star, April 18, 1879; "Horrible Outrage Near Licksville,
Frederick County, Md," Baltimore Sun, April 17, 1879; The Mob Fairly Howled," pp. 10-11

773 The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 11

774 Dean Herrin, March 2020, "The Mob Fairly Howled:" Lynching in Frederick County, Maryland, 1879 - 1895, A report prepared under the auspices of African American Resources, Cultural and Heritage Society (AARCH) of Frederick County, Maryland, https://aarchsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/History-of-Lynching-Frederick-County-MD_Dean-Herrin.pdf;
Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Dean Herrin)

775 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 37; "Lynched!!"; The Daily News, 23 November 1887; https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013791/images/mdsa_scm694-53_lynching_biggus.jpg; "The Lynching of Biggus." The Daily News, 25 November 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013791/images/mdsa_scm694-53_lynching_biggus.jpg

776 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 30; US Census information from Ancestry.com; "The colored man…," Westminster Democratic Advocate, Nov. 26, 1887; A photograph of Biggus's grave marker is found at https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/102902977/john-h_-bigius

777 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 29

778 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 29

779 "The Mob Fairly Howled,"p. 30

780 "John H. Bigus Hanged." The Sun, 23 November 1887; https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013791/images/18871123_sun_bigus_hanged.jpg; https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013791/images/18871123_sun_bigus_hanged.jpg
781 "The Mob Fairly Howled,"p. 30
782 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 30
783 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 31
784 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 32
785 ""John H. Bigus Hanged," Baltimore Sun, Nov. 23, 1887; htl1124; The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 33
786 "Lynched!!," Frederick News, Nov. 23, 1887; "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 34
787 "The Lynching Case." The Daily News, 25 November 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013791/images/mdsa_scm694-53_lynching_case.jpg;. A. Briscoe Koger, "Maryland's Lynching Record," in Koger Papers, Jefferson Patterson Park & Museum, St. Leonard, Maryland (Maryland State Archives Special Collections, MSA SC 3520-13695).
788 "John H. Bigus Hanged."
789 "The Mob Fairly Howled,"p.36
790 "The Lynching Case;" "Lynched!!" The Daily News, 23 November 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013791/images/mdsa_scm694-51_lynched.jpg
791 "Lynched!!" The Daily News, 23 November 1887.
792 "Confession of Biggus." The Daily News, 26 November 1887; https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013791/images/mdsa_scm694-55_confession.jpg
793 "The Lynching Case."
794 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 36
795 "The Lynching of Biggus." The Daily News, 25 November 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013791/images/mdsa_scm694-53_lynching_biggus.jpg; "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 29
796 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 44
797 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 46
798 "The Lynching Case."
799 "The Mob Fairly Howled," pp. 42-44
800 "The Mob Fairly Howled,"p, 31
801 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 33
802 "The Lynching of Biggus." The Daily News, 25 November 1887
803 "The Lynching of Biggus." The Daily News, 25 November 1887,
804 "John H. Bigus Hanged." The Sun, 23 November 1887
805 "The Mob Fairly Howled,"p. 43
806 "Lynched!!" The Daily News, 23 November 1887
807 "The Mob Fairly Howled:"p. 43-44
808 Dennis Patrick Halpin, "The Brotherhood of Liberty and Baltimore's Place in the Black Freedom Struggle," https://themetropole.blog/2018/11/12/the-brotherhood-of-liberty-and-baltimores-place-in-the-black-freedom-struggle/
809 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 47
810 Dean Herrin, March 2020, "The Mob Fairly Howled:" Lynching in Frederick County, Maryland, 1879 - 1895, A report prepared under the auspices of African American Resources, Cultural and Heritage Society (AARCH) of Frederick County, Maryland, https://aarchsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/History-of-Lynching-Frederick-County-MD_Dean-Herrin.pdf;
Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Dean Herrin)
811 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Devonte Freeland)
812 United States Population Census, 1880; "Lynched," Frederick News, Nov. 18, 1895; James E. Brunson III, Black Baseball, 1858-1900 – A Comprehensive Record of the Teams, Players, Managers, Owners and Umpires (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2019), 522.
813 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Eric Ashby Bay)
814 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Eric Ashby Bay)
815 "Lynching Echos." The Frederick News, 19 November 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013745/tif/news19nov95.pdf;
816 "Lynching Echos." The Frederick News, 19 November 1895.
817 "By a Maddened Mob. James Bowens, Colored, Lynched at Frederick." The Baltimore Sun, 18 November 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013745/tif/mob.pdf
818 "Lynching Echos." The Frederick News, 19 November 1895; "Lynched!" A Colored Assailant Summarily Dealt With." The Frederick News, 18 November 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013745/tif/lynched.pdf; "Miss Long is Better." The Frederick News, 20 November 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013745/tif/20nov1895.pdf;
819 "Lynched!" A Colored Assailant Summarily Dealt With." The Frederick News, 18 November 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013745/tif/lynched.pdf
820 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 56; Maryland State Archives, James Bowens (c. 1872-1895),
MSA SC 3520-13745, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013745/html/13745bio.html
821 "Lynched!" A Colored Assailant Summarily Dealt With." The Frederick News, 18 November 1895
822 Maryland State Archives, James Bowens (c. 1872-1895)
823 The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 59
824 "State of Maryland: Latest Phases of the Lynching of James Bowens." The Baltimore Sun, 19 November 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013745/tif/sun19nov95.pdf; Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Dean Herrin)
825 "Lynched in Frederick." The Brunswick Herald, 22 November 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013745/tif/herald.pdf
826 "The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 59; "Lynched in Frederick." The Brunswick Herald, 22 November 1895.
827 US Census information from Ancestry.com, and list of Frederick mayors found on https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/37mun/frederick/html/fmayors.html; Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Dean Herrin)
828 "By a Maddened Mob. James Bowens, Colored, Lynched at Frederick."
829 "State of Maryland." The Baltimore Sun, 18 November 1895,
830 "Lynched in Frederick."
831 "Lynched in Frederick;" "Lynched!" A Colored Assailant Summarily Dealt With."
832 "By a Maddened Mob," Baltimore Sun, Nov. 18, 1895 (newspaper scan from ProQuest

Historical Newspapers database, accessed through Enoch Pratt Free Library's "Historical Newspapers" online database at https://www.prattlibrary.org/research/database/?sbj=152)

833 "Lynching Echos." The Frederick News, 19 November 1895; "Lynched!" A Colored Assailant Summarily Dealt With." The Frederick News, 18 November 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013745/tif/lynched.pdf.

834 "Lynched!" A Colored Assailant Summarily Dealt With." The Frederick News, 18 November 1895; Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Dean Herrin)

835 "Lynched!" A Colored Assailant Summarily Dealt With."

836 "Lynched!" A Colored Assailant Summarily Dealt With."

837 "Prepared for Them," Frederick News, Nov. 28, 1887"Prepared for Them," Frederick News, Nov. 28, 1887 (newspaper scan from Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/np_newspapers/); The Mob Fairly Howled," p. 41

838 The Mob Fairly Howled,"p. 33; "Never before in the history…," Frederick News, Nov. 22, 1887

839 "Lynched!" A Colored Assailant Summarily Dealt With."

840 "Lynching Echos." The Frederick News, 19 November 1895

841 "Miss Long is Better." The Frederick News, 20 November 1895; "Lynched!" A Colored Assailant Summarily Dealt With." The Frederick News, 18 November 1895.; "Lynched in Frederick." The Brunswick Herald, 22 November 1895.

842 "Lynched!" A Colored Assailant Summarily Dealt With."

843 "State of Maryland: Latest Phases of the Lynching of James Bowens."

844 "Lynched in Frederick." The Brunswick Herald, 22 November 1895.

845 "Lynched!" A Colored Assailant Summarily Dealt With."

846 "State of Maryland: Latest Phases of the Lynching of James Bowens." The Baltimore Sun, 19 November 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013745/tif/sun19nov95.pdf

847 "Lynching Echos." The Frederick News, 19 November 1895.

848 "By a Maddened Mob. James Bowens, Colored, Lynched at Frederick."

849 "The Frederick lynchers deserve credit...", "The prompt but horrible administration of justice..." The Frederick News, 18 November 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013745/tif/frnews18nov85.pdf

850 "By a Maddened Mob. James Bowens, Colored, Lynched at Frederick."

851 "The Frederick lynchers deserve credit...", "The prompt but horrible administration of justice..."

852 "He Won't Testify Now," the Frederick News Wed, Nov 20, 1895, https://www.newspapers.com/image/16181292/

853 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Dean Herrin)

854 "Lynched!" A Colored Assailant Summarily Dealt With."; "Lynching Echos." The Frederick News, 19 November 1895; Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Eric Ashby Bay); Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Dean Herrin)

855 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Eric Ashby Bay)

856 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Devonte Freeland)

857 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Frederick County Commission Public Hearing, April 13, 2024 (Statement of Devonte Freeland)

CAROLINE COUNTY LYNCHING CASES

Case Study: David Thomas
(Caroline County)

Basic Information

Full Name: David Thomas

Date of Birth: 1820

Place of Birth: Unknown

Occupation/Background: Laborer

Marital Status: Married

Family and Personal Background:

- Lived in Caroline County with his wife Levene, and daughters Mary, Susanne, and Elizabeth.[946]
- David Thomas was a free Black man

Additional Background Information:

- Lived down the road of a man named William Butler.

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: Burrsville Road, Denton, Caroline County Maryland (September 27, 1854)

Description of Alleged Crime: On the evening of September 27, 1854, David Thomas approached his neighbor William Butler's home. There are no records or witnesses of what the two men discussed, but they had a brief conversation that led them to a walk a short distance down the road. David Thomas and William Butler got into an altercation and David Thomas reportedly hit William Butler "with a heavy musket," which resulted in William Butler's death three hours later.

Victim of Alleged Crime: William Butler (white, male)

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: David Thomas (Black, male)

Witness Statements or Claims: According to a *Baltimore Sun* article, Mrs. William Butler (Elizabeth) was standing in the doorway and heard the blow and struggles of her husband. She ran to her neighbors for help as David Thomas walked off.[947] William Butler left behind his wife, Elizabeth, and 5 children.

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

David Thomas was arrested the following day (September 28, 1854) at the house of Mr. William Breeding. He confessed to striking William Butler but supposedly stated that "he did not mean to strike so hard."[948]

David Thomas' trial took place on October 5, 1854, in the town of Denton in Caroline County and was presided over by Judge Philemon B. Hopper. David Thomas pleaded not guilty to the charge of murder.[949] Witnesses that were called by the state included William Butler's wife, Elizabeth, and Bayard Breeding, whose home was the site of the defendant's arrest. Only one witness, a white laborer named Trustin Wright, was called on David Thomas' behalf. There is no further documentation to suggest the nature of the testimony or other trial components.

On Thursday, October 7, 1854, the jury convicted David Thomas of 2nd degree murder and he was sentenced to 16 years and 7 months in the State Penitentiary in Baltimore.[950] Dissatisfied with the verdict, a mob of white Denton locals gathered outside the Denton jail threatening to take the law into their own hands through 'lynch law.'[951] According to the *Baltimore Sun* there was "prompt interference of the law [that] prevented the threat from being carried into execution at the time,"[952] but two days later a mob returned.

Role of Authorities:

- Judge Philemon B. Hopper presided over David Thomas' trial.
- The court authorized the sheriff to "summon a posse sufficient to quell any disturbance that might occur."[953]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 34

Date and Time: October 9, 1854

Location of Lynching: Denton jail, Caroline County, MD

At what point did the lynching take place? After David Thomas' trial, conviction, and sentencing.

Method of Lynching: Hung on a plank[954]

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Attempts were made to quell the mob the day of David Thomas' verdict but not much is known regarding efforts to prevent a lynching after October 7, 1854.
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Asphyxiated

Additional Details:

According to a letter received by the *Baltimore Sun*, a 'large and excited' crowd assembled around Denton jail at about midnight Monday, October 9, 1854 where they broke in, allegedly tied up the sheriff, and forcibly took David Thomas out of his cell and hung him from a plank, which they nailed to a window on the outside in the second story of the jail building.[955]

David Thomas remained suspended outside of the jail building until he died. His body was then cut down and conveyed back into the jail. In addition to David Thomas' lynching, the mob unlawfully released two other prisoners, one of whom had been sentenced to the penitentiary.[956] Although not explicitly stated, it is almost certain that the released prisoners were white.

David Thomas was presumably buried in the Almshouse cemetery, though no definitive records have been found. This uncertainty echoes the experience of many other victims of racial terror lynchings in Maryland, whose burials were either unrecorded or never took place at all.

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community:

This was the first of three officially documented lynchings in Caroline County during the second half of the 19th century. Although there is no explicit documentation of public reaction following David Thomas' lynching, it is widely understood that acts of vigilante violence like this were often driven more by a desire to reassert white dominance than to avenge a specific individual. In 1854—a decade before Maryland abolished slavery—David Thomas was a free Black man living in Caroline County with his wife and children. His status as a free person of color may have intensified the mob's response, as the autonomy and visibility of free Black individuals often challenged prevailing beliefs of white superiority. The impact of David Thomas' lynching likely reverberated beyond his immediate family, instilling fear among other free Black residents and reinforcing a sense of entitlement and control among Denton's white citizens.

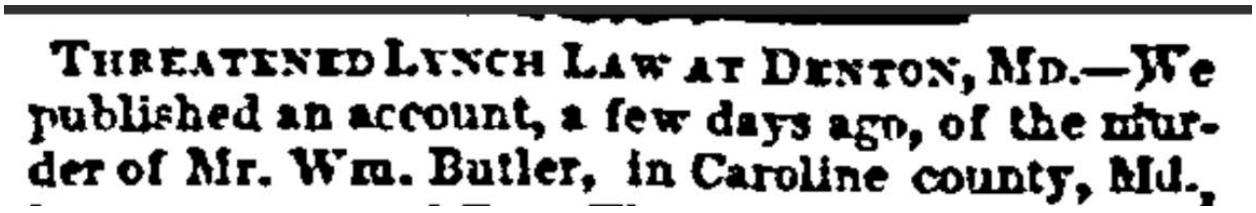
Media Coverage:

The media incited violence towards David Thomas through sensationalism.

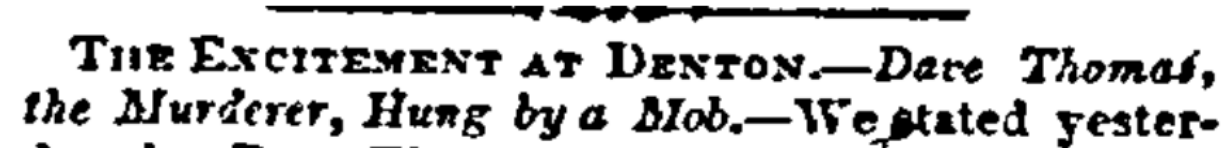
- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** Disapproving
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Disapproving but understanding
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Disapproving but understanding

The article "The Case of Lynch Law at Denton" in the *Baltimore Sun* made a point of stating that, "they characterize the affair, however, as a cold-blooded murder," but the Sun also released an article shortly after David Thomas' lynching titled "The Excitement at Denton–Dave Thomas, the Murderer, Hung by a mob" which sensationalizes David Thomas' lynching.

Headlines


THREATENED LYNCH LAW AT DENTON, MD.—We published an account, a few days ago, of the murder of Mr. Wm. Butler, in Caroline county, Md.,

957


THE EXCITEMENT AT DENTON.—*Dave Thomas, the Murderer, Hung by a Mob.*—We stated yester-

958

Legal/Political Consequences:

A grand jury adjourned in April 1855 to investigate the lynching. Despite no documentation of the mob wearing masks, it was reported that they were "unable to identify any of the parties engaged in the mob sufficiently to ensure a conviction."[959]

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance:
This was the first of three Caroline County lynchings that were officially documented in the second half of the 19th century.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There are no known and/or explicit legislative changes or social movements that were sparked by the lynching of David Thomas in Caroline County, MD.

Memorialization/Commemoration: There are no known memorials acknowledging the lynching of David Thomas in Caroline County, Maryland.

Ongoing Influence:

This was the first of three Caroline County lynchings that were officially documented in the second half of the 19th century. Although there is no explicit documentation of the ongoing influence of David Thomas' lynching, it is speculated that this vigilante justice was likely motivated more by a desire to reassert white dominance than to defend William Butler specifically, which likely carried significant weight for not only David Thomas' family but for the Black citizens of Denton and a significant sense of entitlement for Denton's white citizens.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

There is no substantial evidence of the subject of the disagreement between David Thomas and William Butler or how the altercation escalated.

Case Study: Jim Wilson

(Caroline County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Jim Wilson

Date of Birth: 1834[960]

Place of Birth: Oakland Road, Ridgely, Maryland (Caroline County)

Occupation/Background: Unknown, likely a farmer.[961]

Marital Status: Single

Family and Personal Background[962]:

- Jim Wilson was at least the third generation of his family to be free prior to the end of slavery in America.
- His father was reported to have owned property valued at several thousand dollars.
- His brother, Solomon Wilson (1840-1915), registered for the draft in 1863 and may have served with the Union Army during the Civil War.
- Most of Jim Wilson's family members earned their living by farming.
- Many relocated to Kent County, Delaware.
    - While we do not have direct evidence linking Solomon Wilson's draft registration in 1863 or the family's later relocation to Delaware with Jim Wilson's lynching in 1862, it is possible that the violence and racial hostility they experienced or witnessed played a role in shaping their decisions.

Additional Background Information:

- According to the *Baltimore Sun* Jim Wilson was likely "Mulatto"/biracial/mixed race and was regarded as "one of the best negroes in the county."[963]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: October 30, 1862

Description of Alleged Crime: An eight-year-old girl named Edith (Emma)[964] Plummer, daughter of Caroline County delegate Edgar Plummer, was found dead in the woods. According to an 1895 *Baltimore Sun* article, Edith Plummer was returning home from school, walking through a long-wooded area, when she was raped and murdered.[965]

Jim Wilson was known to walk his dog around the area[966] of Edith Plummer's murder and despite his favorable reputation, was suspected of Edith Plummer's murder. According to an *Easton Gazette* 1862 article, Jim Wilson was "arrested on suspicion and on being carried where the child laid a corpse, he frankly acknowledged the murder, but said he did it by throwing her against the ground,"[967] allegedly confessing to the crime.

Victim of Alleged Crime: Edith (Emma) Plummer (white, 8 years old, daughter of Edgar Plummer, a delegate representing Caroline County in the Maryland House of Delegates)

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Jim Wilson ("Mulatto"/biracial/mixed race, freed, and well regarded in Ridgely)

Witness Statements or Claims: Despite newspaper articles alluding to a confession, there are no explicit documented confessions, witness statements, or witness claims to Jim Wilson killing Edith Plummer.

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: Jim Wilson was arrested for Edith Plummer's murder and placed in Denton jail, Caroline County's County jail. According to a letter to the editor from Denton in *The Baltimore Sun* signed by someone named "Gallatin", Jim Wilson "anticipated that he would be hung without a trial." Gallatin's account provided information on Jim Wilson's lynching as though he witnessed or was involved in Jim Wilson's murder.

The letter writer also claims that Jim Wilson had told "one or two gentlemen" that "there was a good deal of talk among some of the colored people in his neighborhood respecting the present and prospective position of his race growing out of the present condition of national affairs and hinted that the appropriation of white women for the wives of black men was a subject entering into their vague calculations."[968]

Role of Authorities:

- According to the Denton letter to the editor, the sheriff was determined to remove Jim Wilson to Easton jail for safety, but this information was found out by members of the community and they demanded that Jim Wilson be returned to Denton's jail.[969] There was no pushback by a marshal of the law or authority.
- Esquire Eareckson and Constable Wix committed Jim Wilson to jail
- Thomas S. Saulsbury offered no resistance when the lynch mob came for Jim Wilson

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 28

Date and Time: November 1, 1862

Location of Lynching: Outside Denton jail in Caroline County, MD

At what point did the lynching take place? After arrest but prior to trial.

Method of Lynching: Hung, shot, quartered, and burned

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Mutilated

Additional Details:

On November 1, 1862, the day after Edith Plummer's funeral, a mob of around 300 people from different parts of Caroline County gathered outside of Denton jail. According to the Denton letter to the editor, the sheriff was not supported by an adequate posse and could only protest against the threatened violence:

> "The crowd pressed forward and gained an easy entrance to the passage of the building. From thence they rushed upstairs to the room in which the negro was confined, broke open the door with an axe, and in a few moments re-appeared outside with the prisoner in charge. He was taken to a tree in the rear of the jail, a rope was placed around his neck, and in less time than it takes to tell it, his body was dangling in the air. Simultaneously with the handing, his body was perforated by perhaps a dozen or more musket and pistol balls."[970]

The account continues, emphasizing that the crowd was not gratified by Jim Wilson's death due to him being "the perpetrator of one of the most heinous crimes of which it is possible to conceive."[971]

> "It was supposed and hoped the matter had ended, but in this the public expectation was not gratified, and we are sorry to say that the scene which followed was of a character justly meriting and doubtless receiving the condemnation of nearly all classes of the community. After being pronounced dead, the more excited of the crowd took the body down and dragged it through the street to the colored people's church, where it was suspended to a tree."
>
> "Various propositions, as we learn, were then made as to what further disposition to make of it, one of which was to place it inside of the church yard to burn both together. These propositions, however, were voted down, and it was finally concluded that the body should be taken to the river shore and burned. Accordingly, a fire was kindled, the body was cut into small pieces, and thrown into the flames and consumed."[972]

Five years after Jim Wilson's lynching, Richard Greenwell, alternatively known as Richard Greenly, was declared a member of the lynching party by newspapers after his death.[973] Reportedly, he was one of the men who broke into the jail to lynch Jim Wilson, and was the person who disposed of Jim Wilson's body.[974] The newspapers described Greenwell as having "cut and carved him as though he were a beef, and then roasted and burned to ashes the pieces."[975] Greenwell decided to take a trophy of the murder. He cut off the right hand of Jim Wilson and preserved it as a trophy which he brought back to Delaware.[976]

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community:

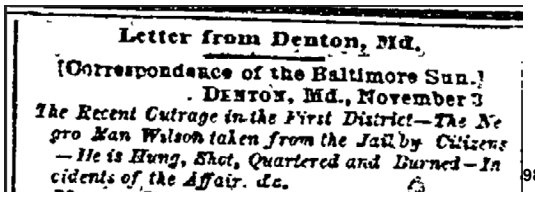
According to the Denton letter to the editor,

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** Outrage
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Encouraged/approval
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Support/approval

The media played as significant role as the mob in Jim Wilson's lynching. News sources at the time of, and years after, Jim Wilson's lynching condoned the behavior of the mob. In the *Easton Gazette* an article stated, "the worst penalty that the law can inflict is too good for the scoundrel,"[977] implying that something outside the law should be done to punish Jim Wilson for his alleged crime. Even the title of the article "A Little Girl Murdered by a Negro" presumes guilt without any context or qualification. The *Baltimore Sun* also printed the letter to the editor by "Gallatin" without demanding a name or affiliation and the letter stated that the last act after Jim Wilson was lynched "was well calculated to shock the moral sense of the community, and to elicit everywhere expressions of earnest condemnation."[978] The letter to the editor ended by stating "I have thus endeavored to give you a full and truthful statement respecting this serious and, in some respects, unfortunate affair…"[979]

Headlines

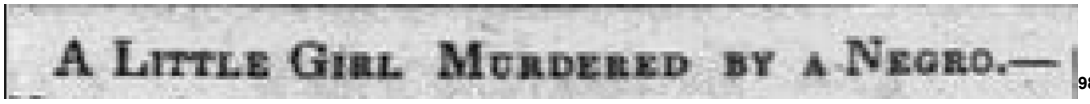

Letter from Denton, Md.

[Correspondence of the Baltimore Sun.]

DENTON, Md., November 3

The Recent Outrage in the First District—The Negro Jim Wilson taken from the Jail by Citizens—He is Hung, Shot, Quartered and Burned—Incidents of the Affair. &c.

980


A LITTLE GIRL MURDERED BY A NEGRO.—

981

Legal/Political Consequences:

There was no trial or jury of inquest assembled to find members of the lynch mob.

Five years after Jim Wilson's lynching, Richard Greenwell, deemed one of the leaders of the mob, committed suicide by drowning in the Nanticoke River at Seaford, Delaware.[982] Only after his suicide was his role in Jim Wilson's lynching brought to light.

<u>Legacy and Impact</u>

Cultural/Political Significance:

There is no known documentation of the immediate effects Jim Wilson's lynching had on the Denton community, but based on the accounts of how his body was mutilated, paraded through the Black neighborhood, his corpse hanged again outside of a Black church, then later brought down and burned in the river, the mob intended to intimidate Denton's Black community.

Jim Wilson's murder didn't just have an effect on Caroline County's Black community. In 1895, a girl named Sallie Dean (white, school aged) was murdered in Caroline County. A man named Marshall Price, most likely white, was convicted of the crime and sentenced to death, but a mob of masked men stormed the jail and hanged Price three days before his date of execution.[983] Parallels to Jim Wilson's lynching were mentioned in a *Baltimore Sun* article driving home the idea that during the 1890s the murder of a young white girl was "one of the most heinous crimes of which it is possible to conceive."[984]

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements?

There were no immediate legislative changes or organized social movements in response to Jim Wilson's lynching. However, the event took place during the American Civil War—a time of intense political and racial tensions, particularly in a divided border state like Maryland. While Jim Wilson's lynching itself did not prompt formal action, the broader wartime climate, marked by acts of racial violence and control, likely influenced Black Marylanders to flee or enlist in the Union Army following the establishment of the United States Colored Troops in 1863. The use of mob violence, such as the lynching of Jim Wilson, was part of a broader effort to suppress Black agency and maintain white supremacy during a pivotal moment in American history.

Memorialization/Commemoration:

There are no known memorials or commemorations specific to Jim Wilson's life and/or lynching.

Ongoing Influence:

Although not explicitly documented, Jim Wilson's lynching would have contributed to a climate of fear, trauma, and anger within his family and the broader community.

Additional Notes

- **Controversies or Discrepancies**: When Jim Wilson is regarded in high esteem he is referred to as a "mulatto" but in the articles covering his alleged crime and lynching he is referred to as a "negro."

CECIL COUNTY LYNCHING CASES

Case Study: Frederick Pearce
(Cecil County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Frederick Pearce

Date of Birth: Estimated 1847

Place of Birth: Unknown

Occupation/Background: Enslaved by Captain Matthew C. Pearce and Eliza J. Pearce[985]

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- There is no known information on Frederick Pearce's family or personal background.

Additional Background Information:

- There is no known additional background information on Frederick Pearce.

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: Sassafras Neck, outside of Cecilton, Maryland

Description of Alleged Crime: Frederick Pearce was accused of attempting to rape Anne Price, a 14-year-old white girl, after dragging her off a horse.[986]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Anne Price, white, female

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Frederick Pearce, Black, male

Witness Statements or Claims: Unknown

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: Frederick Pearce was reported to have fled the scene after attempting to assault Anne Price. Local white residents captured Frederick Pearce and dragged him back to the site of the alleged assault.

Role of Authorities: No investigation into the lynching ever occurred.

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: estimated to be 14 years old

Date and Time: September 26, 1861

Location of Lynching: Cecilton, Maryland

At what point did the lynching take place? After Frederick Pearce's capture by a mob of white citizens where he was lynched somewhere between Earlville and Cecilton.[987]

Method of Lynching: Hanged on a tree

Who Was Involved: Unknown white residents of Cecilton

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** It is unknown whether the town magistrate heard any witness testimony or referred the case to the town of Elkton for a full circuit court trial, as would have been the protocol[988]. It is reported to that some newspaper accounts say that Frederick Pearce was talking to the Cecilton magistrate before being lynched.
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Asphyxiated

Additional Details: Unknown

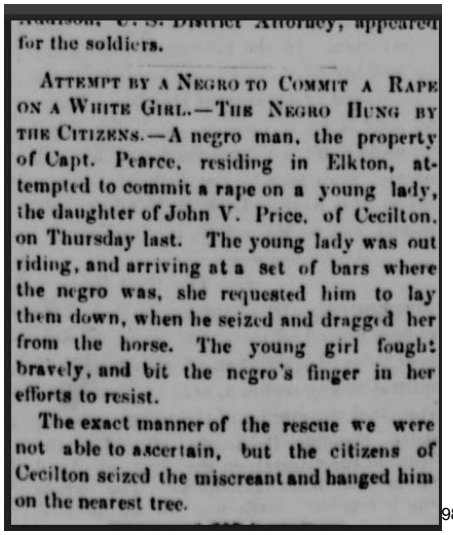
Aftermath

Reaction from the Community: Unknown

Media Coverage:

- The Cecil Whig, the Cecil Democrat, and the Philadelphia Inquirer covered the story of Frederick Pearce's lynching
- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** The newspapers did not question whether Frederick Pearce committed a crime
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** The newspapers celebrated the lynching of Frederick Pearce

Headlines

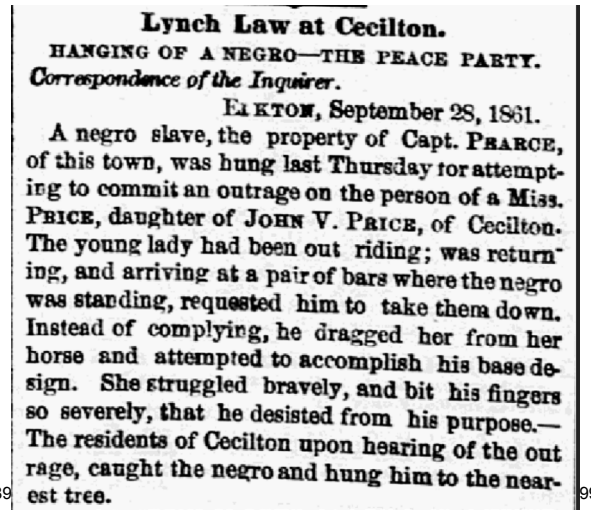


for the soldiers.

ATTEMPT BY A NEGRO TO COMMIT A RAPE ON A WHITE GIRL.—THE NEGRO HUNG BY THE CITIZENS.—A negro man, the property of Capt. Pearce, residing in Elkton, attempted to commit a rape on a young lady, the daughter of John V. Price, of Cecilton, on Thursday last. The young lady was out riding, and arriving at a set of bars where the negro was, she requested him to lay them down, when he seized and dragged her from the horse. The young girl fought bravely, and bit the negro's finger in her efforts to resist.

The exact manner of the rescue we were not able to ascertain, but the citizens of Cecilton seized the miscreant and hanged him on the nearest tree.

989



Lynch Law at Cecilton.

HANGING OF A NEGRO—THE PEACE PARTY.

Correspondence of the Inquirer.

ELKTON, September 28, 1861.

A negro slave, the property of Capt. PEARCE, of this town, was hung last Thursday for attempting to commit an outrage on the person of a Miss. PRICE, daughter of JOHN V. PRICE, of Cecilton. The young lady had been out riding; was returning, and arriving at a pair of bars where the negro was standing, requested him to take them down. Instead of complying, he dragged her from her horse and attempted to accomplish his base design. She struggled bravely, and bit his fingers so severely, that he desisted from his purpose.—The residents of Cecilton upon hearing of the outrage, caught the negro and hung him to the nearest tree.

990

Legal/Political Consequences:

- The Cecil Whig newspaper reported that Captain Pearce, the steamboat retired steamboat captain sued the perpetrators of Frederick Pearce's lynching "for the loss of his property."[991] However, the article seemed to question the morality of Captain Pearce's demand.

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: There is no known cultural or political significance immediately following the lynching of Frederick Pearce.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There are no known legislative changes or social movements immediately following the lynching of Frederick Pearce.

Memorialization/Commemoration: There is no known memorialization immediately following the lynching of Frederick Pearce.

Ongoing Influence: There is no known ongoing influence immediately following the lynching of Frederick Pearce.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies: There are no known controversies or discrepancies following the lynching of Frederick Pearce.

Case Study: John Jones
(Cecil County)

Basic Information

Full Name: John Jones

Date of Birth: 1827

Place of Birth: Talbot County, Maryland

Occupation/Background: Working for Walter J. Griffith near Sassafras in Kent County[992]

Marital Status: Married to Hester Ann Jones

Family and Personal Background:

- John Jones was the father of Josephine (age 4), William (age 3), and Alexander (age 4 months)[993]
- Possible stepson; possibly named Richard Kemp[994]
- Living descendants associated with Mr. Jones are unknown.

Additional Background Information:

- There is no known additional background information on John Jones.

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: Sunday, July 28, 1872, near the Head of Sassafras in Kent County, Maryland. The incident took place inside Kent County.

Description of Alleged Crime: On Saturday July 27, 1872, Griffith fired John Jones from his job after having a "difficulty" with him. John Jones is reported to have made a few threats and then left.[995] On Sunday night, near midnight, Griffith's home and surrounding buildings were burned. John Jones was accused of arson.[996]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Walter J. Griffith and family

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: It was alleged that John Jones and two other people, one a young man, and one a child, torched Griffith's farm.

Witness Statements or Claims: Unknown

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: On the evening of Monday July 29, 1872, three men were arrested in the town of Warwick, Cecil County: John Jones (alias John Johnson), Robert Handy, and Thomas, who was described in different accounts as either Jones' son, step-son, or son-in-law. Some sources identify the third man by the name of George Simpson or by the name of Green.[5] In a hearing before Justice Bell, Thomas was reported to have testified that John Jones was responsible for the fire, placing straw and kindling near the house and threatening Thomas at gunpoint if he left or told anyone what happened.[997]

Role of Authorities: There were no sheriffs on the scene. Justice Bell handed the three men over to a teenager named Merritt, who was newly deputized as a special constable, as none of the constables from southern Cecil County were on duty. Merritt's job was to transport the three men 15 miles to the Cecil County Jail in Elkton.[998]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 45 years old

Date and Time: Monday, July 29th, 1872, after dark

Location of Lynching: Just south of Pivot Bridge in Cecil County, MD about 8 miles north of the village of Warwick, near the town of Chesapeake City and just south of the C&D Canal, a quarter mile from the Delaware state line.[999]

At what point did the lynching take place? After John Jones was accused of arson and before a trial.

Method of Lynching: Hanged on a tree

Who Was Involved: A group of ten to twenty disguised men[1000]

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** At a preliminary hearing, Justice William Bell decided that John Jones and the other men should be transported to Elkton for a formal trial and hearing.[1001]
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Coroners were a significant part of the criminal justice system in that era and were charged with investigating suspicious deaths. They followed specific protocols, including having a jury view the body for marks of violence, interview witnesses, and examine evidence.
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

Public/Private Nature: Private

Physical Condition of Victim: Asphyxiated

Additional Details:

- The normal protocol at the time was to round up the constables, who were part-time law enforcers that served warrants and investigated accusations of crimes. Despite the fact that the Griffith home burned down 24 hours prior, there were no duly appointed constables available at the time of the preliminary hearing.[1002]
- The special constable, Merritt, the teenager, said he was approached by a bunch of men in white hoods firing pistols at him as he was transporting John Jones from Kent County to the Cecil County jail. According to a newspaper in Helena, Montana, Merritt said he defended John Jones and two other men in custody by firing six shots and shooting holes in the canopy of his buggy. After he emptied his pistol in defense of the three men - two of them wearing handcuffs - he fled the scene for fear, for his own safety.[1003] Merritt reportedly returned to the jail about midnight.

- The men in white hoods took John Jones from the buggy to lynch him.
- The sheriff returned to town on Tuesday morning and found John Jones hanging from a tree alongside the road, about 200 feet into the woods.[1004] There was no trace of the other two men other than one of Handy's pant legs, but there was evidence of a struggle. It is unclear whether they were also killed by the group of disguised men or were able to escape.

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community: The sheriff and the coroner launched a full criminal investigation of John Jones' lynching, by examining John Jones' body and asking any witnesses to testify. There were none.[1005] As a result, the coroner's inquest rendered a verdict that John Jones came to his death at the hands of people unknown.

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** The press had varying opinions about whether John Jones was guilty of arson.
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?**

- The *Middletown (DE) Transcript* editorialized: "We do not favour lynch law, for there is punishment prescribed by law for all offenses. In some cases, however, the punishment is not severe enough and lynching is the only way by which offenders can get their just deserts. It seemed very certain that Jones was guilty of the crime of which he was charged and the punishment in Maryland, we believe is a term of one year in the penitentiary. This punishment is not sufficient for a case of this kind for it was not Jones' fault that the four inmates of the house were not burned to death. . . . But he has now, probably, gotten his just deserts and the affair will prove a warning to other evildoers and secure the safety of life and prosperity in the community."[1006]

- Newspapers outside of Cecil County - such as the Helena (MT) Weekly Herald and the New National Era (Washington, DC) were outraged by the lynching and were suspicious about how the authorities in Cecil County handled the case.

  The Helena Weekly Herald reported that Baltimore papers, both Democratic and Republican, were calling upon Governor White to take immediate steps to procure the arrest of persons engaged in "lynching the negroes in Cecil County Maryland, on Monday last." The intimation is made that the Sheriff [sic] in whose hands the negroes were when they were seized by assassins, were in collusion with them, and really knows who the guilty parties are."[1007]

  The New National Era in Washington, D. C said:

  The recent hanging of a colored man named John Jones in Cecil County, by a band of disguised ruffians, demands at the hands of our State Authorities the promptest and most vigorous auction. The crime is simply murder and every man engaged in it deserves to suffer the penalty which the law attaches to murder. . . . It seems most singular that Mr. Merritt should start on his journey to Elkton (some nine miles distant) with three prisoners in his custody at 8 o'clock in the evening. One account says that a wagon containing six white men followed closed behind Mr. Merritt's wagon. Seven miles from Elkton a party of disguised men took possession of the

> prisoners, and Mr. Merritt, after firing his revolver (whether it was aimed at any one does not appear) drove rapidly away . . . . From our present information we would not be warranted in saying that there was a collusion between the party having the prisoner in custody and the men who murdered him, but certainly the circumstances were suspicious. We hope that Governor Whyte will see that this case is not disposed of by an evasive verdict of a coroner's jury, 'came to his death by hanging, at the hands of persons to the jury unknown,'" or by the usual palliative, 'every good citizen deplored the melancholy occurrence.' If Green [sic] were guilty no one would have apprehended his acquittal, because he was a negro. He would have been tried in a court that is probably able to administer impartial justice, but certainly there is nothing in the political opinions of the judges of the persons who are summoned as jurors that would be likely to create an unreasonable prejudice in favour of a negro prisoner charged with a capital offense. We think the public sentiments in Kent County would justify the hanging of a negro proven to be guilty of arson. . . . If Jones wantonly burned Mr. Griffith's house, he would undoubtedly have suffered the extreme penalty of the law." When the State takes hold of one of its citizens, put manacles on his hands and deprives him of his power of self-défense, it puts itself under an obligation to protect him from violence, and it is bound to punish every man who assaults him. . . The lynching of a defenseless prisoner is one of the most barbarous of all crimes.[1008]

Legal/Political Consequences: There are no known legal or political consequences immediately following the lynching of John Jones.

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: There is no known cultural or political significance immediately following the lynching of John Jones.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There are no known legislative changes or social movements immediately following the lynching of John Jones.

Memorialization/Commemoration: John Jones' remains were buried near the spot he was hanged, presumably in an unmarked grave.[1009]

Ongoing Influence: There is no known ongoing influence immediately following the lynching of John Jones.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies: There are no known controversies and discrepancies immediately following the lynching of John Jones.

KENT COUNTY LYNCHING CASE

Case Study: James Taylor
(Kent County)

Basic Information

Full Name: James (Jim) Taylor

Date of Birth: 1868

Place of Birth: Pondtown, Queen Anne's County, Maryland

Occupation/Background: Farmhand

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- Son of Charles Taylor (father) and Elizabeth Francis (mother)
- Had two sisters: Mary Taylor and Julia Taylor
- Raised in Pondtown, Queen's Anne's County, where he resided until seven or eight years old.
- Went to Kent around the age of eight, where he lived in the Kennedyville neighborhood until his death

Additional Background Information:

- James Taylor was employed by Mr. John Silcox, the father of James Taylor's alleged victim, Nellie Catherine Silcox.[1010] (Nettie). He lived with the family for approximately two years.[1011]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: May 16, 1892, in Chestertown, Kent County, Maryland

Description of Alleged Crime: James Taylor was accused of raping the 11-year-old[1012] daughter, Nellie Silcox while she was doing her chores.

Victim of Alleged Crime: Nellie Catherine Silcox (local, child, female, white)

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: James Taylor (local, adult, male, Black)

Witness Statements or Claims: There are no documented witnesses of the alleged crime

Additional Details: Accounts of the alleged attack primarily come from *The Chestertown Transcript.* According to this news outlet, on the morning of May 16, 1892 Nellie Silcox was in the home alone while her father, Mr. John Silcox, was out in the barn making preparations for the day and her mother, Mrs. John Silcox, who suffered from deafness, was in the cellar skimming milk. While Nellie Silcox was in the kitchen, James Taylor allegedly came in and grabbed her around the waist, pulled her onto his lap, placed his hand over her mouth to muffle her cries, and assaulted her. After the assault, James Taylor allegedly threatened Nellie Silcox not to tell anyone of the incident.[1013]

John Silcox reportedly returned to the kitchen around 8 a.m. where he found Nellie Silcox washing dishes, crying and she appeared to be "very nervous and excited."[1014] When John Silcox inquired what was wrong, Nellie Silcox stated that she was not feeling well and he suggested she lay down. Nellie's mother found her lying on a lounge chair and sent her to her bed to rest. Mrs. John Silcox soon discovered spots of blood on Nellie's clothing,

and upon examining found that her clothing was saturated with blood. Nellie's mother called upon Dr. J.K.H. Jacobs of Kennedyville to examine Nellie. It was while she was being examined that Nellie informed Dr. Jacobs and her mother of the alleged assault and named James Taylor as the assailant.

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

According to a *Pittsburgh Press* article, James Taylor allegedly fled to a small house outside of Kennedyville in Segar's bottom. A group of men found him, surrounded the house, and gave Taylor orders to come out and surrender. The article stated that James Taylor attempted to make an escape through a back window but with several revolvers pointed at him he was ordered to come out by the door, which he allegedly did, quietly surrendering. The article also stated that blood was found on his clothing.[1015]

James Taylor was taken to Chestertown and lodged in jail by Lewis. C. Justes, John Medders, John Silcox (Nellie's father), and John Nurlock. Reports state that before James Taylor was taken to Chestertown he was taken to Kennedyville where "excitement ran high, and it was only by the strongest arguments of the older citizens that [James Taylor] escaped immediate lynching."[1016]

Role of Authorities:

- Deputy Sheriff Frank Plummer was responsible for keeping James Taylor safe. News articles speak favorably of Sheriff Plummer's attempts to keep James Taylor safe:
    - A *Buffalo News* article stated "the authorities (Sheriff Frank Plummer) tried in all possible ways to prevent the lynching of Taylor when the jail was threatened on Monday night by the lynching parties." [1017]
    - "[Sheriff Frank Plummer] had not been idle, and was determined to do his duty and protect his prisoner [James Taylor]...He knew that Jim Taylor would never live to meet his trial if the people of Kent County could reach him. Like a conscientious officer, however, he took his measures."[1018]
    - In an alleged account from Sheriff Frank Plummer he stated: "If [James Taylor] had been lynched Sunday night it would have been no concern of mine, but since they have brought him to me and placed him under the law, I shall do my whole duty."[1019]
- "[James Taylor] was brought to Chestertown and lodged in jail by Lewis C. Justes, John Medders, John Silcox and John Nurlock."[1020]
- Once James Taylor was returned to the jail, guards were placed outside to "protect him," but accounts on how many differ:
    - According to the *Baltimore Sun*, "guards were placed about the jail and relieved every hour."[1021]
    - Deputy Sheriff Frank Plummer and Officer Kelly A.G. Dugan were reported to be on guard.[1022]
    - According to the *Delaware Gazette and State Journal* "50-300 persons guarded the jail all day [yesterday]."[1023]
    - Another source stated that a guard of 10 men were at the jail and relieved every hour to watch and see that James Taylor would not "get away again."[1024]
- Despite these futile attempts to keep James Taylor safe, ***city officials approved the lynching of James Taylor***:
    - "At [a] meeting, a representative from the commissioners of Chestertown appeared before [the lynchers] and made one request in their behalf and

it was that [James Taylor] be carried to Kennedyville before being hung. This the men would not agree to, but said they would promise not to lynch [James Taylor] within the town limits as far as was in their power."[1025]

- "...This representative also requested the leader of the men, whom he did not know, not to riddle the man's body or mutilate it in any way. This was heartily [unrecognizable word] to. They stated that their object in resolving to do this thing was for the betterment of the county, the protection of wives, mothers, and children, and for the protection of a poor ruined girl."[1026]
- From *The Pittsburgh Press*: "No one dared to interfere with the desperate men, who had been thoroughly worked up…by this crime."[1027]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 23[1028]

Date and Time: May 17, 1892, around 9:30 p.m.

Location of Lynching: Chestertown (or Kennedyville), Kent County, Maryland

At what point did the lynching take place? After James Taylor was apprehended and detained, but before any trial.

Method of Lynching: Hanging

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local law enforcement play in the lynching?** Preventative (through action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

Almost every news source that mentions the mob stated that it was comprised of known and highly regarded individuals from Chestertown, which belies the verdict of the coroner's inquest that James Taylor died at the hands of "unknown parties":

- "Five hundred persons were engaged in the lynching, some of them connected with the best families in town."[1029]
- Reported that "all the leading people of the town were in the mob."[1030]
- "The vigilantes included Chestertown's Best Citizens."[1031]
- "Nearly all the leading persons of the town were in the mob."[1032]
- "An infuriated posse of citizens at Chestertown, Md."[1033]

Despite numerous sources using the verbiage that the mob consisted of "leading people of the town"/"the best families in town" and reporting of commissioners representing actually meeting with members of the mob to negotiate with them, the coroner's jury decided that James Taylor came to his death at the hands of "unknown men."[1034]

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Asphyxiated

Additional Details:

On the night of May 16, 1892, Deputy Sheriff Frank Plummer took James Taylor and another prisoner named Moses Brown from the jail and on a tugboat named Gracie that was owned by a Mr. Joseph Turner to allegedly avoid a lynching the night he was placed in the Chestertown jail. The prisoners were taken to Wilmer's Wharf on the Queen Anne's side of the Chesapeake Bay.

He reportedly stated "we steamed down the river as far as Hubbard's when the engineer Deputy Silcox, who is the uncle of the outraged girl, found out who the passengers were, and he immediately protested but finding that it was useless to protest, he finally submitted…We then went on to Wilmer's wharf on the Queen Anne's side, opposite of B.N.S Walkin's place, on the Kent shore and there we stayed until 2:30 A.M.. We noticed some persons on the Kent shore and then started back with our prisoner to Chestertown, which we reached at 3:30 A.M. I went ashore and found about twenty-five men lying in wait for us and immediately returned to the tug and steamed about the river until 5 o'clock, when I brought my prisoners to jail unmolested."[1035]

Several groups of men attempted to locate James Taylor, and according to multiple newspaper reports, an estimated 500 people eventually gathered around the jail and courthouse, forming a mob.. *The Baltimore Sun*, May 18, noted that some of the "most estimable and quiet men of Kent County, men who take the most prominent part in its affairs" were among the mob. Alerted to the threat of vigilante violence, Sheriff Plummer also shared that "he was entertaining one of the men in my room."[1036] The crowd dispersed after Taylor's whereabouts could not be confirmed. One group of men located the tugboat. When they checked the cabin, they did not see James Taylor or Moses Brown on board. The men left the vessel and Sheriff Plummer placed James Taylor and Moses Brown back into the jail around 5:00 a.m. on the morning of May 19.[1037]

Upon James Taylor's return to jail, a group of the lynchers met with city commissioners to set the terms for his lynching. "At [a] meeting, a representative from the commissioners of Chestertown appeared before [the lynchers] and made one request on their behalf and it was that [James Taylor] be carried to Kennedyville before being hanged. This the men would not agree to, but said they would promise not to lynch [James Taylor] within the town limits as far as was in their power."[1038] "This representative also requested the leader of the men, whom he did not know, not to riddle the man's body or mutilate it in any way. This was heartily [unrecognizable word] to. They stated that their object in resolving to do this thing was for the betterment of the county, the protection of wives, mothers, and children, and for the protection of a poor ruined girl."[1039]

By 9:00 p.m. the night of May 17, 1892, between 500-1,000 men and women gathered at the jail. A body of masked men carrying an assortment of weapons demanded the Sheriff open the jail's door. When the Sheriff refused, the men used a sledgehammer to breach the door, rushed in, and swiftly overpowered the Sheriff and other officers on duty.

James Taylor was in cell, No. 6[1040] and protested his innocence to the very end. In a *Delaware Gazette* article included dialogue from a supposed conversation between James Taylor and his cell mate: "'Jim,' asked his cell-mate, 'do you know what is going on outside?' 'Yes, sir. They is gwine to kill me, I rekon.' ' Are you ready to die?' he was asked, 'Yes, sir; I think I am. I have belonged to the church for three years and I feel prepared to go.' 'Now, Jim, tell us whether you did the crime they say you did.' 'No sir; I am an innocent man, and I am not afraid to say so even while I am expecting to meet my God in a few minutes.' He was told how awful it was to die with a lie on his lips, and he replied that he knew it. These were the last words he was heard to utter."[1041]

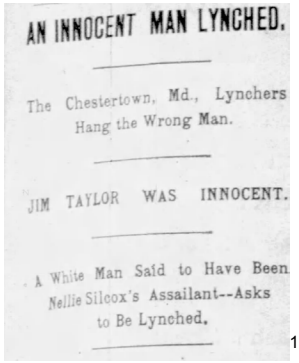
The mob placed a rope around James Taylor's neck and dragged him down the steps and out of the jail into Cross Street. They hanged him from a tree just outside the city limits at a point between the "Rockwell House and the old Armstrong Hotel." James Taylor was left hanging in public view until he was clearly deceased—a deliberate and violent display meant to terrorize others. According to reports, every man in the crowd was armed, and cries of 'Don't shoot,' arose and not a shot was fired.[1042] Another report states "some one hung a lantern in such a position that the light shone on the body, and it was viewed by many persons, who shuddered as they saw the body of the brute swaying in the night air."[1043]

At around 11:00/11:30 p.m., Coroner Robert K. Pippin directed Officer Kelly to cut the body down and place it in an old engine house for the night by Undertaker John N. Dodd.[1044]"[James Taylor's] body was turned over to Undertaker John N. Dodd, who prepared it for burial, and took it out to the almshouse on Wednesday afternoon, at half-past four, and buried it in the pauper burying ground."[1045]

Members of the coroner's inquest jury included: Foreman, Lewin S. Fowler; J.W. Lambert; J.K. Aldridge; M.A. Toulson; W.T. Matthews; T.S. Birdley; B.N.A. Wilkins; C.C. Morgan; A.I. Dugan; George B. Westcott; and T.W. Ellason, Jr. Despite widespread acknowledgment that James Taylor's lynchers were well-known and respected members of the Chestertown community—and despite clear evidence that town officials had communicated directly with the mob and attempted to negotiate the conditions under which the lynching would take place—the jury issued a verdict that Taylor had died at the hands of "unknown men."[1046] This verdict was not simply a failure of justice; it was a willful act of denial that enabled known perpetrators of racial violence to escape all accountability. The actions of both the town commission and the coroner's jury exemplified a broader pattern of institutional collusion and moral abdication, where local power structures actively protected white mobs rather than uphold the rule of law or the basic dignity of Black life.

Aftermath

A week after James Taylor was lynched, The York Dispatch titles ran the article "An Innocent Man Lynched | The Chestertown, Md., Lynchers Hang the Wrong Man | A White Man Said to Have Been Nellie Silcox's Assailant–Asks to be Lynched," stating that "the white man who was working for Mr. Silcox disappeared on the day that the crime was committed and has not been seen since, and that Nellie asserts that this man committed the crime for which Jim Taylor was lynched."[1047]

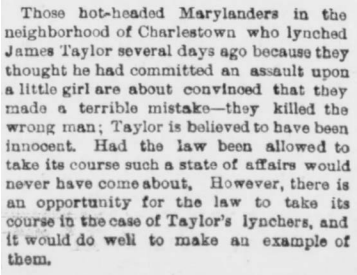

AN INNOCENT MAN LYNCHED.

The Chestertown, Md., Lynchers Hang the Wrong Man.

JIM TAYLOR WAS INNOCENT.

A White Man Said to Have Been Nellie Silcox's Assailant--Asks to Be Lynched.

[1048]


Those hot-headed Marylanders in the neighborhood of Charlestown who lynched James Taylor several days ago because they thought he had committed an assault upon a little girl are about convinced that they made a terrible mistake—they killed the wrong man; Taylor is believed to have been innocent. Had the law been allowed to take its course such a state of affairs would never have come about. However, there is an opportunity for the law to take its course in the case of Taylor's lynchers, and it would do well to make an example of them.[1049]

A news source in Savannah, Georgia also reported that James Taylor was perceived to be innocent and refers to members of the mob as "hot-headed Marylanders," and suggests that it would be beneficial to make an example of them.[1050]

We found no documentation of an apology and/or retribution for James Taylor's murder.

Reaction from the Community:

The following accounts are found in a *Delaware Gazette* article "Jim Taylor's Just Fate" and related articles:[1051]

- "The colored people are very indignant at the affair, but nothing has developed here yet."
- "The colored citizens of the town, so far as we can learn by interviewing some of the most respectable ones, are in sympathy with the lynching."[1052]
- "Dan Wright was committed to jail for denouncing the affair and shaking his fist in a white man's face and being generally disorderly today."
- "Notices were sent to the brother and family of the lynched negro and to the others of that neighborhood to leave under penalty. The colored folks were also warned against congregating on the crossroad in the village and making it unsafe for ladies to pass."
- "Threats by Negroes | Revengeful Feelings Excited by the Lynching of Jim Taylor at Chestertown"
    - 'A meeting of colored men was held in Chestertown, Friday, at which it was determined to "boycott" the white men who engaged in the recent lynching affair. The sheriff received a letter dated Baltimore, May 19th, in which it was stated that a mob was going to Chestertown to burn the town down for lynching Taylor. The letter states that no one will know what boat they are coming on. The letter is signed "Nigo Colored Mob," and is believed to be the [idle vaporing] of some irresponsible person, for which the colored people in the city are not responsible."[1053]

Media Coverage:

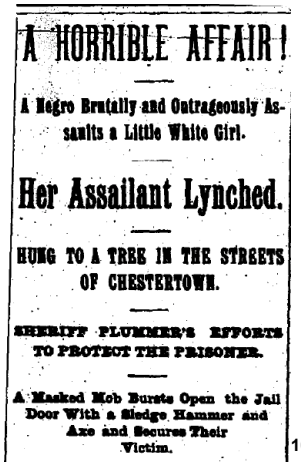
- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** A particularly heinous crime
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Mixed. Some sources discouraged lynching while others continuously reported on the excitement of the time and provided lynchers with information on James Taylor's whereabouts.
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Mixed

Below are some examples of how the media played into James Taylor's lynching and/or favored the lynchers over James Taylor's humanity:

- A *Baltimore Sun* reporter allegedly informed the public that James Taylor was returned to jail after spending the evening on a tug boat.[1054]

- There's discussion of an "orderly crowd" that lynched James Taylor[1055]
- Despite no concrete evidence that James Taylor assaulted Nellie Silcox, newspapers like *The Pittsburgh Press* printed statements like "Taylor's guilt was beyond question"[1056] and other newspapers like the *Missoula Gazette* in Montana made definitive statements like "James Taylor, the negro who ravished Nellie Wilcox."[1057]
- *The Baltimore Sun* reported when James Taylor was arrested and put in Chestertown jail and it was this announcement that led to a crowd beginning to gather around the court-house and jail.[1058]

Headlines


A HORRIBLE AFFAIR!

A Negro Brutally and Outrageously Assaults a Little White Girl.

Her Assailant Lynched.

HUNG TO A TREE IN THE STREETS OF CHESTERTOWN.

SHERIFF PLUMMER'S EFFORTS TO PROTECT THE PRISONER.

A Masked Mob Bursts Open the Jail Door With a Sledge Hammer and Axe and Secures Their Victim.

1059

HANGED BY A MOB.

James Taylor, the Negro Who Assaulted Nellie Silcox,

WAS LYNCHED AT MIDNIGHT.

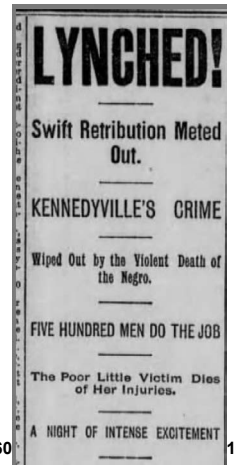
The Vigilantes Included Chestertown's Best Citizens.

FIFTY GUARDS OVERPOWERED.

People Determined Justice Should Not be Cheated.

TAYLOR'S VICTIM WILL LIKELY DIE.

1060


LYNCHED!

Swift Retribution Meted Out.

KENNEDYVILLE'S CRIME

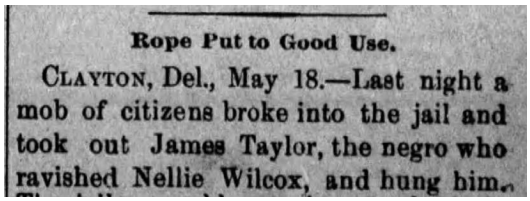
Wiped Out by the Violent Death of the Negro.

FIVE HUNDRED MEN DO THE JOB

The Poor Little Victim Dies of Her Injuries.

A NIGHT OF INTENSE EXCITEMENT

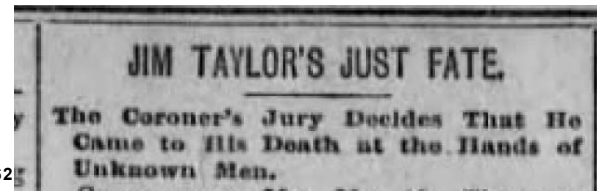
1061


Rope Put to Good Use.

CLAYTON, Del., May 18.—Last night a mob of citizens broke into the jail and took out James Taylor, the negro who ravished Nellie Wilcox, and hung him.

1062

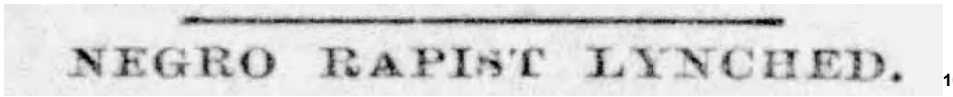
1063


JIM TAYLOR'S JUST FATE.

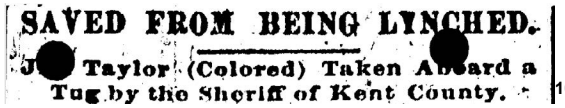
The Coroner's Jury Decides That He Came to His Death at the Hands of Unknown Men.

Negro Ravisher Lynched.

1064

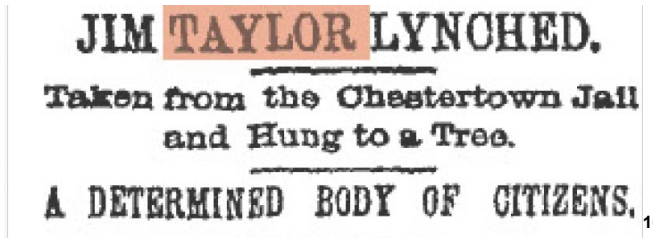

NEGRO RAPIST LYNCHED.

1065


SAVED FROM BEING LYNCHED.

J[redacted] Taylor (Colored) Taken Aboard a Tug by the Sheriff of Kent County.

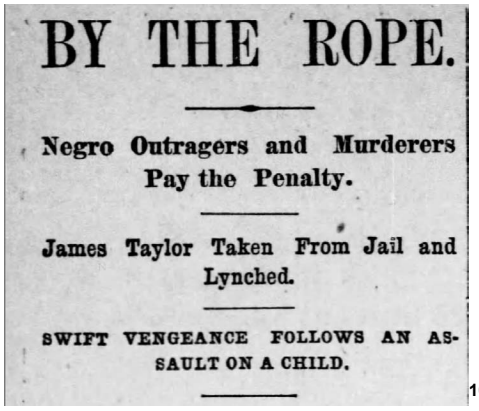
1066


JIM TAYLOR LYNCHED.

Taken from the Chestertown Jail and Hung to a Tree.

A DETERMINED BODY OF CITIZENS.

1067



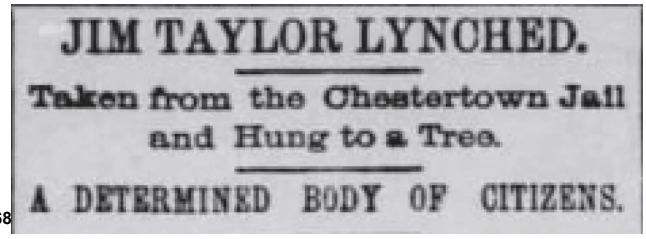
BY THE ROPE.

Negro Outragers and Murderers Pay the Penalty.

James Taylor Taken From Jail and Lynched.

SWIFT VENGEANCE FOLLOWS AN ASSAULT ON A CHILD.

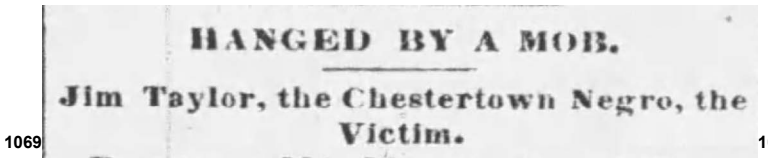
1068



JIM TAYLOR LYNCHED.

Taken from the Chestertown Jail and Hung to a Tree.

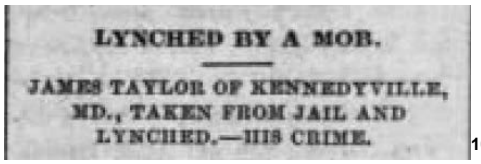
A DETERMINED BODY OF CITIZENS.



HANGED BY A MOB.

Jim Taylor, the Chestertown Negro, the Victim.

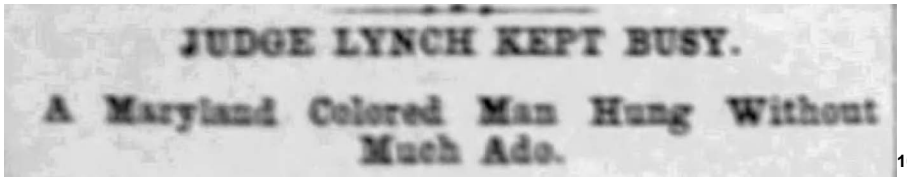
1069 1070



LYNCHED BY A MOB.

JAMES TAYLOR OF KENNEDYVILLE, MD., TAKEN FROM JAIL AND LYNCHED.—HIS CRIME.

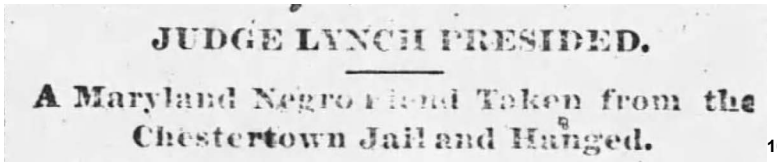
1071



JUDGE LYNCH KEPT BUSY.

A Maryland Colored Man Hung Without Much Ado.

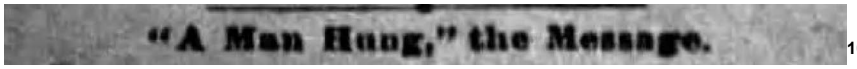
1072



JUDGE LYNCH PRESIDED.

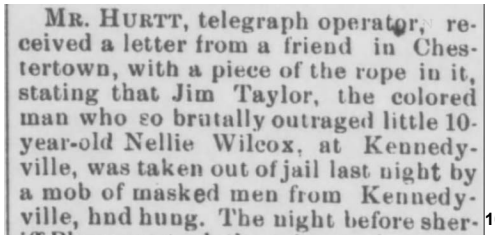
A Maryland Negro Fiend Taken from the Chestertown Jail and Hanged.

1073



"A Man Hung," the Message.

1074

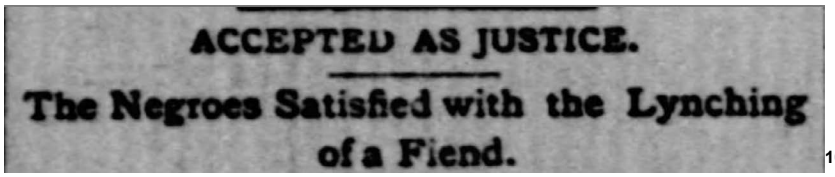


Mr. Hurtt, telegraph operator, received a letter from a friend in Chestertown, with a piece of the rope in it, stating that Jim Taylor, the colored man who so brutally outraged little 10-year-old Nellie Wilcox, at Kennedyville, was taken out of jail last night by a mob of masked men from Kennedyville, hnd hung. The night before sher-

1075

THE LYNCHINGS CONTINUE.

1076



ACCEPTED AS JUSTICE.

The Negroes Satisfied with the Lynching of a Fiend.

1077

Legal/Political Consequences:

Despite James Taylor's innocence being proven after his lynching; false claims that Nellie Silcox died due to her injuries; and documented accounts that James Taylor's lynchers were well known and highly regarded members of the community, no legal or political

consequences were faced. There is also no documented account of reparations for James Taylor's family due to his lynching/wrongful execution.

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: There is no documented evidence of the immediate cultural and political significance of James Taylor's lynching, but it set a precedent for prominent members and political figures within a community getting away with the killing of a Black man at the word of a white female, without substantial evidence or a trial.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements?

There are no known and/or explicit legislative changes or social movements that were sparked by the lynching of James Taylor in Kent County, Maryland.

Memorialization/Commemoration: There are no known memorials acknowledging the lynching of James Taylor in Kent County, Maryland. Formed in 2019, the James Taylor Justice Coalition has worked to erect a marker to not only acknowledge James Taylor's life but so "Chestertown can acknowledge the past failures and own up to the truth of the past to get healing in the future."[1078] As of March 2024, there were still disagreements among citizens and organizations in Kent County about where James Taylor's marker should go with a representative from the Chestertown Garden Club advocating against its location in the park stating that "in her opinion, the club worked hard for years to beautify that area. She said it was once almost destined to be a parking lot and then sidewalks, lighting, trees and shrubs were put in to make a 'peaceful green place.'"[1079]

Ongoing Influence: Because James Taylor's lynching took place later in the 19th century and was the first and only documented racial terror lynching in Kent County, it likely set a precedent for prominent members and political figures in Kent County for getting away with terrorizing and killing Black men at the word of a white female, without substantial evidence or a trial. There is also likely lasting trauma for his descendants and the Black community of Kent County, Maryland, especially in the absence of a formal apology or public acknowledgement of James Taylor's innocents.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

Despite some variations in facts like the ages of James Taylor and Nellie Silcox and the timing of events, there are two main controversies around this case. 1) Nellie Silcox did not die from her injuries and 2) James Taylor was innocent.

- The *Chestertown Transcript* article from May 19, 1892 stated that it was feared the tremendous amount of blood loss would threaten Nettie's life and that she would not make it through the night but her condition improved.[1080]
    - A *Middletown Transcript* article from the same day (May 19, 1892) says that the girl (Nellie) died Tuesday morning (May 17, 1892).[1081]
    - "Little Nellie Silcox, the victim of the negro's brutality, died yesterday."[1082]
    - "The little girl died Tuesday morning."[1083]
- A *Delaware Gazette and State Journal* article debunks the rumors of Nellie's death*:* "Although reports were widely circulated yesterday that Nellie Silcox, the victim of Jim Taylor, was lynched, had died from the effects of the brutal assault on her, the child is still alive."[1084]

    - “The little victim, Nellie Silcox, is better this afternoon, but is still in critical condition.”[1085]
- James Taylor was lynched for a crime that was later proven to have been carried out by a white man who was working for Mr. Silcox. The man disappeared on the day that the crime was committed and had not been seen since. Nellie asserted that this man, in fact, attacked her.[1086]

QUEEN ANNE'S COUNTY LYNCHING CASES

Case Study: John Fields
(Queen Anne's County)

Basic Information

Full Name: John Fields

Date of Birth: 1835

Place of Birth: Kent Island, Queen Anne's County, MD

Occupation/Background: John Fields was enslaved to James Stevens in Kent Island[1087]

Marital Status: Unknown, likely unmarried.[1088]

Family and Personal Background:

- There is no known information on John Fields' family or personal background.

Additional Background Information:

- There is no known additional background information on John Fields.

Alleged Crime

The specific date and location of the alleged crime involving John Fields remain uncertain, though it likely occurred either on Kent Island, where Fields was enslaved, or in Queenstown, Maryland, the residence of Josephine Sherwood.

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: Unknown. Likely either Kent Island, where John Fields was enslaved, or Queenstown where Josephine Sherwood resided.

Description of Alleged Crime: John Fields was accused of engaging in a consensual intimate relationship with the seventeen-year-old daughter of a white farmer. This young woman was likely Josephine Sherwood, the daughter of Benjamin Sherwood, a local farmer. Census records from the time show she lived with her father, a brother, and a sister.[1089]

In 1863, Maryland enforced strict anti-miscegenation laws that criminalized marriages and sexual relationships between white and Black individuals. As one of the first colonies to enact such laws, Maryland treated any intimate interracial relationship as a criminal offense, regardless of whether it was consensual.[1090] According to available records, if John Fields did have a relationship with Josephine Sherwood, she too was charged—specifically indicted for giving birth to a "negro or mulatto child" in April 1863.[1091]

The allegation came to light when the young woman became pregnant and confessed to her father, reportedly naming John Fields as the father. Following this, the father contacted James Stevens, the man who enslaved John Fields, to investigate the claim. A report in *The Baltimore Sun* stated that John Fields allegedly confessed to Stevens during the inquiry. However, no additional documentation exists to confirm this alleged confession beyond the newspaper's account.[1092]

While Josephine Sherwood is believed to have been the woman involved, her identity has not been definitively confirmed. The charges against Fields stemmed not only from this supposed relationship but from the broader social and legal context of racial hierarchy and criminalization of interracial intimacy in Civil War-era Maryland.[1093]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Likely Josephine Sherwood (white, female)

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: John Fields (Black, male)

Witness Statements or Claims: The *Baltimore Sun* claims that the farmer's daughter "laid the charge to the negro" and that John Fields admitted to James Stevens that he had an intimate relationship with the farmer's daughter[1094] but there is no documented evidence outside of this article and other syndicated versions of this narrative that were printed in the *Smyrna Times (Delaware)* and *Sunday Dispatch* under different headers. This accusation triggered swift retaliation before any formal legal proceedings could take place.

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: The daughter of a prominent farmer in Queenstown became pregnant and named John Fields as the father.

Role of Authorities: Unknown

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 28

Date and Time: April 24, 1863

Location of Lynching: Queenstown, Queen Anne's County, MD

At what point did the lynching take place? After accusation but prior to trial

Method of Lynching: Hanging

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Asphyxiated

Additional Details: John Fields was taken by a mob and hanged. According to *The Baltimore Sun*, John Fields was "hung on the roadside, about a half a mile from Queenstown" and in the *Cecil Whig,* close to 30 years after John Fields' lynching, states that he was "hanged on a hickory tree on the farm of Robert J. Wilson near Queenstown."

Details about the individuals involved in the lynching remain unclear, and there is no documented information regarding the actions or responses of local or state authorities.

The roles of the judiciary, executive officials, and law enforcement at both the local and state levels are unknown.[1095]

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community:

There is no known coverage of an immediate reaction from the community regarding John Fields' lynching.

Media Coverage:

The *Baltimore Sun* is the main newspaper evidence we have of John Fields' lynching and their article is titled "A White Girl Seduced By A Slave" despite the consensual nature of the relationship. John Field's lynching is also mentioned in *Cecil Whig*, a local newspaper that covered Cecil County, Maryland, in 1891.

- **What was the disposition of the press toward alleged crime?** Outraged
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Affirming

Headlines

PREVIOUS LYNCHINGS.

There have been two other lynchings in Queen Anne's county in its history. John Fields was hung by a mob near Queenstown in the early sixties for criminal intimacy with a white girl. The man was simply taken by infuriated people and hanged on a hickory tree, on the farm of Robert J. Wilson, near Queenstown. The second case was that [1096]

A WHITE GIRL SEDUCED BY A SLAVE.

The Negro Hung.—The Denton (Md.) Union, of the 23d instant, contains the following: [1097]

FOUND HUNG.—A negro man, belonging to a Mr. Stevens, of Kent Island, was found hanging to a tree a short distance from Queentown, on Friday last. His hands and feet being tied, is evidence that he was hung by foul means.—*Centreville Citizen.* [1098]

NEGRO HUNG.—A negro man, the slave of Mr. Jas. Stevens, residing on Kent Island, Queen Ann's county, was hung near Queenstown on Friday night last. He had had illicit connection with the daughter of a highly respectable farmer living near that place, and she proving to be *encienta*, the outraged parent demanded to know who was the fiend in human shape who had thus invaded his domestic circle and blasted his fond hopes and ruined his child.—The young lady who is about seventeen, and withal rather handsome, confessed her guilt and laid the charge to the negro. The father, desiring further information, sent for the negro's master, and communicated the fact to him. The master sent for the slave, and in his presence acknowledged he was the guilty party. The negro, according to the best evidence that could be obtained, was believed to be guilty, and was hung as before stated, on Friday night last, on the roadside, about a half a mile from Queenstown.—*Denton* (Md.) *Union.* [1099]

Legal/Political Consequences:

Due to the fact that John Fields was enslaved and considered property of James Stevens, there was likely no legal and/or political consequences of John Fields' lynching.

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: Due to the fact that John Fields was enslaved and considered property of James Stevens, there was likely no immediate cultural and/or political significance surrounding the lynching of John Fields.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? Due to the fact that John Fields was enslaved and considered property of James Stevens, there was likely no immediate legislative changes or social movements surrounding his lynching. However, the event took place during the American Civil War—a time of intense political and racial tensions, particularly in a divided border state like Maryland. While John Fields' lynching itself did not prompt formal action, the broader wartime climate, marked by acts of racial violence and control, likely influenced Black Marylanders to flee or enlist in the Union Army following the establishment of the United States Colored Troops in 1863. The use of mob violence, such as the lynching of John Fields, was part of a broader effort to suppress Black agency and maintain white supremacy during a pivotal moment in American history.

Memorialization/Commemoration: There are no known memorials or commemorations regarding the lynching of John Fields in Queen Anne's County, Maryland.

Ongoing Influence: Although not explicitly documented, John Fields' lynching would have contributed to a climate of fear, trauma, and anger not only within his family and the broader community, but for any other Black man that considered engaging in an intimate relationship with a white woman.

Additional Notes

- **Controversies or Discrepancies**: It is unknown if the woman that John Fields had a relationship with was Josephine Sherwood or another woman.

Case Study: Asbury Green
(Queen Anne's County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Asbury Green

Date of Birth: ~1866[1100]

Place of Birth: Unknown

Occupation/Background: Laborer

Marital Status: Married

Family and Personal Background:

- Only a few newspapers make mention of Asbury Green's personal life. We know that he was married[1101] but don't know if he had any children or where he was born.

Additional Background Information:

- Worked for the Tolson family[1102] for eight years and occupied the tenant house on their Kent Island farm.[1103]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: February 28, 1891

Description of Alleged Crime: Asbury Green was arrested, tried, and convicted of assaulting Mary Ann Tolson, the wife of his long-term employer, Mr. Howard Tolson. The *Baltimore Sun* and some other newspapers stated that Asbury Green "assaulted and attempted to rape" Mary Ann Tolson,[1104] while some say that Mary Ann Tolson was assaulted and others state that Asbury Green raped her.[1105] [1106] This discrepancy is also present in the official court documents. Court documents show a discrepancy between the early presentment, which alleged assault and attempted rape, and the grand jury indictment the following day, which charged assault and rape.[1107]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Mrs. Howard (Mary Ann) Tolson (female, white, adult, local)

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Asbury Green (male, Black, adult, local)

Witness Statements or Claims:

- Four Black men, including a man by the name of Daniel Smith, testified on Asbury Green's behalf during his trial, providing alibis for his whereabouts until 11:00 pm on the night in question, and at the time when the alleged assault occurred.[1108]
- Mary Ann Tolson's mother testified that her daughter told her about her assault right after it happened and that Mary Ann Tolsen named Asbury Green as the assailant.[1109]
- Mary Ann Tolson swore she knew Asbury Green and identified him as her assailant.[1110]
- Asbury Green testified on his own behalf, stating that "he was at Daniel Smith's [one of the witnesses who testified for him] until late, and then went home to bed."[1111]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

Asbury Green was a laborer who worked and lived on Howard Tolson's Kent Island farm for eight years.[1112] Mary Ann Tolson (Howard Tolson's wife) testified that, on the evening of February 28, 1891, her husband left home for the village about 9 o'clock P.M. and returned by [11:30] P.M." At about 11:05, a rap came on the door.[1113] Expecting her husband she inquired, "Howard is that you?" The voice which replied seemed familiar and she opened the door a little. It was then that Mary Ann Tolson stated that Asbury Green rushed upon her as she tried to fight him off. She testified that he threw something over her head and overpowered her, notwithstanding her resistance and screams for help.[1114] Mary Ann Tolson continued to testify that her assailant threatened to kill her if she continued to scream and was eventually scared away by the sound of her barking dog in the yard. When the assailant ran he pulled the cover from her face, which allowed her to see who it was. Despite it being night, Mary Ann Tolson testified that the lamp from the dining room made her recognition complete.[1115]

According to Mary Ann Tolson's testimony, she told her husband that "a scamp had been there and scared her nearly to death," and that he was a Negro but that she didn't tell him who it was for fear that it would get Asbury Green killed.[1116]

Howard Tolson also testified that his wife told him the night of the alleged assault that a negro has been there and committed an assault.[1117]

Mary Ann Tolson's mother (Sallie D. Norman) testified that Mary Ann told her on March 10, 1891 that the assailant was Asbury Green. On March 11, 1891, Sallie telegraphed her husband (William B. Norman) informing him that Asbury Green was the suspected assailant. William Norman came to Centerville from Baltimore on Thursday, March 12th and Asbury Green was arrested on Saturday, March 14, 1891.[1118]

News articles state that the Tolson family only wanted Asbury Green tried for attempted assault to "save [their] daughter's reputation"[1119] and that they thought Asbury Green's punishment would be the same, alluding that they believed Asbury Green may have sexually assaulted Mary Ann Tolson despite initially not reporting it. John O. Phillips, the justice, also stated that the preliminary hearing was held at Mr. Tolson's house in order to keep the matter as quiet as possible.[1120] Asbury Green original charge of "assault with the intent rape"[1121] from the preliminary hearing was thwarted due to additional testimony against Asbury Green. A *Centerville Record* article even went as far to write:

> "The only charge there made was 'an assault with intent to rape.' It was upon this charge that Green was committed and the citizens of Kent Island and the county also believed that to be the extent of the crime. Thus the matter rested until the grand jury was sworn in [May 11, 1891]. The jury in the discharge of its duty brought out the facts and the community was astonished at the brutality and extent of Green's offense…the stoutest hearted of sturdy men shed tears as Mrs. Tolson told, in tears and between sobs of sorrow, the torture she endured in the hands of the negro."[1122]

There was also overwhelming evidence in Asbury Green's favor, including alibis and doubt surrounding Mary Ann Tolson's identification of Asbury Green as her assailant. Charles Sherwood, Daniel Smith, and two other Black men, testified that Asbury Green was with them the night of the alleged attack. Daniel Smith and Asbury Green, himself, testified to him spending the evening at the house of Daniel Smith's father prior to going home to bed.[1123] According to another *Baltimore Sun* article, the court regarded Asbury Green's alibi as complete, except a short interval, but unfortunately it was a critical time just when the

assault was committed.[1124] The court also felt that "the only weak point in the prosecution was the identity of the prisoner [Asbury Green]."[1125]

> "As explained by Judge Stump, Tolson's house faces south; the moon had not been up more than three-quarters of an hour; the dining-room lamp was not in front of the hall door, and consequently when Mrs. Tolson met Green at the door, and seeing him only for an instant, she might have been mistaken."[1126]

Despite the evidence in support of Asbury Green's innocence, the jury was not convinced and after only a day of trial and a 20 minute deliberation[1127], Asbury Green was found guilty on the charge of rape on May 12, 1891 and sentenced to 21-years of confinement and hard labor in the state penitentiary. The court did not sentence Green to death because there was doubt that Asbury Green was the attacker.[1128]

Role of Authorities:

- Three judges presided over Asbury Green's trial: Judges Robinson and Wickes, with Judge Stump presiding. They found holes in the Tolson testimony and avoided sentencing Asbury Green to death.
- Sheriff Thomas B. Turner increased the number of guards at the jailhouse after Asbury Green's sentencing in case there was an attempt to lynch him. According to an article in the *Evening Journal,* "Sheriff T.B. Turner and his deputy. F. Frank Seward anticipated trouble and swore in Joseph B. Corsey, Joseph M. Simmons, James Seward, George Rimmer, Eliphus Yates, and John Seward to assist in guarding the prisoner."[1129] Despite this increase in protection, there are no accounts of where these additional men were when the mob broke into the jail. A *Centerville Record* article actually states that "the corridor and cell doors were unlocked," demonstrating a lack of precaution to protect Asbury Green.

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: ~25

Date and Time: May 13, 1891

Location of Lynching: Centreville, Queen Anne's County, Maryland

At what point did the lynching take place? After Asbury Green was sentenced to 21 years imprisonment and hard labor, a punishment less than death by the court.

Method of Lynching: Dragging, Hanging, Shooting

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local law enforcement play in the lynching?** Preventative (though action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Mutilated

Additional Details:

One *Baltimore Sun* article provides a statement about the legality of Asbury Green's sentencing while most other articles speak as if it was the right of the citizens of Queen Anne's to lynch Asbury Green. In the aforementioned article The Sun states:

> "No excitement whatever attended the sentence of Green, though a large crowd was about the court-house. Very few people followed the prisoner back to jail. There seems to be a general disposition to abide by the result of the trial, and this has been encouraged by the prudent course of the court in passing the sentence."[1130]

Another *Baltimore Sun* article says that "a large crowd of people followed the prisoner to the jail, but strict order was preserved, and he was safely locked up."[1131]

This recount of the climate after Asbury Green's sentencing was not universal. Many accounts mention that citizens in the town expressed outrage that Asbury Green had not been sentenced to death. For example, a *Cecil Whig* article wrote that "the crime for which Asbury Green was convicted by a jury, is one of the most atrocious in the calendar. Peaceful communities everywhere look upon it with the least degree of patience, and are not disposed to tolerate any delay or miscarriage of justice in such cases."[1132] An *Evening Journal* article stated, "something was in the air and the inhabitants of [Centreville] expected the tragedy which followed."[1133]Newspapers across the country carried the story of Asbury Green's lynching with the same verbiage: "The community were exasperated at Green's escape from the death penalty, and took the law into their own hands."[1134]

Around 1:00 a.m. the morning of May 13, 1891 a mob of around 100 masked men formed about 400 yards from town. It's reported that members of the mob came in canoes up the Corsica River and by carriage and horseback to the meeting place. They kept quiet so that their presence was not known until they marched in double file within fifty yards of the jail.[1135]

The *Evening Journal* reported Deputy T. Frank Seward (deputy to Sheriff T. B. Turner) accounts of that night:

> "The mob reached the jail gate at five minutes after 1 o'clock. Sixty men were masked and forty were not, the masks covered their cheeks and eyes, and some of them blackened their foreheads, while others had their coats turned inside out. Everyone was armed. The leader was tall and well built. He asked for me I replied 'Here I am, what's the matter?' no answer was given, but the mob made a rush for the door. I stopped the foremost, and ordered them back. Half a dozen of them pointed their weapons at me and demanded the keys. When refused they rushed against me and pushed me to the wall, and one of them choked me while the keys were taken from my pocket. They found their way to the jail, which leads from the sheriff's office. At this moment, Sheriff Turner appeared at the head of the stairway. They saw him and covered him with weapons, ordering him to stay where he was. He stayed there. My deputies were forced to submit. The rooms were full of men, but I did not know any of them."[1136]

Deputy T. Frank Seward's recounting of the night continues:

> "[The mob] went into the jail corridor and found Asbury Green asleep in his cell. He was jerked from his bed, and a rope tied in hangman's noose about his neck. His screams of murder and for mercy had no effect. They dragged him from the jail, and he was never on his feet. He was given no time to pray or speak. I think the fall from the porch broke his neck, and believe he was dead before he was dragged 100 yards. He never made a sound after leaving the jail."[1137]

The mob continued to drag Asbury Green to Chesterfield farm[1138], which was owned by Mrs. Rev. E. B. Newmand and tenanted by ex-Sheriff R. Hopper Smith. An eight-foot long hemp rope was tied around Asbury Green's neck and he was hung from a peach tree.[1139]

The mob was reported to leave the scene of Asbury Green's lynching quietly around 1:20 a.m. but his body, scantly clad in an undershirt, drawers and stockings,[1140] hung there until 9:30. Some accounts stated that his body was riddled with bullets while others say that shots were only fired into the air and the only injury to Asbury Green's body was from being dragged on the ground.[1141]

A coroner's inquest was held at 10 o'clock that day and led by Coroner Robert Goldsborough, but the jury decided that Asbury Green came to his death at the hands of parties unknown to the jury. Deputy T. Frank Seward's account stated that he did not know any Centrevillians who participated and ultimately no man was suspected of complicity in Asbury Green's lynching.[1142]

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community:

The *Baltimore Sun* reported that Asbury Green's body was taken back to Kent Island for burial.[1143] Although the body was "dressed and put in a coffin," no Black person "could be hired or persuaded to bury him. . .so the sheriff and his deputies had to do it."[1144] The community's refusal to bury Asbury Green served as a form of resistance against the disgrace imposed by mob violence.The *Evening Journal*, however, reports that Asbury Green's body was placed in the jail and was scheduled to be buried in the strangers' row in the town cemetery by Bailiff George A Whitley at the county's expense.[1145]

Following the coroner's inquest, the *Baltimore Sun* reported a dispatch from Centreville alleging that "the two hundred colored residents of the town of 1,400 inhabitants are talking vengeance for the lynching of Asbury Green early this morning."[1146] The dispatch continued to state that "they have no leaders, but are ready to do mischief. At 10 P.M. they are collected in crowds on the corners, and there will be little sleep in Centreville tonight. One hundred white citizens are patrolling the streets."[1147] This dispatch made its way throughout the country (found as far out as California) but no retaliation was ever reported.[1148]

The following week, the *Baltimore Sun* also reported that "a committee of colored people of Kent Island" sent a letter to the governor of Maryland "denounc[ing] the lynching of Asbury Green…and expresses the hope that the Governor may do all in his power to punish the guilty parties."[1149] Similarly, an African American pastor in Baltimore, the Rev. C.W. Mossell of St. John's African Methodist Episcopal Church, preached against Green's lynching two weeks in a row, under the theme "Christ or Public Opinion, Which Will You Serve?"[1150]

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** The white press was outraged by the alleged crime
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Silent on the prospects
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Disapproving yet understanding
- **How lynchers were portrayed in the local press:** Outsiders
- **How lynchers were portrayed in non-local press:** Local residents
- **How were the on-lookers (if any) portrayed by the local press?** Celebratory and/or souvenir seeking

Some reactions from the press regarding Asbury Green's lynching are as follows:

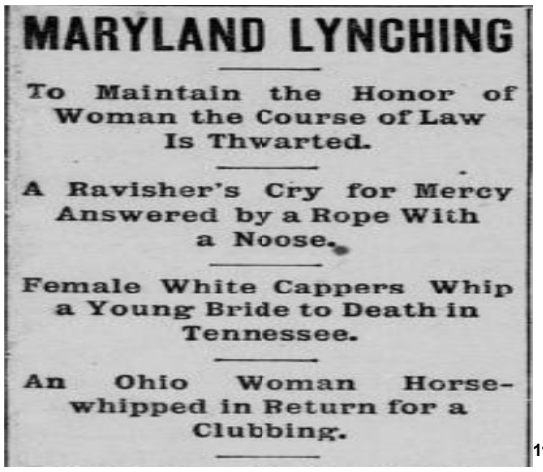
- "The lynching must be to some extent a surprise to the orderly majority of the community in which it occurred, and it is a reflection on the bench, the members of which stand irreproachable for fairness and ability in the minds of all their fellow citizens. Mob violence under all conceivable conditions is to be condemned, though there may be some circumstances under which resort to it is more excusable than under others. No palliation is to be found for it after a fair and impartial trial, and the sentence of the prisoners by a court in whom the community reposes perfect confidence."–*Baltimore Sun*[1151]
- "Where there is conclusive proof of such a crime as that with which Green was charged, the penalty of death is none too severe. It is a crime that merits the extreme punishment that the law can inflict; but in this case the mob has no shadow of excuse, and we cannot believe that the act will be approved by any good citizen of Queen Anne's. To approve it, would be to approve of an insult to the bench, of setting aside all law, turning justice into a farce, and putting a masked mob in place of peace and order."– *Baltimore American*[1152]
- "A man who commits rape, whether white or black, ought to be hanged–and if he could be hanged twice it would be no more of a punishment than he deserves–but he ought not be hanged, or done to death in any manner, without the authority of law. The moment that you concede for any purpose that the law may be set aside, that moment you throw aside the sole foundation stone of civilized and peaceful society."–*Wilimington Morning News*[1153]

Some additional notes/observations/comments from news coverage of Asbury Green's lynching:

- Asbury Green's lynching was covered throughout the U.S. and in multiple languages, but only a few (we could only find Delaware's *Evening Journal*) provided a sense of humanity to Asbury Green, mentioning him being married and what brought him to the Tolson's property (he was a laborer and lived in their tenant house).
- The *Milford chronicle. [volume]* (Milford, Del.), refers to Centreville as a "typical Southern town" calling the people "hospitable and generous" but also "hot headed" and that they "would not tolerate the least uprising of the colored portion of the town and trouble will be sure to result if it is attempted."[1154]
- Asbury Green was described as "the ravisher" in an *Alexandria Gazette* article.[1155]
- Many articles stated "during the afternoon the conviction became general that Green must die–that the honor of the wife must be maintained sacred against the lust of the negro."[1156]
- The *Baltimore Sun* is the only news source that has supposed testimony from Asbury Green's case.
- The "The Lynching of Green." Centerville Record,16 May 1891 article shows immense bias against Asbury Green. When discussing why the Tolson family story wasn't complete and didn't call it rape initially it states "The investigation at the preliminary hearing before the justice of the peace on Kent Island was anything but thorough and purposely so, because the husband and father of Mrs. Tolson were not willing that the detestable and horrible facts should be given to the public" but when discussing the alibis to Asbury Green's whereabouts around the time of the alleged assault it states "Two or three negros were found who could account for Green's movements from 9 o'clock that night until about half past ten, but did not know of his movements as any other period of the day or night. It was self-

evident to the jury that these witnesses were manufacturing their evidence to suit the occasion." [1157]

Headlines


MARYLAND LYNCHING

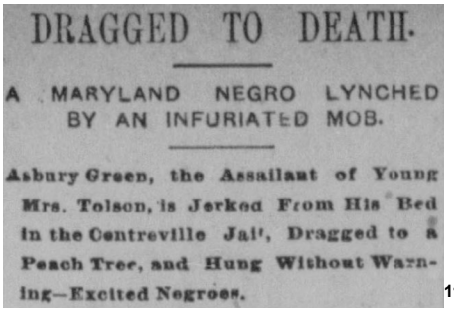
To Maintain the Honor of Woman the Course of Law Is Thwarted.

A Ravisher's Cry for Mercy Answered by a Rope With a Noose.

Female White Cappers Whip a Young Bride to Death in Tennessee.

An Ohio Woman Horse-whipped in Return for a Clubbing.

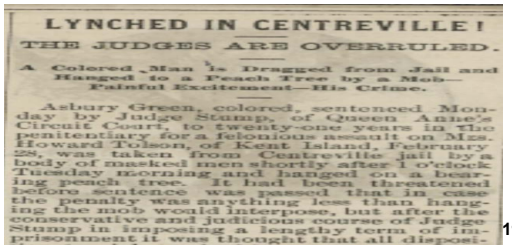
1158


DRAGGED TO DEATH.

A MARYLAND NEGRO LYNCHED BY AN INFURIATED MOB.

Asbury Green, the Assailant of Young Mrs. Tolson, is Jerked From His Bed in the Centreville Jail, Dragged to a Peach Tree, and Hung Without Warning—Excited Negroes.

1159


LYNCHED IN CENTREVILLE!

THE JUDGES ARE OVERRULED.

A Colored Man Is Dragged from Jail and Hanged to a Peach Tree by a Mob—Painful Excitement—His Crime.

Asbury Green, colored, sentenced Monday by Judge Stamp, of Queen Anne's Circuit Court, to twenty-one years in the penitentiary for a felonious assault on Mrs. Howard Tolson, of Kent Island, February 28, was taken from Centreville jail by a body of masked men shortly after 1 o'clock Tuesday morning and hanged on a bearing peach tree. It had been threatened before sentence was passed that in case the penalty was anything less than hanging the mob would interpose, but after the conservative and judicious course of Judge Stamp in imposing a lengthy term of imprisonment it was thought that all disposi-

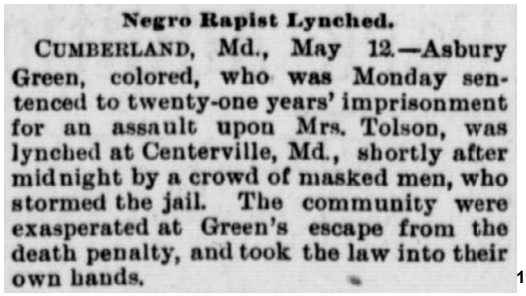
1160

Took the Law Into Their Own Hands.

CUMBERLAND, Md., May 12.—Asbury Green, colored, who was Monday sentenced to twenty-one years' imprisonment for an assault upon Mrs. Tolson, was lynched at Centerville, Md., shortly after midnight by a crowd of masked men, who stormed the jail. The community were exasperated at Green's escape from the death penalty, and took the law into their own hands.

1161

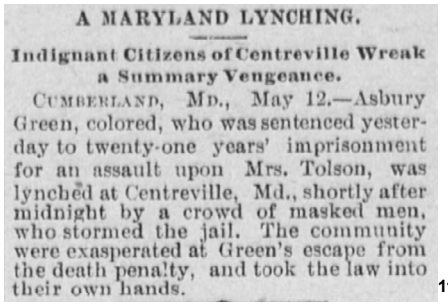
These two articles have the same body text but their headlines provide a different perspective of the event:


Negro Rapist Lynched.

CUMBERLAND, Md., May 12.—Asbury Green, colored, who was Monday sentenced to twenty-one years' imprisonment for an assault upon Mrs. Tolson, was lynched at Centerville, Md., shortly after midnight by a crowd of masked men, who stormed the jail. The community were exasperated at Green's escape from the death penalty, and took the law into their own hands.

1162

(Owosso, Michigan)

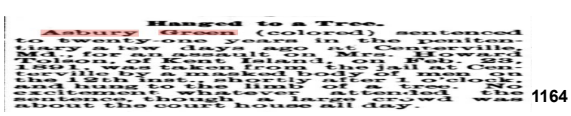

A MARYLAND LYNCHING.

Indignant Citizens of Centreville Wreak a Summary Vengeance.

CUMBERLAND, MD., May 12.—Asbury Green, colored, who was sentenced yesterday to twenty-one years' imprisonment for an assault upon Mrs. Tolson, was lynched at Centreville, Md., shortly after midnight by a crowd of masked men, who stormed the jail. The community were exasperated at Green's escape from the death penalty, and took the law into their own hands.

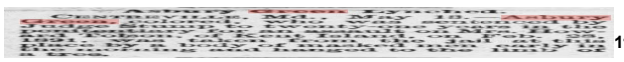
1163

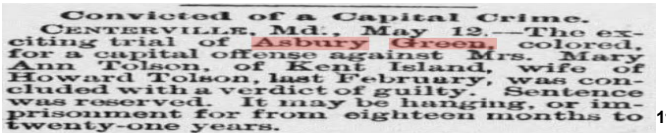
(Washington, DC)


Hanged to a Tree.

Asbury Green (colored) sentenced to twenty-one years in the penitentiary a few days ago, at Centreville, Md., for an assault on Mrs. Howard Tolson, of Kent Island, on Feb. 28, 1893, was taken from the jail at Centreville by a masked body of men on the 12th inst., shortly after 1 o'clock, and hung to the limb of a tree. No resistance was made, the sentence having been passed about the court house all day.

1164


1165

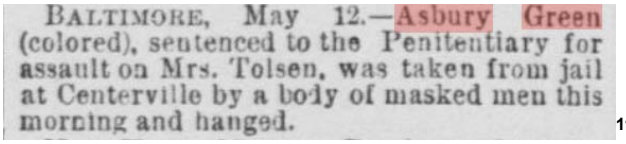


Convicted of a Capital Crime.

CENTERVILLE, Md., May 12.—The exciting trial of Asbury Green, colored, for a capital offense against Mrs. Mary Ann Tolson, of Kent Island, wife of Howard Tolson, last February, was concluded with a verdict of guilty. Sentence was reserved. It may be hanging, or imprisonment for from eighteen months to twenty-one years.

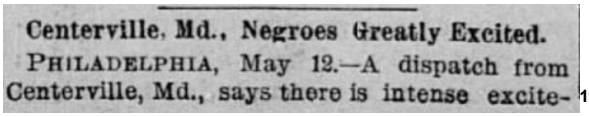
[1166]

[1167] (Made news in North Carolina)



BALTIMORE, May 12.—Asbury Green (colored), sentenced to the Penitentiary for assault on Mrs. Tolsen, was taken from jail at Centerville by a body of masked men this morning and hanged.

[1168] (Made news in San Francisco, California)



Centerville, Md., Negroes Greatly Excited.

PHILADELPHIA, May 12.—A dispatch from Centerville, Md., says there is intense excite-

[1169] (Made news in Salt Lake City, Utah)

Legal/Political Consequences:

- Despite detailed accounts of what happened the night of Asbury Green's lynching, it was ruled that his death was "at the hands of an unknown jury" and no one was convicted for his death.

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: News of Asbury Green's lynching made its way throughout the United States and there are documented sermons condemning his lynching.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There are no documented legislative changes that followed the lynching of Asbury Green, nor is there evidence of formal social movements that arose in direct response. However, there is documentation of disapproval and condemnation from Queen Anne's County's Black community. Most notably, members of the community refused to bury Asbury Green due to the vile and horrific nature of his death. Such refusals have often been interpreted as a form of Black resistance—an explicit rejection of the dehumanization imposed by lynching and the expectation that Black communities quietly absorb the aftermath. In this context, the refusal to bury Asbury Green functioned not only as a rejection of imposed shame, but also as a demand for public accountability—a statement that this act of racial terror would not go unchallenged or be quietly erased.

Memorialization/Commemoration: Despite news of Asbury Green's lynching being one of the most widely publicized lynchings to take place in Maryland, there are no known memorials and/or commemorations specific to Asbury Green in Centerville, Kent Island, or anywhere else in Queen Anne's County or Maryland.

Ongoing Influence: Although not explicitly documented, Asbury Green's lynching would have contributed to a climate of fear, trauma, and anger within his family and the broader community.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

- Some articles provide a false sense of acceptance of Asbury Green's sentencing, some speak as if it was the right of the citizens of Queen Anne County to lynch Asbury Green, and others expressed outrage. In the aforementioned article The Sun states:

> "No excitement whatever attended the sentence of Green, though a large crowd was about the court-house. Very few people followed the prisoner back to jail. There seems to be a general disposition to abide by the result of the trial, and this has been encouraged by the prudent course of the court in passing the sentence."[1170]

This account was not universal. Many accounts mention that citizens in the town expressed outrage that Asbury Green had not been sentenced to death. For example, a *Cecil Whig* article wrote that "the crime for which Asbury Green was convicted by a jury, is one of the most atrocious in the calendar. Peaceful communities everywhere look upon it with the least degree of patience, and are not disposed to tolerate any delay or miscarriage of justice in such cases."[1171]

- A *Centerville Record* article ("The Lynching of Green." Centerville Record, 16 May 1891.) mentions that the alleged crime took place at around 9:30 p.m. but the *Baltimore Sun* article "The Kent Island Assault" says it took place a little after 11:00 p.m.. The *Baltimore Sun* piece is written in a way that it can be concluded that actual details and quotes from Asbury Green's trial were included, including the time of the alleged assault. A discrepancy in account of when the alleged crime took place could possibly have changed the public opinion around Asbury Green's alibi.
- There was a lot more coverage of Asbury Green's lynching which also provided various accounts and interpretations of what took place. The goal of this, and all of the case studies, is to provide a holistic account of Asbury Green as a man and his final days.

SOMERSET COUNTY LYNCHING CASES

Case Study: Isaac Kemp
(Somerset County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Isaac Kemp
Date of Birth: May 6, 1868[1172]
Place of Birth: Nassau, Bahamas[1173]
Occupation/Background: Strawberry Picker
Marital Status: Single
Family and Personal Background:

- Isaac Kemp's father was York Kemp and his mother was Linda Tynes.

Additional Background Information:

- Isaac Kemp's father, York Kemp, was a maritime worker.
- In the late 19th century, there was a surge of Bahamian emigres to Southern Florida. Isaac Kemp was naturalized by the District Court of Southern Florida in 1888.
- The Southern District Court of Florida includes Key West where Kemp was from according to a June 13, 1894 *Smyrna Times* article.[1174]
- Years later, Isaac Kemp went to the Eastern Shore as a migrant agricultural worker.

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: June 6, 1894 in Princess Anne, Somerset County Maryland

Description of Alleged Crime: Isaac Kemp was accused of leading a group of unruly Black men who severely beat the local constable and his brother, with the constable dying from razor cuts allegedly inflicted by Isaac Kemp.

Witnesses Statements or Claims: John Handy, one of the men detained for the June 6th fight, told the mob of white men that entered the jail on June 8th that Isaac Kemp was not the only man drinking that night but that he was the only one to hit Constable Carver with a bottle, leading to his death. John Handy's claim led the mob of white men to seek out Isaac Kemp to avenge Constable Carver's death. Other prominent witnesses to the alleged crime include:

- Charles Miller, store owner where fight occurred
- George Powell, store clerk
- Frank McCready, Carver's brother, severely injured in the melee
- C. A. Veasy, attempted to aid the injured Carver and McCready
- Dr. Dashhielle, provided medical treatment
- Arrested with Isaac Kemp: George Parker, George Brown, George Holden, Alfred Conquest, John Hall, John Handy, George Hammond, Elmer Cooper, Thomas Smith, Leonard Thomas and Joseph Williams

- A man named John Bacon testified in court that he saw a man run in and cut Constable Carver with a razor.[1175]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:
On the night of Wednesday, June 6, 1894, Isaac Kemp was spending time with a dozen of his fellow workers that his employer, Mr. Frank Barnes of Somerset County had just paid. The group arrived at a county store, owned by Charles Miller, located about seven miles north of Pocomoke City. At around 9:00 p.m., Isaac Kemp and his fellow workers purchased whiskey and allegedly became unruly quickly, knocking down displays in the store.[1176]

Constable[1177] Ned Carver, at the proprietor's request, asked the group to quell their destructive behavior, stating that the group could either leave or be arrested. One drunken member of the group said "We'll come as we --- please!" At this moment, a fight broke out between Isaac Kemp and Constable Carver.

Pushed outside of the store, the fight continued with Frank McCready, Constable Carver's brother, coming to his aid. As the fight escalated, Carver and McCready were beaten over the head with clubs and empty beer bottles.[1178] Battered and bloody, the two men were punished within an inch of their lives, but the fight continued, and for a moment, stopped, leaving Constable Carver and Mr. McCready nearly dead. Apparently unsatisfied, Isaac Kemp ran over to Constable Carver, and with a razor, cut the constable multiple times on his face and legs, killing Ned Carver.[1179]

With the store destroyed, and Constable Carver and Mr. McCready on the ground, the group fled the scene. Mr. C.A. Veasy attempted to clean the two men, then ran to Dr. Dashielle for medical treatment. Once the doctor got to the victims, McCready was alive but badly injured. As for Constable Carver, Dr. Dashielle said that there was nothing he could do to save him. Ned Carver was 32-years-old and survived by one child.[1180]

Within two hours, ten of the twelve men were arrested and placed in the Princess Anne jail on Main Street.[1181] The other two men apparently left the store when the men began fighting and were arrested shortly after in Pocomoke City.[1182]

In a Cambridge Democrat article on June 7, 1894 it stated that "the whole neighborhood is so greatly aroused that it is thought an attempt at lynching will be made."[1183]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: Between the ages of 23 - 26[1184]
Date and Time: Friday, June 8, 1894
Location of Lynching: Princess Anne jail, Somerset County Maryland
At what point did the lynching take place? After a suspect had been apprehended and detained, but before any trial[1185]
Method of Lynching: Shooting

Who Was Involved: A mob of approximately 150 people from Princess Anne, Maryland

- **What role did the local law enforcement play in the lynching?** Preventative (through action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Preventative (through action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Not reported
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Preventative (through action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Preventative (through action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Not reported

Role of Authorities: Evidence points to authorities doing all they could to prevent the harm of Isaac Kemp or any of the men involved in the June 6th fight:

- Deputy Sidney Dryden was on duty when the mob approached the jail. A group of 75 white men approached Deputy Dryden stating that they had a prisoner for him to arraign. Once the jailer opened the county jail door, the mob overpowered the deputy and rushed into the jail. Deputy Dryden reportedly refused to hand over the keys of the prisoners' quarters, but the mob used a battering ram to open the door. The mob demanded Deputy Dryden show them to Isaac Kemp's cell. When he refused, the mob forced themselves into the cell of five other Black prisoners and threatened to open fire on them.[1186] Only then did Deputy Dryden agree to point out Isaac Kemp, the supposed leader of the attack on Constable Carver and Mr. McCready.
- After Isaac Kemp's lynching, Officer Dryden requested a clandestine removal of the other men arrested with Isaac Kemp to a jail in Salisbury, Maryland–15 miles north of Princess Anne.
- After the trial of Constable Carver and Mr. McCready's attack, Sheriff Sterling summoned increased protection of the jail to prevent any more lynchings.
- The coroner, however, did not identify Samuel and Sewell Webb (individuals identified after their mask came off during the raid of the jail) in his official report as perpetrators in Isaac Kemp's murder.

Public/Private Nature: Private. Isaac Kemp was shot to death while chained to the floor of his Princess Anne jail cell.

Physical Condition of Victim: Chained to the floor of his jail cell and riddled with anywhere from 30-50 gunshot wounds.

Additional Details:

Around 2 a.m. on the morning of Friday, June 8, 1894 a group of about 75 men approached the Princess Anne jail, explaining to Deputy Dryden that they had a prisoner for him to arraign (another 75 men were placed on guard). The mob, wearing masks and armed with guns, quickly overtook the jail. John Handy, one of the men detained for the June 6th fight, told the mob of white men that Isaac Kemp was not the only man drinking that night but that he was the only one to hit Constable Carver with a bottle, leading to his death. John Handy's claim led the mob of white men to seek out Isaac Kemp to avenge Constable Carver's death. Once found, the mob shot Isaac Kemp 30-50 times as he was chained and huddled on the floor of his jail cell. Isaac Kemp died instantly. Unable to drag his chained body out of the cell, the mob bid everyone a goodnight and quietly left the jail.

None of the other prisoners in the jail detained for the attack on Constable Carver and Mr. McCready were harmed.

Isaac Kemp is Somerset County's first documented lynching of a Black individual.

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community:

Afraid that the mob would return for the other men, Officer Dryden requested a clandestine removal of the group to a jail in Salisbury, Maryland–15 miles north of Princess Anne. When the mob returned to the jail for the others and realized that they had been transferred, a request to send a train for the 100 men to take them to Salisbury was denied. In Salisbury, word had gotten out that the prisoners were there, and tensions between the white citizens who wished to lynch them, and the armed black citizens who vowed to protect the prisoners, created a problem in town. As a result, another secret transfer of the ten workers from Virginia was made, taking them to "Murderers Row" in Baltimore City, leaving the chaos behind on the Eastern Shore.[1187]

On January 16, 1894 the *Richmond Planet*, a Black-owned newspaper, published an appeal on their front page to raise funds for the men's legal defense. Once tensions seemed to be under control, the accused faced trial and the conclusion was that Isaac Kemp came to his death from pistol wounds inflicted by some unknown parties.[1188]

Legal/Political Consequences: During the coroner's inquest later that day, the jailor and a man who spent the night in jail - Alva N. Gibbons - identified two of the mob members whose masks had fallen off as Samuel and Sewell Webb.[1189] Despite this witness, the inquest concluded that Isaac Kemp was killed by "some unknown parties."[1190]

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** A unique and/or unprecedented crime
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Encouraged lynching
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Disapproving yet understanding.[1191] The reporting in the Kansas City Blackman, a Black newspaper was brief and unopinionated.[1192]

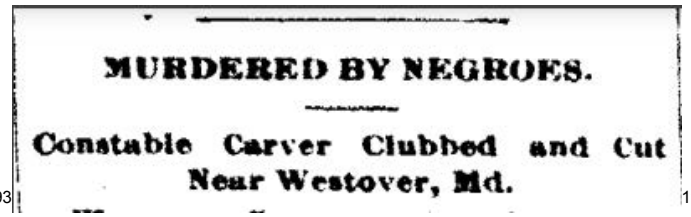
Headlines

Horrible Murder!

12 NEGROES MURDER A CONSTABLE.

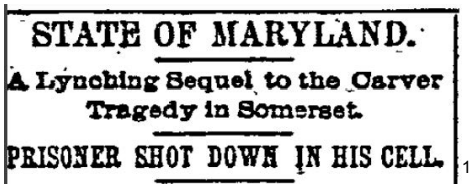
THE LEADER IS LYNCHED!

1193


MURDERED BY NEGROES.

Constable Carver Clubbed and Cut Near Westover, Md.

1194

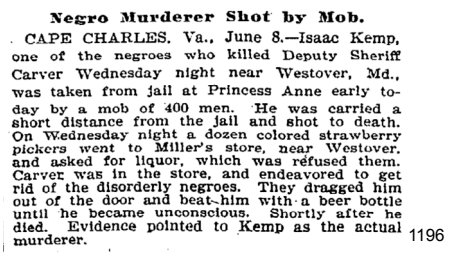


STATE OF MARYLAND.

A Lynching Sequel to the Carver Tragedy in Somerset.

PRISONER SHOT DOWN IN HIS CELL.

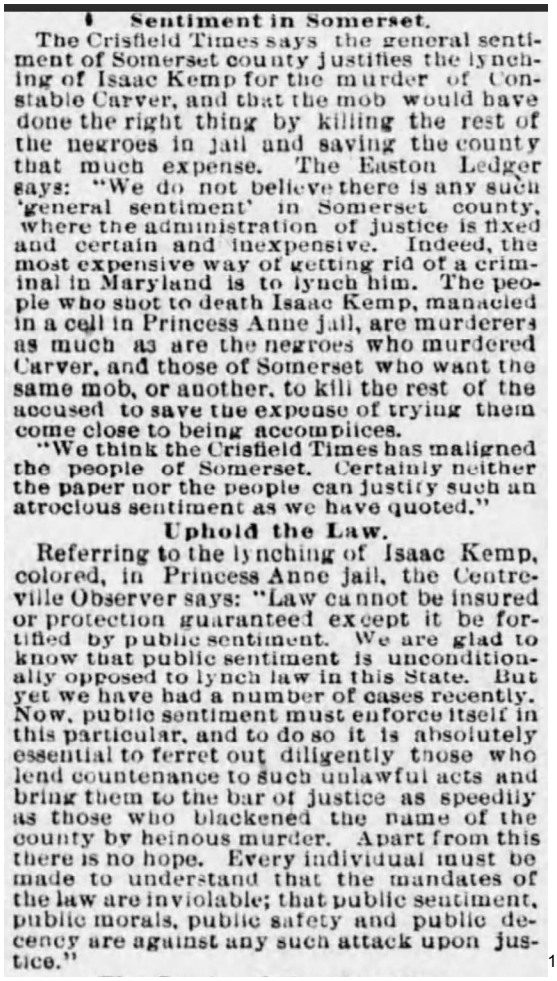
1195



Negro Murderer Shot by Mob.

CAPE CHARLES, Va., June 8.—Isaac Kemp, one of the negroes who killed Deputy Sheriff Carver Wednesday night near Westover, Md., was taken from jail at Princess Anne early today by a mob of 400 men. He was carried a short distance from the jail and shot to death. On Wednesday night a dozen colored strawberry pickers went to Miller's store, near Westover, and asked for liquor, which was refused them. Carver was in the store, and endeavored to get rid of the disorderly negroes. They dragged him out of the door and beat him with a beer bottle until he became unconscious. Shortly after he died. Evidence pointed to Kemp as the actual murderer.

1196



Sentiment in Somerset.

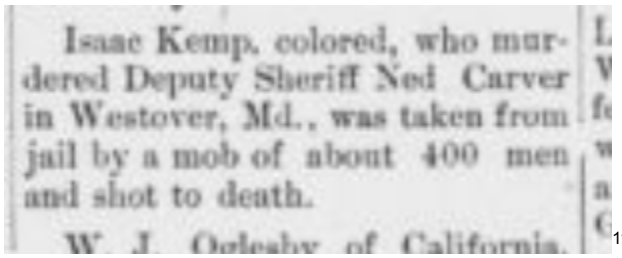
The Crisfield Times says the general sentiment of Somerset county justifies the lynching of Isaac Kemp for the murder of Constable Carver, and that the mob would have done the right thing by killing the rest of the negroes in jail and saving the county that much expense. The Easton Ledger says: "We do not believe there is any such 'general sentiment' in Somerset county, where the administration of justice is fixed and certain and inexpensive. Indeed, the most expensive way of getting rid of a criminal in Maryland is to lynch him. The people who shot to death Isaac Kemp, manacled in a cell in Princess Anne jail, are murderers as much as are the negroes who murdered Carver, and those of Somerset who want the same mob, or another, to kill the rest of the accused to save the expense of trying them come close to being accomplices.

"We think the Crisfield Times has maligned the people of Somerset. Certainly neither the paper nor the people can justify such an atrocious sentiment as we have quoted."

Uphold the Law.

Referring to the lynching of Isaac Kemp, colored, in Princess Anne jail, the Centreville Observer says: "Law cannot be insured or protection guaranteed except it be fortified by public sentiment. We are glad to know that public sentiment is unconditionally opposed to lynch law in this State. But yet we have had a number of cases recently. Now, public sentiment must enforce itself in this particular, and to do so it is absolutely essential to ferret out diligently those who lend countenance to such unlawful acts and bring them to the bar of justice as speedily as those who blackened the name of the county by heinous murder. Apart from this there is no hope. Every individual must be made to understand that the mandates of the law are inviolable; that public sentiment, public morals, public safety and public decency are against any such attack upon justice."

1197



Isaac Kemp, colored, who murdered Deputy Sheriff Ned Carver in Westover, Md., was taken from jail by a mob of about 400 men and shot to death.

W. J. Oglesby of California.

1198

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance:

Isaac Kemp is the earliest documented case of a Black individual being lynched in Somerset County, Maryland. His lynching, which occurred in 1894, is the first of four such known incidents in the county. His lynching occurred during a time when the national and regional conversation around race relations was evolving, particularly as white supremacy and racial violence were growing problems in the post-Reconstruction era. However, Isaac Kemp's lynching itself did not immediately ignite a broad civil rights movement or major reforms. But like many others, it contributed to the general climate of fear and outrage within Black communities.

Isaac Kemp's lynching also likely ignited a fear with Somerset's Black communities and altered how its white citizens viewed not only its Black residents but the migrants that emigrated to the county.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements?
At the time of Isaac Kemp's lynching in 1894, there were no immediate legislative changes that resulted directly from this event.

Memorialization/Commemoration:

As of now, there does not appear to be a formal memorial, monument, or annual event dedicated specifically to Isaac Kemp in Somerset County or beyond.

Ongoing Influence:

As the first documented lynching in Somerset County, Isaac Kemp's lynching would have had a lasting impact on the Black, white, and migrant communities in Somerset County. The terror of lynchings, particularly as an act of extrajudicial violence, would have instilled fear and discouraged many from speaking out against injustice. The emotional and psychological scars would have lasted for generations, with people living in fear of being targeted for simply existing as Black men and women.

On a societal level, lynchings like Isaac Kemp's contributed to a wider racial divide that persisted into the civil rights movement and beyond. Although his specific case didn't spark major legal changes immediately, it was part of the broader systemic racial violence that would ultimately galvanize future activism.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

There is no hard evidence that Isaac Kemp led the attack or murder of Constable Ned Carver. The word of John Handy was taken as fact and used as the catalyst for the mob to execute Isaac Kemp.

Case Study: William “Cuba” Andrews
(Somerset County)

Basic Information

Full Name: William Andrews (AKA “Cuba”)

Date of Birth: 1876

Place of Birth: Not Confirmed. Possibly Raleigh, North Carolina[1199]

Occupation/Background (e.g., job, family status, etc.): Local worker (Oyster Dredger)

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- **Family:** Henry Andrews (father), Rebecca Andrews (mother), Bessie Andrews (sister)
- **Additional Background Information:**
  - Worked in Princess Anne (a town in Somerset County) as an oyster dredger during the fall and winter months.
  - Was among the many Black workers who migrated to the Eastern Shore to support Somerset’s local agricultural industry (farming, timber, oyster, farming, and crabbing)
  - Resided with his parents in Richmond County, Virginia at the time of his lynching[1200]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: May 5th, 1897 - Marion, Somerset County, Maryland

Description of Alleged Crime: Accused of assaulting Mrs. Benjamin T. Kelly, of Somerset County, a mother of two in her twenties, near her home.

Witness Statements or Claims: Mrs. Benjamin T. Kelly stated that while she was returning home from Marion, William Andrews jumped out of the woods, put a coat over her head and attacked her.[1201] In her testimony, Mrs. Benjamin T. Kelly mentioned that William Andrews had a pistol during the attack.[1202]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

William Andrews was arrested on May 6th, 1897, and jailed in Princess Anne, a town in Somerset, County Maryland. Sheriff L. Cleveland Nelson hid William Andrews stating that “Princess Anne was filled with people clamoring for the man’s life, and every movement made was watched by the crowd.”[1203] Sheriff Nelson brought William Andrews back to jail for his preliminary hearing the following day and he pled guilty to the assault charges. There was no trouble the night of William Andrews’ preliminary hearing, but Sheriff Nelson telegraphed Republican governor Lloyd Lowndes, who instructed the Sheriff to transfer William Andrews to Baltimore City jail for safe keeping.[1204]

After a month, the mob frenzy appeared to have settled down and William Andrews was transferred back to Princess Anne jail for trial. William Andrews returned back to Princess Anne at 3:30 a.m. on June 9, 1897, and due to an expedited version of due process, was brought to the courthouse on Prince William Street that same morning[1205] for a special session.

Mrs. Benjamin T. Kelly gave her testimony against William Andrews and Andrews confessed to the crime without any defense. He did dispute that he did not have a pistol during the attack. Within an hour, William Andrews was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death for the attack on Mrs. Benjamin T. Kelly. A large crowd was formed inside the courtroom and when William Andrews' death sentence by hanging was read, the crowd cheered.[1206]

Role of Authorities:
Local and state authorities took the necessary precautions to see William Andrews' safety leading up to his June 9, 1897, trial.

- Sheriff L. Cleveland Nelson hid William Andrews the night before his preliminary trial and transported William Andrews to Baltimore City Jail to avoid the local mob.
- Deputy Sheriffs Sidney Dryden and Edward Siemens assisted Sheriff Nelson in placing Williams Andrews on the Baltimore bound train and with the Sheriff, attempted to escort William Andrews from the courtroom after the June 9 trial.
- Governor Lloyd Lowndes instructed Sheriff Nelson to transfer William Andrews to Baltimore City Jail for safe keeping as he awaited trial.
- Circuit Court Judge Henry Page, presided at trial, sentenced William Andrews to be executed by hanging, and pleaded with the crowd that William Andrews had faced a speedy trial, and the verdict was decisive and satisfactory, essentially avoiding all of the circumstances that surround mob justifications for lynching.[1207] He also promised that William Andrews would not be returned to Baltimore City jail but would stay in Somerset County.

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: Between 17 and 20 years old[1208]

Date and Time: June 9, 1897, between 11 a.m. and 12 p.m.

Location of Lynching: Princess Anne, Somerset County Maryland

At what point did the lynching take place? After the trial had concluded, verdict handed down, or the sentencing handed down.[1209]

Method of Lynching: Beating then hanging

Who Was Involved: A mob of approximately 1,000 people, likely from Somerset County. According to a source cited in *The Road to Jim Crow* "Andrews…died from blows inflicted from persons unknown."[1210]

- **What role did the local law enforcement play in the lynching?** Preventative (through action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Preventative (through action, even if unsuccessful)

- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Not reported
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Not reported
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Not reported
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Not reported[1211]

Public/Private Nature: Public/Private

Physical Condition of Victim: William Andrews was beaten to near death by the mob and then hung on a walnut tree on the property of Zadoc (often just referred to as "Z") James Doughtery, a prominent figure and white male in Somerset County.

Additional Details: [1212]

After William Andrews sentencing, Judge Henry Page addressed the crowd that had gathered stating that William Andrews had faced a speedy trial, and the verdict was decisive and satisfactory, essentially avoiding all of the circumstances that surround mob justifications for lynching.[1213] The crowd promised that they would leave the courthouse only with the promise that William Andrews would not be returned to Baltimore City jail but would stay in Somerset County. Judge Page obliged but as Sheriff Nelson and his deputies Sidney Dryden and Edward Siemens escorted a handcuffed William Andrews out of the courthouse, they were attacked by the crowd turned mob of approximately 1,000. Handcuffed, William Andrews was ripped from the Deputy Sheriff's custody by the mob shouting "kill him, kill him!"[1214] William Andrews was beaten unconscious and sliced by a razor.

Sheriff Nelson went over to William Andrews' body and determined that he was still alive. Dissatisfied, the mob dragged William Andrews to the walnut tree on Z. James Doughtery's property where he was hanged. William Andrews' body remained in the tree until around 2:30 - 3:00 p.m. when his body was placed in a plain coffin and buried in the Almshouse burial grounds.

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community: Immediately following William Andrews' lynching a jury inquest was composed. Within an hour it was determined that he was strangled by "a mob of unknown strangers" in Somerset County.[1215]

Legal/Political Consequences: None. According to the New York Times there was no attempt at disguise made by any of those who participated in the lynching,[1216] but the official records and news coverage state that the lynching was carried out by unknown strangers.

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** Sad, but simply a crime
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Discouraged lynching
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Disapproving yet understanding[1217]

William Andrews' lynching was the second documented lynching to take place in Somerset County and garnered a lot of media attention.

Headlines

NDREWS' DOOM WAS SWIFT

Mob's Fury Would Not Brook the Law's Delay.

ICKED, BEATEN AND HANGED

The Negro Also Slashed With a Razor.

Judge Pleaded With the Enraged Throng, But Nothing Could Stem the Terrible Tide of Vengeance That Was Destined to Overwhelm the Terror-stricken Prisoner.

1218

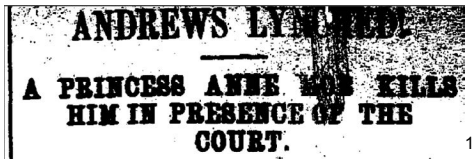
LYNCHING IN MARYLAND

William D. Andrews, a Negro, Beaten into Insensibility and Hanged at Princess Anne.

JUDGE PAGE PLEADS IN VAIN

Sheriff and His Deputy Overpowered While Taking the Man from the Courthouse to the Jail—Second Attempt to Lynch Him.

1219


ANDREWS LYN[illegible]

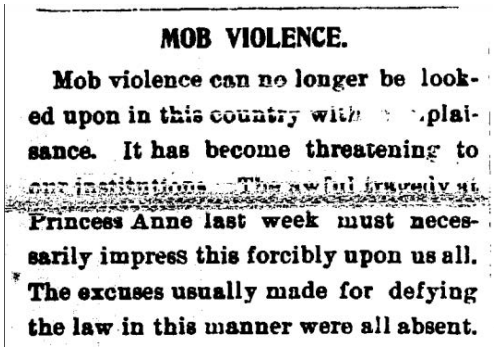
A PRINCESS ANNE [illegible] KILLS HIM IN PRESENCE OF THE COURT.

1220

LYNCHED IN HASTE

Andrews, the Somerset County Ravisher, Tried, Convicted and Lynched in One Day.

1221



MOB VIOLENCE.

Mob violence can no longer be looked upon in this country with [illegible] complaisance. It has become threatening to our institutions. The awful tragedy at Princess Anne last week must necessarily impress this forcibly upon us all. The excuses usually made for defying the law in this manner were all absent. [1222]

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance:
William "Cuba" Andrews' lynching did not spark a known or organized response immediately.

Legislative Changes?
William Andrews' lynching did not immediately lead to legislative changes.

Memorialization/Commemoration:
As of now, there is no widely recognized public memorial, monument, or annual event specifically dedicated to William "Cuba" Andrews in Somerset County.

Ongoing Influence:
Although not explicitly documented, William Andrews' lynching would have contributed to a climate of fear, trauma, and anger within his family and the broader community.
Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

While William Andrews was accused and confessed to assaulting a white woman, Mrs. Benjamin T. Kelly, like many alleged crimes during this time, accusations were frequently exaggerated or fabricated to justify violence against Black men. For example, a *Baltimore Sun* news article includes a quote from Sheriff L. Cleveland Nelson regarding a conversation he had with William Andrews:

"When I asked him why he had committed the assault, he replied 'I don't know. I did not mean to do it. I only intended to get her money. As she passed me, I made a grab for her money and she took hold of me. We struggled and finally she knocked me down and fell down herself. We both got on our feet, and she grabbed for my throat. I grabbed hold of her arms and we fought that way for some time. All of a sudden, she fell to the ground, and I got hold of her pocketbook; when I opened and saw one dollar. This made me mad, and I threw the purse at her. Then I thought of the assault. The devil put it in my head, and I am willing to suffer for it. I did not have a pistol.'"[1223]

The controversy surrounding the specifics of the alleged crime–William Andrews recount of his botched theft and Mrs. Benjamin T. Kelly's testimony–paired with the brutal nature of his lynching, fits the pattern of racial violence that was common at the time.

Case Study: James Reed
(Somerset County)

Basic Information

Full Name: James Reed

Date of Birth: May 15, 1885

Place of Birth: Choctaw Nation, Southeast Oklahoma

Occupation/Background: Laborer

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- **Family:** Sylvia Reed (mother- born 1850 in the Choctaw territory), Henry Reed (father- born 1835 in the Choctaw territory), five siblings: Abram Reed (brother - born 1867 in the Choctaw territory), Henrietta Reed (sister- born 1876 in Oklahoma), Alice Reed (sister- born 1878), Aaron Reed (brother- born 1880 in the Choctaw territory), and Polly Reed (sister)
- **Additional Background Information:**
    - Raised in the Choctaw tribal nation in southeast Oklahoma
    - James Reed reportedly left home sometime after his 15th birthday and made his way to North Carolina.
    - He began working as a steward and waiter on the Endeavor, a United States Coast and geodetic survey ship that was originally built as a confederate warship and formerly known as Lady David.
    - It is believed that James Reed made his way to Crisfield, a city in Somerset County, Maryland, by way of the Endeavor when it docked in Somerset County in April 1906.
    - James Reed lived in Crisfield for only about a year before he was beaten and lynched by a mob in Crisfield, Maryland on July 28, 1907.

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: Saturday, July 27, 1907, in Crisfield, Somerset County Maryland.

Description of Alleged Crime: Unsolicited fatal violence-killing the night chief of police, John H. Daugherty by gunshot.

Victim of Alleged Crime: John H. Daugherty (Local, white male, adult)

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: James Reed (Outsider, Black male, adult)

Witness Statements or Claims: When caught, James Reed at first denied any knowledge of the crime but later allegedly admitted that he shot the officer so that his partner, Hildred, could escape.[1224]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

The night of Saturday, July 27, 1907, James Reed's business partner Hillery Jones[1225] (commonly referred to as "Hildred") was arrested by the night chief of police, John H. Daugherty, for selling whiskey. James Reed learned of Hildred's arrest as Chief John H. Daugherty and Officer Se[][]rn A. Evans[1226] walked Hildred through the Black business section of town toward the jail. James Reed ran to a Black billiard in town owned by Lambdul Showers, and asked him to borrow his .44 caliber revolver. James Reed supposedly followed Chief John H. Daugherty and Officer Evans for several blocks before firing the pistol. One bullet hit Chief John H. Daugherty in the back of the head, exiting above the right eye, killing him instantaneously. Officer Evans let go of the prisoner, Hildred, to assist his partner when both James Reed and Hildred fled the scene and were immediately lost among a crowd of people.[1227] Officers were dispatched throughout town to prevent James Reed's escape.

A grand jury was convened within hours of Chief John H. Daugherty's murder and James Reed was indicted for his murder, without being captured or having a chance to defend himself. Deputies searched for James Reed throughout the county while Crisfield residents began to gather "in a state of excitement."[1228]

The search party believed James Reed had secured a boat and exited town through the local waterways. However, it was reported that James Reed stole a bicycle and followed the railroad out of town before reaching the area known as Coulbourne Creek. It was here that James Reed reportedly stole a small mail boat. Authorities chartered a fleet of small gasoline launchers to search the waterways for James Reed. James Reed was at least 10 miles outside of Crisfield before he was spotted by Captain Chelton of the Ercliff Vessel. James Reed hid in the cabin of the mail boat. After several commands to surrender, James Reed then jumped into the water and was apprehended by Captain Chelton shortly thereafter. The search party returned to Crisfield with James Reed in custody.[1229]

Role of Authorities:

The local officials returned to Crisfield with James Reed around 9:00 a.m. Hundreds of towns people were gathered at the Crisfield docks howling for James Reed's death. Apparently, the men in charge of the vessels were reluctant to dock amid the crowd, but when they saw that "the mob was determined to have its way," they relented.[1230] When James Reed exited the vessel with his two accompanying officers the mob seized him.

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 22

Date and Time: Sunday, July 28, 1907, after 9:00 am[1231]

Location of Lynching: Crisfield, Somerset County Maryland

At what point did the lynching take place? Shortly after the crime, but before any conclusive investigation

Method of Lynching: James Reed was killed from blows to the head which resulted in a fractured skull.

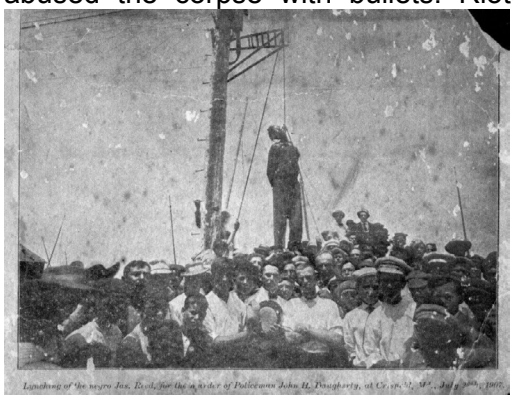
Who Was Involved: A mob gathered by the Crisfield docks and began to lead James Reed to the site of Chief John H. Daugherty's murder as they beat him to death. No

masks were used and according to the Baltimore Sun “no one participating in the lynching seemed to have any hesitancy in doing what he did.”[1232]

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local executive became involved)
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state law enforcement became involved)
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state executive became involved)[1233]

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Although James Reed’s official cause of death is from a fractured skull his body was subsequently hung from a telegraph pole as citizens celebrated and photographed the lynching. James Reed’s body was then buried crudely in the marsh. However, later that night angry citizens dug up the body and further abused the corpse with bullets. Rioters then threw his body upon a bonfire.[12341235]



Additional Details: James Reed’s body was hung from a telegraph pole near a Black church that was summoning parishioners to Sunday services to serve as a warning.[1236] A coroner’s inquest done later the afternoon of July 28th rendered the verdict “death by mob violence at the hands of unknown men.”[1237]

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community:

Following the burning of James Reed’s body, mobs continued to run through the Black community, pulling people from their homes and beating them indiscriminately. The mob reportedly threatened several Black men, telling them to leave town immediately or the same would happen to them.[1238] It is believed that Hildred, James Reed’s partner, and Lambdul Showers, the man that let James Reed borrow his gun, were able to escape the town and the lynching that was being planned for them.[1239]

The town council assembled the following afternoon in an effort to restore peace to Crisfield. Black leaders and professionals attended the meeting to offer several resolutions to produce peace among blacks and whites in the community. They requested that all Black owned places of amusement be closed in order to prevent people from congregating or organizing a retaliation. Several saloons and billiards were closed immediately. Many Black residents were arrested for vagrancy. Councilmen accepted a motion that all Blacks visiting from out of town report to authorities and state their reason for being in town, asking permission to stay. Delegates offered another resolution condemning James Reed for the murder of Chief John H. Daugherty. The council further stated that the Black community would have joined in the search and that the lynching was justifiable.[1240] According to white news sources, "even among the colored race the work of the lynchers met with approval."[1241] While the Crisfield town council claimed that the Black community supported James Reed's lynching—and even issued a resolution implying approval—contemporary Black press strongly disputed that interpretation. Specifically, the *Afro-American Ledger* editorialized on August 3, 1907, that it was "unbelievable that the better element among the colored people would endorse the lynching of James Reed.[1242]" Moreover, Black newspapers and civil rights organizations of the era—such as the Afro-American press and the National Afro-American Council—commonly argued against lynching as racial terror and emphasized that such acts were not representative of the Black community's values or wishes. Although there is no direct documented statement from Somerset County Black residents stating approval or disapproval of James Reed's lynching, this broader context reinforces that Black public sentiment opposed extralegal mob killings, even when local white authorities asserted otherwise.

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** The white press expressed outrage, although some did not agree that the lynching was justifiable.[1243]

The Baltimore Sun stated:

> "There are abundant reasons why the people of Crisfield should deplore the lynching of James Reed, a negro murderer. In the first place, the murderer would have been hanged by due process of law if the courts had been left to deal with him. Maryland justice lacks, in such cases, neither swiftness nor sureness...No mob is capable of administering the law in a way that will strengthen our civilization or add to the security of society. Lawlessness begets contempt of the law and of orderly procedure. The lyncher of today may be the victim of mob law tomorrow. The safety of every community rest upon the prompt and rigid enforcement of the law in courts of justice. To encourage Judge Lynch is to place a premium upon acts of violence and to expose every citizen to vengeance of a mob incapable of acting calm and discriminating justice. Let the courts of Maryland punish lawbreakers in Maryland."[1244]

Although James Reed's lynching occurred while *The Afro-American Ledger* was in publication[1245], there is limited documented opposition in the Black press to counter the dominant white narratives. The August 3, 1907 *Afro-American Ledger* article questioned claims that the African American community approved of the lynching, stating it was "unbelievable that the better element among the colored people would endorse the lynching of James Reed."[1246] However, *The Afro-American Ledger* also referred to

Reed as a murderer in two separate articles, reflecting the complexity and, at times, conservatism within elements of the Black press. While this coverage does not represent a robust counter-narrative, it does challenge the white press's portrayal of widespread Black approval for James Reed's lynching.

Headlines

MOB KILLS NEGRO

Policeman Daugherty's Murderer Beaten To Death At Crisfield.

CORPSE STRUNG ON POLE

Lynching Occurs In Broad Daylight And No Masks Worn.

FIERCE RACE WAR IS FEARED

Man In Rowboat Was Pursued By Gasoline Launch And Captured On Tangier Sound—Is Torn From Captors At Dock—Dies Before He Is Dragged 100 Yards.

1247

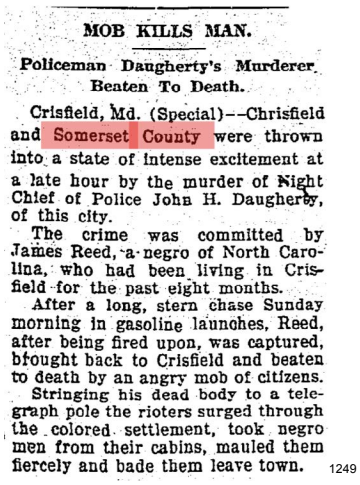
NEGRO'S BODY TORN BY MOB

HE HAD BEEN LYNCHED BUT WAS EXHUMED AND BURNED.

Crisfield, Md., July 29.—Their passion unsatisfied by the kicking and beating to death of the negro, Reed, who on Saturday evening, without provocation, shot and killed Policeman Daugherty, who had Reed's associate, William Hildred, under arrest, a mob at an early hour this afternoon dug Reed's mutilated corpse from the crude grave in the swamp where it had been thrown, riddled it with bullets and then lighting a bonfire, torsed the body the inquest, interred him in the swamp yesterday, did their work throughout without attempt at concealment. It was no party of masked men, but a band of citizens whose patience had been tried too far by the lawless negroes of that locality. Even among the colored race the work of the lynchers met with approval.

Today the town council was waited upon by a delegation representing the best colored element of the vicinity and

1248



MOB KILLS MAN.

Policeman Daugherty's Murderer Beaten To Death.

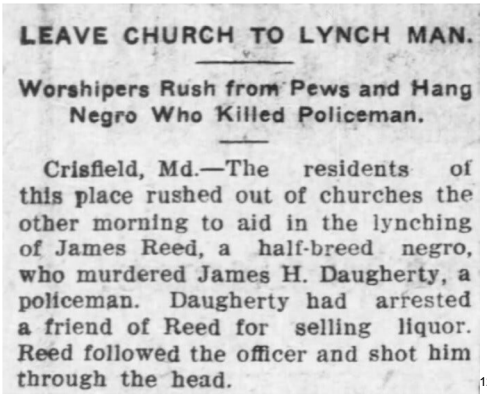
Crisfield, Md. (Special)--Chrisfield and Somerset County were thrown into a state of intense excitement at a late hour by the murder of Night Chief of Police John H. Daugherty, of this city.

The crime was committed by James Reed, a negro of North Carolina, who had been living in Crisfield for the past eight months.

After a long, stern chase Sunday morning in gasoline launches, Reed, after being fired upon, was captured, brought back to Crisfield and beaten to death by an angry mob of citizens.

Stringing his dead body to a telegraph pole the rioters surged through the colored settlement, took negro men from their cabins, mauled them fiercely and bade them leave town.

1249

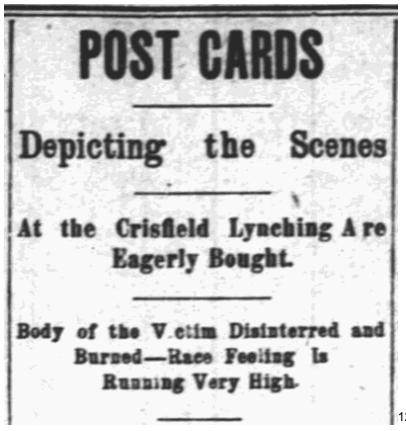


LEAVE CHURCH TO LYNCH MAN.

Worshipers Rush from Pews and Hang Negro Who Killed Policeman.

Crisfield, Md.—The residents of this place rushed out of churches the other morning to aid in the lynching of James Reed, a half-breed negro, who murdered James H. Daugherty, a policeman. Daugherty had arrested a friend of Reed for selling liquor. Reed followed the officer and shot him through the head.

1250



POST CARDS

Depicting the Scenes

At the Crisfield Lynching Are Eagerly Bought.

Body of the Victim Disinterred and Burned—Race Feeling Is Running Very High.

1251

Legal/Political Consequences:

There was no investigation into the lynching of James Reed. There was also no interference or sentiments about the event from a state level. Lemuel Showers, the owner of the revolver that James Reed used to kill Chief John H. Daugherty, was arrested after leaving town. Lemuel Showers was jailed in Princess Anne to await his trial, but no report has

been found on the outcome of his trial. Nor is there any report on the capture of the prisoner Hildred. It is believed he escaped during the chaos.[1252]

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance:

James Reed's lynching did not spark a known or organized response immediately.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements?

James Reed's lynching did not immediately lead to legislative changes.

Memorialization/Commemoration:

As of now, there is no widely known memorial, monument, or annual event specifically dedicated to James Reed in Somerset County.

Ongoing Influence:

Reed's lynching would have left deep scars in not only Somerset County community but also within his family, but the exact influence is unknown.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

Conflicting accounts of the incident are common in many lynching cases, particularly when there is no formal investigation. The true details of what happened leading up to James Reed's death are difficult to fully ascertain, especially in the absence of a trial or any legal process.

Case Study: George Armwood
(Somerset County)

Basic Information

Full Name: George Armwood

Date of Birth: 1911

Place of Birth: Unknown; assumed to be Somerset County

Occupation/Background: Farm laborer employed by John H. Richardson, near Pocomoke City

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- Mother Etta Armwood, Grandmother Martha Miles, Sister Irema, Brother Clifford and an uncle lived on Fountain Road in Jamestown.[1253]
- Marci Bryant and Tina Johnson are descendants of the Armwood family and offered testimony at the Somerset County public hearing.

Additional Background Information:

- George Armwood was widely considered to be a very hard worker, uncomplaining, quiet, and generally well liked.[1254] He was also described as "feeble-minded." John Waters, a 21 year old who described himself as a friend of Armwood's said of him that "that guy was a little off at times." Waters suggested that this "feeble-mindedness"[1255] was at the root of an alleged sexual assault of a Black woman the prior year, but some claimed that it was not investigated because of the influence of Armwood's white employer.[3]

- George Armwood attended school until the age of fifteen, when according to his mother, "Mr. John H. Richardson and his wife requested that George be given to them."[4]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: October 16, 1933 in a wooded area

Description of Alleged Crime: Unsolicited non-fatal violence; sexual violence[1256]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Mary Denston, local, female, white, middle/upper class, adult (health), elderly[1257]

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: George Armwood, local, male, Black, lower class, adult, healthy, though reputed to be "feeble-minded"[1258]

Witness Statements or Claims:

- Mary Dentson claimed that she was attacked by a Black man while walking to her home. She did not know her assailant but declared that she could identify him out of a crowd of 1,000. Before she was able to do so, George Armwood was named as her attacker.[1259]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

Following the alleged attack, Richardson reportedly aided Armwood in his escape. George Armwood's mother asserted this to the *Afro-American Newspaper* and the rumor was repeated by John Waters, who described the Richardsons as "his [Armwood's] white people" and said that Richardson "helped George to get away from that mob which was hunting him."[1260]

After Mary Denston reported the attempted assault, police in Somerset County organized a search party to look for George Armwood in the woods near where the alleged assault took place, attracting hundreds of armed men from three counties. They questioned those in the area and searched the home of Armwood's mother Etta in Manokoo. George Armwood was found hiding in the home of John H. Richardson. He was dragged across the field and beaten as he was taken into custody. Etta Armwood saw the beating from her house and told reporters from the *Afro-American* that she feared her son would be killed.[1261]

Role of Authorities:

- Armwood was tied to the back of a car and walked first to the Princess Anne prison and then to the Wicomico jail in Salisbury, ten miles north of Princess Anne. After the lynching of Matthew Williams in 1931, lynch law had embarrassed Maryland authorities. The distance was not a guarantee of safety but it would put ten miles between George Armwood and potential lynchers in Princess Anne.[1262]
- However, by 5 o'clock the afternoon of Armwood's jailing in Salisbury, a white mob was forming. It was decided to shuttle George Armwood from Cecil County to as far as Baltimore City in an effort to avoid mob violence.[1263]
- Somerset County Circuit Court Judge Robert F. Duer- who was up for reelection in the fall[1264]- and State Attorney John Robins were pressured by their constituency to call for George Armwood's return to the Eastern Shore. The two assured Governor Albert C. Ritchie that the justice of the courts would not be circumvented by terror and lynch law. Governor Ritchie also faced re-election, so he agreed at 10 o'clock that night to send a convoy of State Police with George Armwood from Baltimore back to Princess Anne in the early morning of October 17.[1265]
- When the sun came up on October 18th, George Armwood was sitting in a cell at the Princess Anne. His return had been trumpeted in the papers and on the radio. Despite the promises of Duer and Robins, "the jail attracted the curious and the furious, people arrived by the hundreds, and the danger was clear and growing."[1266]
- The American Legion refused to provide reinforcements, and Robbins refused to allow George Armwood to be returned to Baltimore. Reports of unrest soon reached the governor, again Richie called Robins and Duer, and again, each man assured him that Armwood was safe. But with every minute, the mob was getting larger and more menacing, reportedly numbering in the thousands.[1267]
- At seven o'clock, Judge Duer reportedly spoke to the crowd while he was en route to a dinner party. "I know nearly all of you," he told the crowd, going on to say

that he was “one of them” and would hold the citizens “to their honor.” The crowd initially dispersed in response to Duer’s words, but it quickly reassembled[1268]

- Deputy Norman Dryden, Captain Edward McKim Johnson, and 23 other officers guarding the jailhouse threw teargas into the mob in response to the rocks and bricks thrown at them by the mob. As the smoke cleared, the lynch mob used two fifteen-foot timbers as battering rams to breach the jailhouse doors. Captain Johnson was reportedly knocked unconscious and Deputy Dryden was forced to hand over the keys to the cells.[1269]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 22 or 23 years old

Date and Time: October 18, 1933

Location of Lynching: Princess Anne, Somerset County

At what point did the lynching take place? After George Armwood had been apprehended and detained, but before any trial

Method of Lynching: Hanging, burning, stabbing, dragging

Who Was Involved:

- According to local press accounts the lynchers were “outsiders and vigilantes,” but according to non-local press accounts, the lynchers were “townfolks and criminals,” who were citizens of Salisbury and Princess Anne.[1270]

- Some of the persons identified as murderers of George Armwood include Gordon Butler (Mary Denton’s brother), Rusty Heath, William McKay, Dr. William H. Thompson, Ralph Powell, Big Boy Smith, Irvin Atkins, Martin Duer (and other family members of Judge Robert Duer), William P. Hearn, Jack Walloper, Mr. Jetsen, and Mr. Mays, some of whom were law enforcement officers and some of whom served on the coroner’s jury with the task of identifying the lynchers.[1271]

- Ralph Matthews, editor for the *Afro-American* newspaper, in an interview with Deputy Dryden, reported the name Shelburn Lester as the man who rushed and injured Capt. Johnson.[1272]

- A white man, Frank Spencer, gave a sworn statement on October 21, 1933 that he saw men, women and children participating in the brutalization and killing of George Armwood, including the local sheriff and members of the local American Legion.[1273]

SAYS GEORGE ARMWOOD WAS GOOD WORKER — Josh Henson (left), Princess Anne, Md., uncle of George Armwood, burned by Eastern Shore mob last week, and Frank Spencer, white, who declares he was an eyewitness to whole affair and can identify some members of the mob.

1274

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown; However John Robins, Somerset County State's Attorney refused to arrest the perpetrators of George Armwood's lynching.[1275]
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Preventative (though action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state law enforcement became involved)
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Preventative (though action, even if unsuccessful); Governor Ritchie expressed concern about George Armwood's safety as he was taken back to Somerset County, and blamed George Armwood's lynching on local law enforcement and judicial officials.[1276]

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Strangulation with abrasions, gun shot wounds, and burns

Additional Details:

- George Armwood hid under his jailhouse mattress but was dragged out of his cell by the mob and a noose was placed around his neck. Some reports indicate that when the mob threw George Armwood down 20 steel steps, that he was already dead before he was taken out of the jail.[1277] He was beaten, stabbed, and kicked, before he was tied to the back of a truck and driven to the place he would be hanged.
- Reportedly to show their contempt for Judge Duer, the mob dragged George Armwood behind the truck to the judge's home hoping to hang him there. One estimate was that the size of the mob was 5,000 people, almost six times the population of Princess Anne itself. Finding no suitable tree at Judge Duer's home, they chose the tall oak nearby.[1278]
- Before he was hanged, George Armwood's ears and penis were cut off and his gold teeth were ripped out. George Armwood was reportedly dead by the time the mob raised and dropped his body from a tree branch.[1279]

- The lynch mob then dragged George Armwood's corpse back to the courthouse on the corner of Prince and William Street in downtown Princess Anne. His body was hanged from a telephone pole and burned. His corpse was dumped in Hayman's Lumber Yard, to be gathered by the authorities in the morning.[1280]

- Black residents, particularly children heading to school, saw George Armwood's destroyed body as it lay in the lumberyard awaiting retrieval and burial.[1281]

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community:

- Then a cub reporter on his first assignment for the *Baltimore Afro-American*, Clarence Mitchell was allowed by the white leadership of Princess Anne to interview people in the hopes that Black journalists "w

- ould really let Blacks know what would happen to Blacks if they got out of line." As he began to talk with whites as well as Black residents, he saw a young white mother bringing her child who was no more than seven, eight years old to walk by and look at George Armwood's charred body, and say, "Look how we barbecued that nigger." Subsequently, Mitchell he spoke out at local Baltimore church and youth groups and condemned Princess Anne officials for failing to prevent the lynching. His and other eyewitness contemporaneous reports from *Baltimore Afro-American* journalists such as Sydney Hayman, Sam Doane, Paul Henderson, and Beulah Pinckney became the fuel for protests by the Black community in Maryland and nationwide.[1282]

- Among the condemnations was a critique of the labor system in Somerset County that reportedly exploited the labor of people with cognitive impairment as a "polite form of slavery." The *Afro-American* wrote a piece referring to this arrangement after the lynching. The article suggested that Armwood should have been placed in a psychiatric ward, but was not, "in spite of his mental infirmity or because of it, he was a good workman and an inexpensive one."[1283]

Media Coverage: Media coverage of the George Armwood murder spanned the nation, with heavy regional coverage in *The Baltimore Sun* and *The Afro American*, and national outlets such as Time Magazine[1284]

What was the disposition of the press toward crime? The white press declared the alleged assault as a "particularly heinous crime."[1285]

- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** While one source suggests that the press "Discouraged lynching,"[1286] another source indicated that posses and neighbors "reinforced the search" for George Armwood.

"Officers and Posses Hunt Somerset Woods for Negro Assailant of Aged Woman," *Salisbury Times*, October 16, 1933.

OFFICERS AND POSSES HUNT SOMERSET WOODS FOR NEGRO ASSAILANT OF AGED WOMAN

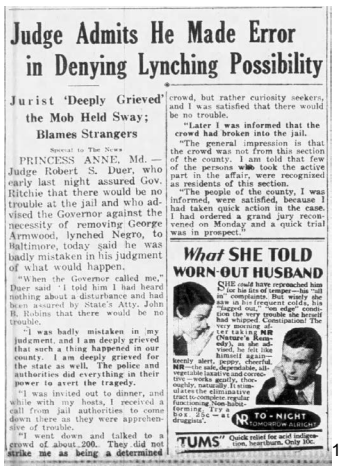
Man Assaulted Mrs. Mary Denston, 75, While She Was Walking Through Woods

VICTIM IS SUFFERING SHOCK AND NERVOUSNESS

Somerset Officers Re-enforced In Search By Neighbors And Wicomico Authorities

Princess Anne, Oct. 16—(AP)—Officers and posses of neighborhood farmers were scouring woods in the Jamestown section between Manokin and Kingston this afternoon in search for an unidentified negro who assaulted a 75-year-old white woman this morning and left her in a helpless con-

1287

- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Outraged, but for a variety of reasons:
- The local press portrayed onlookers as somber and matter of fact[1288]
- The non-local press portrayed onlookers as celebratory and souvenir seeking.[1289]
- The local white press expressed outrage at the portrayal of Somerset County residents as barbaric and blamed outsiders.
- 

Judge Admits He Made Error in Denying Lynching Possibility

Jurist 'Deeply Grieved' the Mob Held Sway; Blames Strangers

Special to The News

PRINCESS ANNE, Md.—Judge Robert S. Duer, who early last night assured Gov. Ritchie that there would be no trouble at the jail and who advised the Governor against the necessity of removing George Armwood, lynched Negro, to Baltimore, today said he was badly mistaken in his judgment of what would happen.

"When the Governor called me," Duer said "I told him I had heard nothing about a disturbance and had been assured by State's Atty. John H. Robins that there would be no trouble.

"I was badly mistaken in my judgment, and I am deeply grieved that such a thing happened in our county. I am deeply grieved for the state as well. The police and authorities did everything in their power to avert the tragedy.

"I was invited out to dinner, and while with my hosts, I received a call from jail authorities to come down there as they were apprehensive of trouble.

"I went down and talked to a crowd of about 200. They did not strike me as being a determined crowd, but rather curiosity seekers, and I was satisfied that there would be no trouble.

"Later I was informed that the crowd had broken into the jail.

"The general impression is that the crowd was not from this section of the county. I am told that few of the persons who took the active part in the affair, were recognized as residents of this section.

"The people of the county, I was informed, were satisfied, because I had taken quick action in the case. I had ordered a grand jury reconvened on Monday and a quick trial was in prospect."

What SHE TOLD WORN-OUT HUSBAND

SHE could have reproached him for his fits of temper—his "ill as" complaints. But wisely she suggested (respectfully, of course) that the very trouble she herself had whipped Constipation! The very morning after taking NR (Nature's Remedy) he felt like himself again—the safe, dependable, all-vegetable laxative and corrective—works gently, thoroughly, yet surely. Stimulates the eliminative tract to complete regular functioning. Non-habit-forming. Try a box. 25c—at druggists.

NR TO-NIGHT TOMORROW ALRIGHT

"TUMS" Quick relief for acid indigestion, heartburn. Only 10c

1290

- The non-local white press blamed Somerset County residents for lawlessness and shaming the state of Maryland.[1291]

"Mob Storms County Jail Wednesday Night; Lynches Negro Accused of Attacking White Woman Monday," *Crisfield Times*, October 20, 1933.

MOB STORMS COUNTY JAIL WEDNESDAY NIGHT; LYNCHES NEGRO ACCUSED OF ATTACKING WHITE WOMAN MONDAY

Crowd Of Several Thousand People Drag Body Of George Armwood Through The Streets After Battling With Guards

Captain Of State Police And Eight Other Officers Were Injured In The Attack

VICTIM HANGED AND BODY SET ON FIRE

Frenzied by a desire for vengeance because of a brutal attack on an aged white woman a mob of several thousand stormed the County jail at Princess Anne Wednesday night and took George Armwood, negro, to the streets of the City, hung him on a tree in the yard of the Thomas H. Bock residence, and then saturating his body with gasoline, burned it.

Despite the presence of about twen-

"Governor Puts Responsibility on Duer and State's Attorney," *Baltimore Sun*, October 19, 1933.

Governor Puts Responsibility On Duer And State's Attorney

[Special Dispatch to The Sun]

Annapolis, Oct. 18.—Governor Ritchie issued tonight the following statement regarding the Princess Anne lynching:

I am shocked beyond expression at the news tonight I did not know about the this horrible lynching. I am asking rest of the week Judge Duer and he Judge Duer and State's Attorney Robinson that I look to them to take immediate action to get to motive the necessary legal machinery for the apprehension of those who were responsible for or who participated in the lynching, and I have instructed Police Commissioner Gaither to send several of his detectives to the scene at once in order to render all the assistance they could. Members of the State police force are already in Princess Anne and whatever possible assistance the State can give in this whole matter will be promptly and vigorously rendered.

The responsibility for the Negro

tion tomorrow and that he felt perfectly sure the men would be entirely safe tonight.

I then telephoned Captain Johnson, who said that about our last conversation that he had made more inquiries in different sections of the county and that he also had talked with Judge Duer and that he now felt that there would be no trouble tonight and that the Negro would be entirely safe at Princess Anne.

Captain Johnson had a force of forty State police with him.

Put Situation Up To Johnson

"Shore Mob Lynches Negro," *Baltimore Sun*, October 19, 1933.

SHORE MOB LYNCHES NEGRO

DRAGS HIM TO HIS DEATH FROM PRINCESS ANNE JAIL

Among 9 Injured By Shore Mob

CAPT. EDWARD JOHN JOHNSON

CAPT. JOHNSON, OF STATE POLICE, AND EIGHT OTHERS HURT DEFENDING PRISONER

Yelling Crowd Of 5,000 Hangs White Woman's Alleged Assailant To Tree On Main Thoroughfare And Sets Fire To Body

NOOSE AROUND HIS NECK, VICTIM PULLED FOR MILE

Women And Children In Frenzied Throng—Leaders Debate Staging Execution On Judge's Front Lawn, But Decide Against It

By WILLIAM O. PLATER
Staff Correspondent of The Sun

[Copyright, 1933, by The Sun]

Princess Anne, Oct. 18—George Armwood, Negro, 28, accused of attacking a 71-year-old woman, was dragged from the jail here tonight, hanged on the limb of an oak tree on the main thoroughfare of the city, and his body set afire.

Five thousand yelling men, women and children were in the mob.

The lynching took place at 9:30.

- The Black press expressed outrage at the barbaric nature of George Armwood's murder, the lack of justice in the failure to convict his killer, and the suggestion by some members of the Black community that George Armwood could have had a fair trial had it not been for a "self-seeking" white lawyer in another case.[1292]

Nation's Biggest All-Negro Weekly — THE AFRO-AMERICAN, WEEK OF OCTOBER 28, 1933

Exclusive Afro Coverage of Armwood Lynching

JAILER NAMES HESTER AS A MOB MEMBER

Calls Name of Member of Mob Who Was Struck by Cop.

CITIZEN GIVES HIM DENIAL CUE

Reminds Deputy They Were All "Strangers."

The Press on Maryland's Second Annual Lynching

NAME WOMAN'S RELATIVE AS A MOB MEMBER

Baltimore Folk Expected Eastern Shore Lynching

WE DIDN'T WANT TO HURT NOBODY, SAYS CORPORAL

RITCHIE BLAMED BY REDS FOR LYNCHING

I.L.D. Demands Arrest and Death Penalty for Officials.

ANTI-LYNCHING MEETING HERE

Nov. 12 Date Set for Regional Conference.

CHILD IS KILLED AS MOB SEEKS PREY TO LYNCH

Whites and Blacks Mingle Freely After Dark in Princess Anne

MOTHER'S HEART IS BROKEN FROM LYNCH TRAGEDY

CORONER PROBED ONLY 7 MINUTES, NO DECISION

MOB MEMBERS KNEW PREY WAS FEEBLE - MINDED

TOWN FLOODED WITH CURIOSITY SEEKERS

Page 1 / 1

- 1293

Legal/Political Consequences:

- Ralph Matthews, editor for the *Afro- American* newspaper, in an interview with Deputy Dryden, reported the name Shelburn Lester as the man who rushed and injured Capt. Johnson. It was apparent that people of Salisbury and Princess Anne were deeply involved with the lynching, and the mob was not composed of strangers and out-of-towners as many asserted later.[1294]

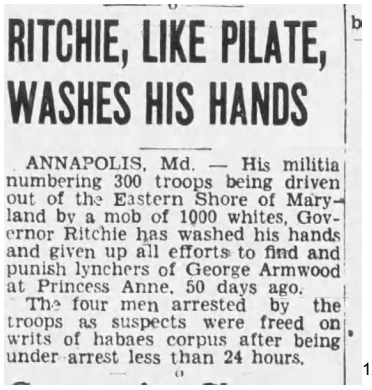
- Even after state police identified nine men as acting leaders of the mob, a local jury that included men who were known to have participated in the lynching, issued no indictments for Armwood´s murder.[1295]

- Governor Ritchie blamed Judge Duer and State Attorney Robins for George Armwood's lynching and prompted an investigation to find those responsible.[1296]

- In November 1933, Attorney General Preston Lane ordered the Maryland National Guard to Salisbury and arrest suspected lynchers. Twelve men total were named as being members of the lynch mob. Hostilities between the Salisbury locals and the National Guard broke out. It reached the point where local chants of "Lynch Lane" prompted the State Attorney General to leave the city. The next day in Somerset County, four men were on trial for the lynching in Princess Anne on a habeas corpus hearing. One thousand white supporters cheered as the jury ordered the release of the accused.[1297]

- In January 1934, a grand jury heard testimony from 42 witnesses to the murder of George Armwood, including twelve Black men who were held in the jail and had heard, if not saw, George Armwood dragged to his death. Those interviewed claimed that the organizers of the lynching were not from the local community, and therefore they could not identify anyone involved that night.

- No one was ever convicted of murdering George Armwood.



RITCHIE, LIKE PILATE, WASHES HIS HANDS

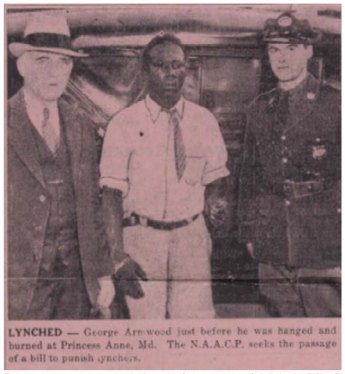
ANNAPOLIS, Md. — His militia numbering 300 troops being driven out of the Eastern Shore of Maryland by a mob of 1000 whites, Governor Ritchie has washed his hands and given up all efforts to find and punish lynchers of George Armwood at Princess Anne, 50 days ago.

The four men arrested by the troops as suspects were freed on writs of habaes corpus after being under arrest less than 24 hours.

1298

Legacy and Impact

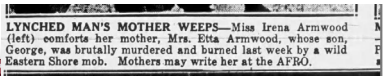
Cultural/Political Significance:
The generational trauma of George Armwood's brutal murder for a crime that he may not have committed impacted generations of the Armwood family and the Somerset County Black community.[1299]



LYNCHED — George Armwood just before he was hanged and burned at Princess Anne, Md. The N.A.A.C.P. seeks the passage of a bill to punish lynchers.

Image source: privately owned NAACP flyer

1300

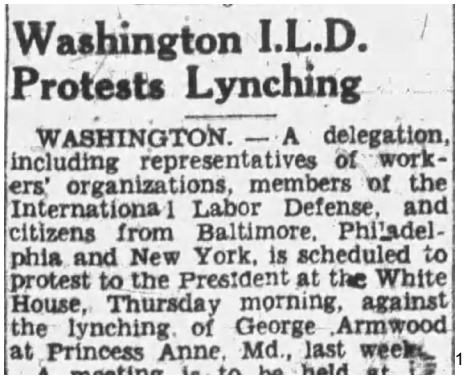


LYNCHED MAN'S MOTHER WEEPS—Miss Irena Armwood (left) comforts her mother, Mrs. Etta Armwood, whose son, George, was brutally murdered and burned last week by a wild Eastern Shore mob. Mothers may write her at the AFRO.

1301

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements?

- As part of an ongoing regional and national attempts to create a national anti-lynching bill, Black organizations, churces, and activists were joined by white clergy, members of the Communist Party, the International Labor Defense to protest George Armwood as the most recent in a long string of racial terror lynchings.



Washington I.L.D. Protests Lynching

WASHINGTON. — A delegation, including representatives of workers' organizations, members of the International Labor Defense, and citizens from Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, is scheduled to protest to the President at the White House, Thursday morning, against the lynching of George Armwood at Princess Anne, Md., last week.

1302

Wilmington's Councilman Introduces Resolution Condemning Lynching

JOHN O. HOPKINS, colored member of the Wilmington, Del., city council, who last Thursday introduced at the council meeting a resolution condemning the "grievous happening" of the Armwood lynching in Maryland. The resolution was unanimously adopted.

1303

Memorialization/Commemoration:

- A formerly enslaved man, 60 year-old William Jones, the proud father of J. Leonidas Jones, who was the principal of the Bowie State Normal School, built a wooden coffin for George Armwood the day after his murder.[1304]
- In 2017, the Community Remembrance Project of the Equal Justice Initiative collected soil from the site of George Armwood's lynching as part of a process for memorializing him.[1305]

Ongoing Influence:

- Award-winning playwright Marci Bryant was born in 1950 and is the oldest grandchild of George Armwood's cousin Esther Armwood. Bryant spoke of the generational trauma of George Armwood's lynching, told by her grandmother as horror stories to the ears of young children, and how Grammy Esther urged all of her grandchildren to leave the hostility and racial segregation of Princess

Anne: “I want you to leave this place as soon as you’re able, if you’re ever going to make something out of yourself and your life, you’re going to leave Princess Anne.” According to Grammy Esther, George Armwood’s murder destroyed the whole family, so that George’s mother, Etta, and others in the family were never the same again and felt helpless and hopeless. Grammy Esther, however, leaned on her religion to forgive, even though she could never forget what happened to her cousin. In honor of George Armwood, Bryant hopes that people will “be inspired to raise up and do their part, whatever that part is, so that we can become a unified people and a unified nation.”[1306]

- Tina Johnson Harris is the granddaughter of Mary Armwood Braxton (called Nana or Nene) who was another of George Armwood’s first cousins. Nene Mary was present when the mob dragged George Armwood out the woods following the alleged assault.

- Harris described the generational trauma that visited her branch of the family when, decades later, a family member who was dating a white woman in Pennsylvania, got into a lover’s quarrel in a public parking lot and ended up falsely imprisoned for four years.

- It prompted Nene Mary to tell Harris the story of George Armwood screaming, “Mama, Mama, I didn’t do it, Mama. Mama, I didn’t touch that woman,” and Etta Armwood stopped him and she looked at him and she said, “You didn’t do what?” “Ma, they said I tried to have sex with that old white woman.” According to Nene Mary’s story, Etta Armwood told her son to “go over there and tell [your] white people.”

- Later that night, Nene Mary said she, Etta Armwood and other family members were sitting outside by the fire and several cars came up. A group of white people, police officers and a small mob told them that if they didn’t give George Armwood up, that they would all die. So, Etta Armwood told them that her son was with “his white people” and pointed to the house across the field. She said 30 minutes or so after, the family saw the mob pulling George Armwood out of the woods, dragging him out by rope, tying him to the back of a car, where they then made him walk all the way to Princess Anne from Westover. Later on, a Black man knocked on the door and told the family that George was dead. Nene Mary later learned the brutality of how George Armwood’s body was treated.

- Reflecting on the imprisonment of her young relative who was dating a white girl, Nene Mary said to a young Harris, “These Black men will never learn, will they?“ Years later in a college classroom at Salisbury University, Harris read in a history textbook a single sentence that stated, “George Armwood murder was the last reported lynching in the state of Maryland on October 18, 1933 in Princess Anne, Maryland.” George Armwood became the subject of her history paper, the story of “A good man who would do anything for anyone. A great and hard worker, and a pretty good singer. I was told that ‘His Eyes Is on the Sparrow’ was his favorite song, and that he would sing it and hum it all the time. I was told that people used to wait by the fence as he would walk by whistling that song usually with the small bag in his hand on his way to work. I also remember it being one of my Nana’s favorite songs as well.”[1307]

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

- The age of Mrs. Denston according to an article in *Afro-American*, October 21, 1933, notes Mrs. Denston was seventy-one-years-old. Ifill's book lists Mrs. Denston as eighty-two-years old.[1308]
- Given the swiftness with which the Princess Anne community, the local media, and the local law enforcement condemned George Armwood in the absence of any credible evidence, and the refusal to hold accountable any of the lynchers who were identified by local law enforcement, it is possible that there are controversies and discrepancies in the case of George Armwood's lynching.

WICOMICO COUNTY LYNCHING CASES

Case Study: Garfield King
(Wicomico County)

Basic Information

Full Name: James Garfield King[1309]

Date of Birth: 1880

Place of Birth: Trappe area of Wicomico County

Occupation/Background: Farm laborer and church worker

Marital Status: Single

Family and Personal Background:

- Son of Nathan King and Ann Maria (King)
- Had seven siblings (Alexander King, Minerva King, Scott King, Alice King, Louisa King, James U. King, and Naomi King)[1310]
- The Kings were one of the first black prominent families to settle in Trappe District, Maryland. The King family also contributed to the social and economic success of Trappe District by becoming college graduates, religious leaders, educators, veterans, entrepreneurs, political leaders, history makers, and law abiding citizens.[1311]
- Garfield King's nephew, Thomas Pope (son of Garfield King's sister, Alice King Polk) was a Buffalo Soldier.[1312]
- Many King family members attended Friendship United Methodist Episcopal Church and are buried in its cemetery.[1313]

Additional Background Information:

- His family valued education as verified by the records of the Princess Anne "Colored" Academy[1314] from which several members, including Garfield King, graduated.
- Was highly regarded by his neighbors[1315] and considered popular[1316]
- Described as a mulatto (mixed Black and white ancestry)
- "He never had the opportunity to have children because his life had just started."[1317]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: Saturday, May 21, 1898 at Twigg's store near Allen in Wicomico county[1318]

Description of Alleged Crime: Shooting and killing Herman Kenney

Victim of Alleged Crime: Herman Kenney (Local, Male, White, Adult (healthy))

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Garfield King (Local, Male, Black, Child or Teenager)

Witness Statements or Claims:

- According to an *Evening Journal* article, "before [Herman Kenney] died he made a deposition to State's Attorney Rider, charging King with deliberate murder without cause. He said he simply pushed King aside to get out of a store where he was, when King pulled out his pistol, and, taking aim shot him, saying as he did so, 'Take that, you —.' A jury of inquest rendered a verdict of murder against King."[1319]

- In an *Afro-American* article it alleges that Garfield King acted in self defense, shooting Herman Kenney only after he struck Garfield King in the face.[1320]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: Unsolicited fatal violence - shooting and killing Herman Kenney

On the evening of Saturday, May 21, 1898 both Herman Kenney and Garfield King found themselves at Twigg's store in Trappe, Wicomico County, Maryland. According to *The Evening Journal* and other news outlets Herman Kenney "entered the store to make a purchase. While there Garfield King came in and brushed by him, at the same time acting in an insolent manner. Later, another negro at the door called Kenny a foul name and dared him to come outside. As he stepped to the door Garfield King shot him, the bullet entering the abdomen and lodging somewhere near the spine."[1321] Other articles state that "the trouble was caused by a gang of ten negroes attacking several white boys in the store. On going out of doors the trouble was continued, when it is alleged, [Garfield] King pulled out his pistol and shot Kenney in the abdomen."[1322]

Accounts that covered Garfield King's side say "that when Kenny came out he struck him twice, and he was compelled to shoot in self-defence."[1323] The *Afro-American* offers a different date for the trigger incident, but states that "on May 23, he went into a store which was owned and operated by Simon Kenny white. As he entered the store, [Garfield] King accidentally stepped on the foot of Kenny, who was sitting with his feet across the doorway. The men engaged in a quarrel, during which Kenny struck [Garfield] King in the face. [Garfield] King went to his home and obtained his revolver. When he returned, he fired several shots at Kenny, all of which entered his body."[1324]

Garfield King was arrested by Sheriff Dashiell and brought to jail Sunday morning. Garfield King supposedly admitted the shooting, but said he did it in self-defense.[1325]Kenny was removed to the Peninsular Hospital for treatment, but the wound is considered dangerous.[1326] On May 24, 1898, Herman Kenney died at Peninsular (Peninsula) General Hospital in Salisbury[1327].

Role of Authorities:

- Governor Lownders supposedly approved Garfield King's move to Baltimore's jail and Garifeld King's removal would have been made the day after he was lynched.[1328]
- Sheriff Dashiell[1329]supposedly double barred and locked the jail doors to prevent a mob for entering[1330] and articles state that Sheriff Dashiell refused to hand over keys to the jail and extinguished lights to prevent the mob from finding Garfield King's cell.

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 18

Date and Time: May 25, 1898 around 2 a.m.

Location of Lynching: Salisbury, Wicomico County, Maryland

At what point did the lynching take place? Shortly after the crime, but before any conclusive investigation

Method of Lynching: Hanging, Shooting

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local law enforcement play in the lynching?** Preventative (through action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local executive became involved)
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state law enforcement became involved)
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state executive became involved)

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Mutilated (asphyxiated and riddled with bullets)

"The body presented a most shocking sight with its fifty or more pistol and gunshot wounds all over it."[1331]

Additional Details:

Supposedly, the day before Garfield King's scheduled appearance, the streets of Salisbury were already swirling with rumors of a potential lynching. It seems that for a particular element of the Salisbury community, justice was not swift enough.[1332] Garfield King's attorneys (Graham and Fitch) "hearing an attempt would be made on [Garfield King's] life, asked the permission of Governor Lownders to send [Garfield King] to Baltimore, and the removal was to have been made [the day after he was lynched]."[1333]

"As the night drew to close, squads of invisible men gathered on the courthouse green in front of the jail where King was being held, preparing for a ritual that the town of Salisbury had not yet witnessed, which historian Donald Matthews later named "the Southern right of human sacrifice.""[1334]

The following is a tentative timeline of Garfield King's lynching from *Times Herald* Article:

- "About 11 o'clock several men rode into town from Trappe district and halted in front of the jail. Every few minutes men dressed in gum trousers, tarpaulin hats and gum boots could be seen going around the courthouse in the direction of the jail. At midnight, when the electric lights were shut off, a cheer went up, and shortly afterward signals could be heard."[1335]
- "By this time the crowd swelled to over 100 men, talking in whispers and awaiting their leader. At 12:30 a.m. the leader arrived with a shotgun, accompanied by three other men with large clubs."[1336]
- At 12:35 ten men came up with a telegraph pole and the leader rapped on the door, calling to Sheriff Dashiell to open. The request being refused, the telegraph pole was brought into action as a ram. The first blow was given amid cheers and curses. After ten minutes of hard work the door was battered down and the crowd mounted the steps and called for a light. Sheriff Dashiell having extinguished all the lights in the jail as soon as the attack was made."[1337]
- "A lantern was procured and search begun for [Garfield King]. The crowd was so anxious to get hold of the right man that repeated cries of "Get the right man" were heard on all sides. Sheriff Dashiell refused to give up the keys to the cell, and the leader, producing a sledge, broke the lock. While the men were breaking open the door [Garfield King] was on his knees begging for mercy."[1338]

- "The crowd dragged him from the cell, and some one said, "shoot him," but the crowd downstairs, not wishing to be cheated out of their revenge, shouted, "No, bring him down.""[1339]
- "...He was then dragged downstairs, fighting for his life. At this time someone blew out the light. Fearing [Garfield King] would escape one of the crowd struck him with a club."[1340]
- "Before [Garfield King] could be strung up several of the gang kicked and stamped upon him."[1341]

Additional details of Garfield King's lynching include:

- The lynchers were described as men from the neighborhood in which Kenney's parents lived, or living in outlying districts of the county.[1342]
- Garfield King was hung in front of the jail yard.
- "As [Garfield King] dangled in the air at least fifty pistol bullets were fired into his body, which was left hanging while the lynchers dispersed."[1343]
- Holland, the local judge, was suddenly awakened by the shots that had been fired. When he arrived at the scene, King's lifeless body was still dangling in the air, riddled with more than 100 bullets. Unfortunately, the spectacle would continue. Holland ordered Garfield King's body to be taken down and placed in the nearby engine house for protection until burial arrangements were made. By morning, this makeshift mortuary had transformed into a gallery and Garfield King's mutilated body was the featured exhibition.[1344]
- "As the crowd left the leader called out 'let this be a warning to colored murderers.'"[1345]
- *"Every thread of the rope used to lynch King was cut up and carried off by crowds.* The rear of the courthouse is riddled with bullets and buckshot that missed the victim last night."[1346]
- "By the afternoon, the exhibition had ended, and the town undertaker, George C. Hill, wrapped [Garfield] King's mutilated and exploited body in a winding sheet and placed him in a coffin. [Garfield] King was finally laid to rest in a cemetery just beyond the New York, Philadelphia, and Norfolk Railroad. On May 31, the so-called Negro community of Salisbury and Wicomico County packed into the John Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church to condemn the lynching of Garfield [King]."[1347]
- "The corpse of [Garfield King] remained at the engine-house until late this afternoon awaiting someone to claim it. [Garfield] King's father, [Nathaniel King], sent word he would be here this afternoon, but at 4 o'clock the sheriff received a telegram from him saying he could not get here and asking that the body of his son be given a decent burial in the Potter's field. The body was turned over to Undertake Hill, who buried it."[1348]
    - In the words of Nathaniel King's great great granddaughter, Garfield King's father, Nathaniel King did not show up to confirm his son's identity due to a possibility that he would receive the same treatment as his son.[1349]As a result, Garfield King's body has not had a proper burial.

<u>Aftermath</u>

Coroner's Jury:

Garfield King's lynching was the first lynching and hanging to take place in Wicomico County. Because of this, there surfaced a belief that "there [was] some strong inducement at work to discover the leader of the lynchers and bring him and his gang to justice."[1350]

A jury of inquest was empaneled by Justice Trader[1351] and the following men:

- B.H. Parker
- Samuel Gunby

    - Lemuel Malone
    - Frank Waller
    - Dr. L.S. Bell
    - O.J. Schneck
    - Wesley Hearn
    - Harry Dennis
    - W.I. Todd,
    - L. M. Dashiell
    - Dr. E.W. Humphreys
    - John Polk[1352]
- "After hearing the evidence of Sheriff Dashiell the jury adjourned…no effort has been made to capture any of the lynchers. Many of the men were unmasked, but the extreme darkness outside the prison and the dim light inside made it almost impossible to distinguish faces. The sentiment of the best people in the county is very much against such acts of violence, but the fact that a majority of the lynchers were residents of the outside districts relieves them somewhat for responsibility."[1353]
- "State's Attorney Rider summoned over 50 witnesses before the coroner's jury to give testimony in the lynching case of the young negro Garfield King…ex-senator E. Stanley Toadvin was one of the important witnesses. He testified that he entered the jail as soon as the door was broken open to try and save [Garfield King] by reasoning with the frenzied crowd, and also to protect four other colored men who were in another cell and who were clients of his. The ex-Senator said it was impossible to distinguish any one in the dimly-lighted corridor, and that many of the men had their faces either blacked or covered with red."[1354]
- "The testimony of all the other witnesses was to the same effect. All agreed that the leader of the gang was a very tall, lean fellow, who was disguised in his dress and who had a mask over his face…the leader was a tall man who could not be identified."[1355]
- "Tobin, an eyewitness, claimed that he entered into the jail as soon as the mob broke in, hoping to reason with them and also to protect four of his other Negro clients who were in the cell besides King. In the end, Tobin claimed that he was unable to identify any member of the mob due to the lack of lighting and the fact that many of the men had their facings blackened and covered with red paint."[1356]
- Despite a lot of articles stating that the lynchers wore masks and the setting was dimly lit, a *Baltimore Sun* article states: "Neither the leader of the lynchers nor any of the party wore masks. They called each other by name and no attempt at secrecy was made."[1357]
- "The coroner's jury returned a verdict that Garfield King came to his death at the hands of unknown parties. It is evident also that there is a sameness in the verdicts rendered in such cases."[1358]
- "Most of the men were fishermen from along the Wicomico river and many of them leading citizens of their districts."[1359]
- "The sentiment of the best people in the county is very much against such acts of violence, but the fact that a majority of the lynchers were residents of the outside districts relieves them somewhat for responsibility."[1360]

Reaction from the Community:

White and Black citizens of Salisbury alike condemned the lynching of Garfield King and decried the undermining of the rule of law.[1361] Some quotes from articles include:

- "The citizens stand in horror that such a brutal crime was committed under the very nose of the court and to be powerless to [undecipherable] the mob. Hundreds of men stood in groups about the city and discussed the whole affair. People viewed

the body as it lay in the old engine house, where it was placed by Sheriff Dashiell after being cut down."[1362]

- "The colored residents are sullen and angry, but the counsel of the wiser heads among them will prevail to avert any trouble…"[1363]

The unnamed author of an editorial in *The Salisbury Advertiser* printed on May 28, 1898 asserted that the lynchers did not realize the seriousness of their offense in dealing a "blow" to civil government, and that the community needed to have more faith that justice would be carried out through the court system and under the rule of law.[1364] *The Baltimore Sun* also indicated that several men from the district where Garfield King lived bought guns and munitions to quell a possible massing of negroes they claimed had made threats against whites. The group promised to "quell any disturbance in their district, even to the extent of exterminating the blacks."[1365]

> "Several men from the neighborhood of where Garfield King lived arrived in Salisbury this afternoon and visited all the stores which sell revolvers and ammunition, and purchased a good lot. They brought the report that the negroes in the district were massing and had sent out threats against the whites, and these men came quick for additional guns and ammunition. The whites say they will quell any disturbance in their district, even to the extent of exterminating the blacks."[1366]

The following Tuesday, May 31, 1898 many Black citizens of Salisbury met at the John Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church, where they drafted a resolution condemning the lynching that was published in *The Salisbury Advertiser* the following Saturday, June 4, 1898. The resolution affirmed the principles that a person is innocent until proven guilty and that the right to a trial by jury was a fundamental element of the preservation of peace and order in the community.[1367] That same night, a committee of five persons including the well-known civil rights lawyer of Baltimore W. Asby Hawkins and former state comptroller and state tax commissioner Robert P. Graham was appointed to petition Governor Lloyd Lowndes to offer a $1,000 reward for the arrest of the lynchers.[1368]

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** A particularly heinous crime
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Outraged

- The *Baltimore Sun* had time to send people to report on Garfield King's lynching, which indicates that people knew ahead of time.
- Lynchers were portrayed as outsiders and vigilantes in the local press. Outside press portrayed the lynchers as town folk vigilante.[1369]
- The on-lookers were portrayed as somber in the local press but as celebratory and/or souvenir seeking in the outside press.[1370]
- "The lynching of Garfield King has aroused great indignation in Salisbury, where the people are orderly and law abiding."[1371]

Headlines

FULL OF LEAD.

Garfield King, a Negro Murderer, Falls Into a Mob's Hands at Salisbury, Md. 1372

VICTIM OF A MOB'S WRATH

Garfield King, Colored, Taken From Jail and Lynched.

STRUNG TO A TREE AND SHOT

One Hundred Bullets Fired Into the Corpse.

The Lynching Occurred at Salisbury, Md., Early This Morning—When the Lynchers Entered the Cell, the Negro Was on His Knees, Begging For Mercy. 1373

Murderer Hanged by Mob. 1374

LYNCHING IS FEARED 1375

SALISBURY LYNCHING.

Horror and Indignation Succeeds a Spasm of Frenzy and Lawlessness. 1376

SALISBURY LYNCHING

Horror And Indignation Succeeds A Spasm Of Frenzy And Lawlessness.

THE AUTHORITIES AROUSED

Judge Holland Says It Was A Shame And A Disgrace.

Consultation With The State's Attorney And The County Commissioners—Determined Effort To Be Made To Bring The Ringleaders In The Outrage To Punishment—Men Buying Arms. 1377

LYNCHING IN MARYLAND.

Garfield King, a Negro Murderer, Taken From Jail at Salisbury, Md., and Done to Death. 1378

Mob Vengeance in Maryland. 1379

Garfield King Hanged and Shot to Pieces by a Mob--Robert Fielding Gets Two Years For Allowing Fraudulent Claims. 1380

LYNCHING IN WICOMICO

Garfield King, a Colored Lad, Strung to a Tree.

HIS BODY RIDDLED WITH BULLETS 1381

NEGRO BOY LYNCHED.

GARFIELD KING PAYS THE PENALTY OF CRIME.

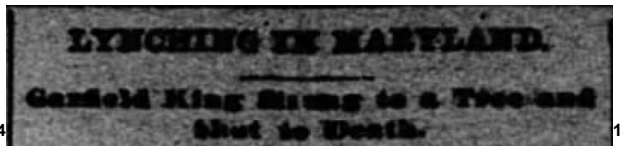
Mob Breaks Into the Jail at Salisbury, Md., and Executes an Alleged Murderer – $140,000,000 in Gold Now in New York Clearing House.

Mob Vengeance in Maryland.

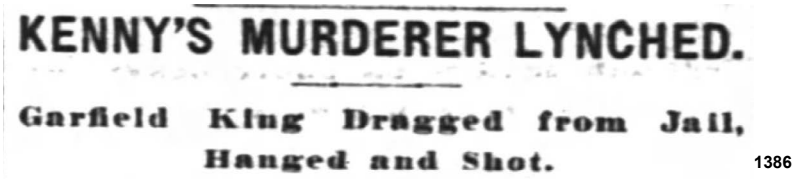
1382 1383

LYNCH A NEGRO BOY.

Maryland Mob Hangs Garfield King for Killing a White Boy.



1384 1385



KENNY'S MURDERER LYNCHED.

Garfield King Dragged from Jail, Hanged and Shot.

1386

Legal/Political Consequences:

Despite the jury of inquest and the petition to Governor Lloyd Lowndes to offer a $1,000 reward for the arrest of the lynchers, there were no known legal or political consequences for the lynchers of Garfield King.

Legacy and Impact

Descendants of Garfield King spoke at the October 22, 2022 Wicomico County Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission public hearing and shared the profound and devastating impact of Garfield King's lynching on their family and community:

- "My family, the King family, were terrorized and the fear lasted for generations and generations. But today I stand here as the granddaughter of Mary King, whose father was Neman King, whose father was Scott King, and James Garfield King was the brother of Scott King, my great, great grandfather." –Ms. LaTanya Christopher (Descendant)[1387]
- "Garfield was buried in an unknown land and never had a proper burial…my ancestors didn't even retrieve the body because of fear of something was going to happen to them. We, the family of Garfield King, would like to exhume his body and give him the burial he so deserves."–Ms. LaTanya Christopher (Descendant)[1388]
- "My family, as I look back on my grandmother, Mary King, she was so untrusting. She lived in fear of people. Why? Because of what happened to her ancestor."–Ms. LaTanya Christopher (Descendant)[1389]
- "He was lynched on a courthouse lawn by a white violent mob. This is the same courthouse that, when I was a little girl, I would read the sign that said no colored drink from this water fountain."–Ms. Cynthia King Polk (Descendant)[1390]

- "Our family did not stop being a model citizen because of our experiences. Instead, we learned to prove how loyal we were as a family."–Ms. Cynthia King Polk (Descendant)[1391]
- "All of our families are sacred. And if we do not honor our ancestors, we do not honor those babies we bring home from the hospital.So when my granddaughter sees I don't like speaking in an audience, but there's time that we have to do things that make us uncomfortable, this is how we are going to able to fix our schools because our children are seeing, well, they must not be that important. Nobody talks about it." –Ms. Cynthia King Polk (Descendant)[1392]

Cultural/Political Significance:
Garfield King's lynching was the first in Wicomico county and "the first hanging of any character."[1393]

The Black community was outraged by the violence and the failure of the establishment to bring the murderers to justice. Many of Wicomico's white citizens publicly condemned the lynching as an assault on the legal process and civility. Tensions between Blacks and whites continued to rise, particularly after Marshall Hamilton was said to instruct his police officers to use their clubs on colored men. White men were reported to have armed themselves heavily in anticipation of assaults by angered Blacks.[1394]

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There are no known and/or explicit legislative changes or social movements that were sparked by the lynching of Garfield King in Wicomico County, Maryland.

Memorialization/Commemoration: While there are no known memorials specifically dedicated to Garfield King alone, his lynching is collectively commemorated alongside Matthew Williams and an unidentified 33-year-old victim through a historical marker unveiled on May 22, 2021, on the Salisbury courthouse lawn. The Wicomico Truth and Reconciliation Initiative, in partnership with the Equal Justice Initiative, the City of Salisbury Lynching Memorial Task Force, the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, and numerous descendants and community members, helped establish the marker and organize additional commemorative events—including a soil collection ceremony, with jars now on display at the Legacy Museum in Montgomery, Alabama, and a 2020 candlelight vigil honoring victims of racial terror.[1395]

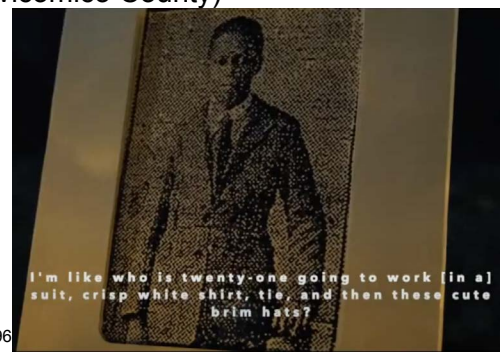
Ongoing Influence: Garfield King is the first documented lynching in Wicomico and more than 33 years would pass before the 1931 lynching of Matthew Williams and another yet to be identified victim would occur in Wicomico. Although there is no explicit evidence, Garfield King's lynching likely caused lasting trauma for his descendants and the Black community of Wicomico County, Maryland. It also likely shifted the dynamics between the white and Black citizens of Wicomico, an unspoken tension and hostility fostered by the violent act.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:
There are discrepancies concerning whether Herman Kenney's death was the result of a disagreement or self defense, but there is no dispute that Garfield King did shoot and kill Herman Kenney.

Case Study: Matthew Williams

(Wicomico County)



1396

Basic Information

Full Name: Matthew Williams

Date of Birth: February 8, 1908

Place of Birth: Norfolk, Virginia[1397]

Occupation/Background: Laborer in a box factory[1398]

Marital Status: Single

Family and Personal Background:

- Son of Harry/Hosay and Annie Handy Williams
- He had one sister named Olivia Simmons who lived in Philadelphia, PA[1399]
- After his mother's death he was raised by his maternal grandmother, Mary Lowe Handy, widow of Thomas.[1400]
- Matthew Williams' aunt, Mrs. Addie Black, assumed responsibility for him following his grandmother's death.[1401]
- His cousin, Miss Mary Black, lived close by (if not with him in Maryland)[1402]
- Most of Matthew Williams' acquaintances called him "Buddie"[1403]

Additional Background Information:

- Matthew Williams left school at an early age of 14 to help support his family. He was known as a hardworking, thrifty young man whose plans included buying a house and a farm before marrying.[1404]
    - "He was well liked by everyone in the community who knew him. He was the type of person who always went alone. Never have I seen him with a group of young men or women other than at a baseball game."[1405]
- Attended John Wesley Methodist Church[1406]
- Planned to join the Elks, a fraternal group[14071408]
- Enjoyed the movies, reading, and playing baseball[1409]
- Supposedly had an obsession with straight hair and "squeezed a small portion from his hoardings to have his hair straightened [by] the Apex Beauty Shop, operated by Mrs. Mae Phillips…Defying the jeers of fellow citizens…the only man in the small town who dared have his hair straightened."[1410]
- Was considered an extremely sharp dresser
- Had dreams and aspirations of entrepreneurship[1411]
- Worked for Daniel J. (D.J.) Elliott[1412], a local lumberyard and box factory owner
    - Matthew Williams had been a laborer for Daniel J. (D.J.) Elliott since childhood, and to all who knew him, was liked by and extremely loyal to the Elliott family[1413]

        - "Matt thought a lot of Mr. Elliott, and both the old man and his son thought a lot of Matt."[1414]
    - "Williams was a very quiet fellow. He never engaged in any quarrels with the others at the plant nor did he associate with them. In fact, I can't recall anyone who wasn't a friend to the youth. He was considered a good reliable worker. He knew what he was supposed to do and did it without someone watching him. He was faithful and conscientious while at work. He worked relentlessly from the starting whistle to the closing whistle." —Holland Walters, fellow worker[1415]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: Friday, December 4, 1931 at Daniel J. (D.J.) Elliott's office located on Lake Street

Description of Alleged Crime: Matthew Williams was accused of shooting and killing his employer, Daniel J. (D.J.) Elliott, over his wages.

Victim of Alleged Crime: Daniel J. (D.J.) Elliott (white, male)

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Matthew Williams (Black, male)

Witness Statements or Claims:

- There are no witnesses to the murder of Daniel J. (D.J.) Elliott and lots of news articles explicitly state "No one saw the killing of Elliott."[1416]
- Despite no eyewitnesses to what took place in Daniel J. (D.J.) Elliott's office, there are testimonies from other witnesses immediately following the shooting of Daniel J. (D.J.) Elliott:
    - "Mrs. Lena Tingle, secretary to Mr. Elliott, who was in a room adjoining his office, told the police she did not hear any conversation between her employer and the negro before the shooting."[1417]
    - "One of the boys who worked at the other end of the plant stated that he had seen young Mr. Elliott when he shot Matt, as [Matthew Williams] was staggering across the lumber yard."[1418]
    - Descendants of Marie Johnson Waller, a nurse at Peninsula General Hospital, had Matthew Williams as her patient before he was abducted by the mob. Her descendants Kathy Zieger and Rosemary Cupp testified "My mom always emphasized that [Matthew Williams] was innocent. She said he was accused of killing the boss, but actually it was the boss's son who committed the murder.[1419]
    - According to contemporary accounts, Thomas Chatham, a Salisbury businessman, was on the phone with Daniel J. (D.J.) Elliott when around 2:00 p.m. he claimed he heard the shooting on the phone. Thomas Chatham stated that no words were spoken and that he heard two gunshots fired. He immediately called the authorities. When the authorities arrived they found Daniel J. (D.J.) Elliott dead at his desk. Elliott's son, James Elliott was present, and Matthew Williams lay injured by several gunshot wounds.[1420]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: Williams was accused of shooting his employer following an argument over wages.

According to Matthew Williams' aunt and caretaker, Mrs. Addie Black, "Buddie didn't have to go to work Friday. When I left here early Friday morning he was playing with the younger children. He was in the best mood and seemed to be full of jokes. When I returned from work at noon, I learned that he had gone away from the house a half hour before."[1421]

Matthew's cousin, Miss Mary Black, was the last relative to see him alive: "When he left the house, he was in good humor and seemingly happy. He told me that he was going to the factory to see whether Mr. Elliott if his son wanted him to come to the factory or go to their homes on the following morning, which was Saturday."[1422]

On Friday, December 4, 1931, Matthew Williams was found shot and wounded in the office of his employer Daniel J. (D.J.) Elliott who died from a gunshot wound.

There are unverified claims that Matthew Williams approached his employer about his wages of 15 cents a day after hearing a Communist leader speak to Black workers about unfair treatments:

- There was "an unverified rumor that a Communist organizer was [in Salisbury] yesterday [Dec 4] afternoon attempting to form a local of the Communist organization in the negro section. This story gained credence in Salisbury shortly after the shooting of Mr. Elliott."[1423]
- "According to information received by business men here from their negro employees, it is believed that a Communist meeting was recently held here where the audience was composed entirely of negroes, and they were told by a white organizer from Baltimore that they were being underpaid by their employers and that the condition of negro unemployment was due to the action of the white employers. Whether other such meetings have been held is not known, but it is pointed out that the negro Matthew Williams, who was lynched after he had killed Daniel J. Elliott, confessed that he did so because he considered Elliott was underpaying him for his work."[1424]
- "Fear of the Communist bugaboo and accumulated resentment of half a dozen alleged negro outrages against whites in the past year were the real reasons for the lynching and burning here last night of Matthew Williams, confessed negro slayer…This appears to be the opinion of Salisbury officials and citizens today and the man on the street is not at all backward in declaring that no jury could be gotten together in this county to convict leaders of the lynching mob, even if they should be brought to trial."[1425]

Whether Matthew Williams approached his employer about his wages or not, the fear of communism was used as a way to entice fear and rile up white members of the Salisbury community. Even Salisbury's Mayor Wade H. Insley blamed the threat of communism, and not racism, for the lynching of Matthew Williams:

> "There is no feeling against negroes. You can see them on the street this morning, absolutely unmolested and unafraid that anything will happen to them. The real trouble is that our people hate Communism and anything connected with it. We won't have it here. After those stories got around yesterday, I think the mob started to form for the hanging. No other negroes were touched."[1426]

A lot of Mayor Wade H. Insley's claims are disputed, but the narrative of Matthew Williams seeking vengeance for his wages was perpetuated in the media. Matthew Williams was, however shot and his employer was found slain due to a gunshot wound. Most newspapers of the time state that after Matthew Williams shot Daniel J. (D.J.) Elliott that he turned the gun on himself inflicting a wound.[1427] Supposedly hearing the gunshots from his home,

Daniel Elliott's son, James Elliott, ran into his father's office and shot Matthew Williams the "assailant."

A different account of the incident is found in Shepard Krech III, Praise The Bridge That Carries You Over: The Life of Joseph L. Sutton, page 124, where Mr. Sutton recalls a conversation in Easton with a friend who said it was Daniel J. Elliott's son James who did the shooting. It seems that Matthew Williams had agreed to lend James Elliott a sum of money that he had saved on condition that the money would be returned. When attempts by Matthew Williams to get repaid by the younger Elliott failed, Matthew Williams took the matter up with his good friend Mr. Elliott, and that is when James walked into the meeting, and shot both Williams and his father.[1428]

Matthew Williams was seriously wounded but placed under arrest and taken to the Peninsula General Hospital where he was held under police guard. "The younger Elliott was not even arrested"[1429] and when questioned blamed Matthew Williams' actions on being drunk.[1430]

Role of Authorities:

According to a *Montgomery County Sentinel* article:

> "Reconstructing the crime, the police said Williams probably walked up behind Mr. Elliott as he sat at the telephone and pressed the muzzle of the pistol to his head. The bullet passed through Elliott's head and lodged in a filling case near his desk. The second shot fired by Williams pierced his own chest, the police said. There were three cartridges in the pistol confiscated by the county sheriff. Each had been discharged. The third cartridge, the police pointed out, was exploded when the lumber dealer's son shot his father's assailant. The younger Elliott told the police Williams "must have been drunk," he said "there had been no quarrel between father and him. He had been working for us for seven or eight years. We gave him work whenever we had it. He has even worked here this week, but we did not have work for him today."[1431]

Matthew Williams was placed under arrest and taken to Peninsula General Hospital, but the same men and women who were charged with protecting and caring for him aided in his lynching:

- "N. H. Holland, chief of police, who was on duty at the hospital when the mob took [Matthew Williams] away, was unable to stop the hundreds who swarmed on the hospital grounds and feared to draw his gun against them feeling that shooting might intensify the mob spirit and endanger other negro patients. "I can't remember whether any of the mob threatened me or not," the police chief said today in discussing the lynching. "I remember thinking if I pulled a gun it might start a riot and other patients in the hospital might get hurt. There were four other negro patients in the ward and I was afraid they might take them, too. I followed the mob after they'd got Williams, but there was no use for me to try to do anything. I was outnumbered too much. There were too many of the them for one man, even an armed man, to handle.""[1432]
- Helen V. Wise, the superintendent at Peninsula General Hospital allowed the mob to take Matthew Williams from the hospital, stating "if you must take him, take him quietly."[1433]
- "The police guard was there simply to see that Williams did not escape."[1434]

    - “There were two policemen at the front door of the hospital when the mob delegates entered by a side door. They made no attempt to prevent the lynching nor did any citizen protest against it, witnesses said.”[1435]
- “Police went home | Whether they went home and went to sleep or not are matters of conjecture, but they did not reappaear on the scene until about two hours later when the howling mob was burning the body.”[1436]
- “Members of the fire department joined the mob and watched the lynching. They seemed as happy over the lynching as the mobsters.”[1437]

Some authorities also stated that Matthew Williams confessed to killing his employer:

- “State’s Attorney Levin C. Bailey said Williams had confessed to shooting to death Daniel J. Elliott, 67, in the office of his basket and crate making plant at 2:30 p.m. Friday. Bailey declared Williams said he killed Elliott because the latter was ‘paying him only 15 cents an hour.’ After killing Elliott, Williams fired a bullet into his chest and was later shot in the head by Elliott’s son, James Elliott, as he attempted to flee.”[1438]
- Mayor Wade H. Insley denied any racial undertones and blamed communism for the mob’s swift actions. Supposedly Matthew Williams stated on his cot in the hospital, before he was lynched: “For nine years I was working for 15 cents an hour. I was promised a raise. Then my boss refused it. I might just as well be dead as go on working all my life for 15 cents an hour.”[1439]

SCENE OF MARYLAND LYNCHING

The courthouse at Salisbury, Md., before which Matthew Williams, confessed negro slayer of his employer, Daniel J. Elliott, was lynched by a crowd of nearly 2000 persons Friday night is shown here. Williams was hanged from the limb of a tree (marked by arrow) and the rope made fast to the lamppost at lower right of picture.

Details of the Lynching[1440]

Age at Time of Lynching: 35

Date and Time: Friday, December 4, 1931 at 8:05 pm

Location of Lynching: Courthouse Square in Salisbury, Maryland (Wicomico County)

At what point did the lynching take place? After a suspect had been apprehended and detained, but before any trial.

Method of Lynching: Hanging, burning, dragging

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local law enforcement play in the lynching?** Preventative (through action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local executive became involved)

- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state law enforcement became involved)
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state executive became involved)

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Mutilated (asphyxiated, dragged, and burned)

Additional Details:

Once Williams arrived at Peninsula General Hospital in downtown Salisbury, half-dead and semi-conscious, he was immediately restrained in a straitjacket to prevent further attacks. As soon as Williams´s wounds were attended to, he was questioned by State´s Attorney Levin C. Bailey and Wicomico County Sheriff G. Murray Phillips. The late edition of the Salisbury Times first reported that Williams died at the hospital, but as soon as they learned he was still alive, a sign was later posted on the Salisbury Times building correcting their previous statement.

According to Howard A. Nelson, a South Philadelphia businessman that was in Salisbury for work man:

- "I read the bulletin that was posted on the front of the building. It read 'Nigger is Dead | The nigger who murdered Mr. Elliott, a prominent citizen, has been reported as being dead.' While I was reading this a white man who was standing by mistook me for one of them and said 'Ain't that a damn shame that nigger died so soon. There was going to be some fun here tonight.' Just about that time another bulletin was posted. It read: 'The statement made by officials that the Negro was dead is false. A message just received says that he is improving.'[1441]
- Almost a Command | "The men stood there for about five minutes. They stood talking in groups; more persons read that bulletin and the crowd grew ever so thick. Almost like an explosion, some one yelled 'Let's go to the hospital and get this nigger and lynch him!' Almost as though it was a military command the crowd started toward the hospital. I followed along to see what was going to happen. The white man who was walking along side of me said: 'It's going to be good to see that nigger swing.'"[1442]

While Matthew Williams recovered on his hospital cot, with his head "swathed in bandages,"[1443] "the lynching spirit first was manifested by a few men standing on a street corner."[1444] There were six main leaders of the mob that are reported to have cried out "Let's lynch Williams!"[1445] before storming Peninsula General Hospital. "There were two policemen [Police Chief N.H. Holland and Deputy John Parks] at the front door of the hospital when the mob delegates entered by a side door. They made no attempt to prevent the lynching nor did any citizen protest against it, witnesses said."[1446] While the chief of police merely argued with the lynchers at the front door, a small group of them entered the side door of the hospital unhindered.[1447] Helen V. Wise, the superintendent at Peninsula General Hospital allowed the mob to take Matthew Williams from the hospital, stating "if you must take him, take him quietly,"[1448] and according to business man Howard A. Nelson states that "instead of carrying his body through the door, the men threw him out of the first floor window to a large group of men. Williams had on the regulation hospital gown and his head was swathed in bandages which covered his eyes and his feet were bare."[1449]

The weather was unseasonably warm and many people were in town for a Delmar High School vs. Wicomico High School rivalry football game. With commotion already stirring, "from six desperate, lawless and irresponsible men, the death party reaches several thousand, and police stand helpless before the surging mob."[1450]

Growing to a mob of close to 2,000 men and women, Matthew Williams "seemingly in a semi-conscious state" was dragged to the courthouse lawn three blocks from the hospital. Still straitjacketed and "while he was lying on the ground, evidently unconscious, as he did not move,"[1451] and within 15 minutes of being taken from the hospital[1452] "a rope was placed around his neck."[1453] The rope used to hang Matthew Williams was later discovered to have come from the Fire House of Salisbury.[1454]

In the center of Court House Square, near a poster of Jesus, asking "help for the poor for Christmas,"[1455] the mob hung Matthew Williams' unconscious body to a tree and continued to torture him, lifting him up and dropping him down. Matthew Williams' remained hanging for twenty minutes while "several toes were cut from Matthew Williams' feet and carried away as souvenirs.[1456] Matthew Williams was eventually cut down but was then tied to a truck and dragged towards a black section of Salisbury off Poplar Hill Avenue to not only torture Matthew Williams but to torture the Black residents of Salisbury. After about an hour, Matthew Williams' corpse was tied to a light post, doused in gasoline and oil, and set on fire in front of Rosen's store "so all the colored people could see him."[1457]

Aftermath

Sheriff G. Murray Phillips cut down Matthew Williams' mutilated body from the light post hours later. However, unsure as to what to do with the remains, Matthew Williams' body was dumped in a field outside of town.[1458]

Reaction from the Community:

According to Matthew Williams' cousin, Miss. Mary Black, "not one of the city officials approached [the family] as to what part of the burial expenses they will defeat or what they intend to do about this matter."[1459]

The horror of Matthew Williams' lynching did not stop with the mutilation of his body. Supposedly "while en route to Lake Street, the mob spied two colored men, John Allison and Harold Fisher. They yelled 'Get those niggers.' When a few of the mob started after the men, Allison jumped over the bridge into the Wicomico River and swam a quarter of a mile and went ashore. Fisher ran into a side street and disappeared."[1460]

According to the Wicomico County public hearing, immediately following the lynching of Matthew Williams, allies of the lynch mob –government officials, real estate brokers, and contractors–removed Black residents from their homes and livelihoods in Salisbury, Maryland.[1461]Black outsiders were also discouraged from going to Salisbury.

Colored Strangers Said to Have Been Warned From Salisbury

[1462]

Local authorities tried to downplay the horrific affect Matthew Williams lynching had on the community. For example, Mayor Wade H. Insley stated:

> "A careful investigation shows that everything is quiet and no further trouble is anticipated, There is no indication of tense racial feeling, and what has happened can be safely classed as indignation directed only toward the individual concerned…

There has never been any trouble between the races here and there is not going to be now. Simply as a precautionary measure sufficient police protection has been provided. The city feels that it is amply able to handle the situation without outside help."—Mayor Wade H. Insley[1463]

There are a lot of excuses/justifications for the the lynching of Matthew Williams. Some of them include:

- A Black man named Yuel (Orphan) Lee was accused of murdering a white family 25 miles from Salisbury in October 1930 and his trail kept being postponed, angering a lot of whites in the county and speculated as fuel to Williams' lynching.[1464]
- An influx of poor white factory workers from the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida who came to find employment in factories which had contracts to make munitions, boxes, and containers for the government "changed the entire community into a ferment of suspicion and Ku Kluxery" and according to the *Afro-American* are likely behind the mob fever that led to Matthew Williams' lynching.[1465]

Despite efforts by parties that aided in Matthew Williams' lynching to downplay the impact of his lynching, it has had and still has a profound impact on not only Wicomico County, Salisbury, and Maryland but labor organizations, civil rights organizations, religious institutions, and families throughout the country.

"One thing that I think needs to also be understood is that the lynching of Matthew Williams was not just the lynching of an individual. It was the lynching of entire community. You had African Americans who were running, jumping in the river, individuals who were just running for their lives. It was a night of terror. It was not one targeted incident where the individual was obtained and it was over. The entire black community was put on notice."[1466]
—
Vice Chair of the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Dr. Charles Chavis

Labor

The International Labor Defense launched an investigation that unearthed the following:

- That the rope with which Williams was hanged came from the Fire House of Salisbury…That 20 feet from the trees on which the lynch gang hanged Williams was a poster with a picture of Jesus, asking 'help for the poor for Christmas.'"[1467]
- That no preacher in Salisbury even mentioned the ghastly lynching in his sermon on Sunday, two days later[1468]
- That on December 5 the Salisbury Times admitted leading Salisbury citizens took part in the lynching when it stated: "The paper today is omitting the details of the demonstration here last night for the obvious reason that every reader of our paper has had an opportunity to learn of them first hand by eye witnesses.""[14691470]
- That A. Murray Phillip, Wicomico County sheriff, witnessed the hanging, feebly suggested that the body be turned over to him, but took no action when it was dragged to the Negro section of the town and burned. Later he failed to remember a single person whom he had seen or talked to that night"[1471]
    - "Sheriff Phillips told the State's attorney he could not identify any members of the mob, which brushed him aside as he sought to gain possession of the body before it was burned."[1472]
- That merchants in Salisbury are still bent on suppressing Negroes who demand more pay by further lynchings: "This isn't the first lynching or the last," said a merchant."[1473]
- According to the ILD: "The lynching of Matthew Williams was not an attempt of a mob to avenge a crime but to intimidate and keep colored people in their places… The mob then took the body to the colored section of the town and there burned

it, thus showing that the real motive for the lynching was to terrorize the colored workers."[1474]

- "The blood of Mathew Williams can not be placed at the door of the mob leaders alone. They were aided and abetted by the whole Eastern Shore officialdom and by Governor Ritchie who ignored the repeated demands of the International Labor Defense that he protect the workers."[1475]

The impact of Matthew Williams' lynching reached laborers in other states:

"New York workers will demonstrate today, at noon, against the Maryland lynch Governor Ritchie, who is to spout his usual demagog yat a metting of bosses at the National Republic Club, 54 West 40th St. The workers will demonstrate before the club in protest against the brutal lynching of Matthew Williams…They will demand the immediate release of Orphan (Lee) Jones and George Davis, two other Negro workers who are facing a death frameup in the boo courts of the Eastern Shore. The lynching of Matthew Williams grew directly out of the encouragement given the Eastern Shore lynch gangs by the boss courts, county officials and Gov. Albert F. Ritchie who time and again refused to rake action to stop the murderous activities of the lynch gangs who for weeks have been terrorizing Negro workers and searching jails on the Eastern Shore for George Davis and Orphan Jones."[1476]

Religious

- "The lynching of Matthew Williams, negro, at Salisbury Friday night, was denounced today from the pulpit in several of the churches of the city.
  - The Rev. Peter Ainslee, pastor of the Christian Temple said: "'Every right thinking man and woman in Maryland must be deeply humiliated by the lynching of a negro at the hands of a mob of whites as occured last week in Salisbury. The crime of the negro was big enough but the crime of the whites was far worse. Lynching is not primarily an attack upon the criminal; it is an attack on the courts and civilization and religion. It registers a lower standard than the crime for which the lynching was done.' He said that every church in Salisbury should hang a crepe on its door and ask itself the question "what have we been teaching through the years to have produced such a result in our quiet community.""[1477]
  - At Grace and St. Peters Protestant church, Rev. Robert S. Chalmers stated that the event "of which we are all ashamed arose out of a sudden moh impulse" and added "but these impulses could only arise where race prejudice continued to exist."
  - Rev. T. Guthre Speers, pastor of Brown Memorial Presbyterian church: "Give us the courage to bring to justice those who have done this great wrong and above all give us the courage to take from our own hearts the cruelty and savagery, the hatred and prejudice that makes such wrongs possible."[1478]
- Rev. Kingman A. Handy, pastor of McCormick Memorial Baptist church also spoke about Matthew Williams' lynching in his opening remarks but they are hard to decipher in the unearthed news article.[1479]

Community Organizations

- "Investigating the causes that led up to the lynching and burning of Matthew Williams on December 4, Robert J. Nelson, executive director of the civil liberties bureau of the Elks, at the direction of J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler, spent Monday in Salisbury, MD. Mr. Nelson conferred with some of the leading citizens of Salisbury and pledged the efforts of the Elks to aid in bringing members of the mob to justice."[1480]

Legal/Political Consequences:

Political

Governor Albert C. Ritchie wanted to run for president and with the backlash from Mattew Williams' lynching made the following statements and issued the following ordinances:

- "Governor Albert C. Ritchie, a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination is seriously embarrassed by a local situation that may assume national importance. Nobody has been punished for the hanging and burning of Matthew Williams, Negro murderer. A coroner's jury has taken no action. The entire Eastern Shore of the State thoroughly approves of the lynching and doubts that anyone ever will be punished for a "little demonstration that has done more for law and order than anything else down here."[1481]
- "Must bring a blush of shame to every law-abiding Marylander."—Governor Albert C. Ritchie.[1482] Supposedly "Governor Ritchie made a hurried return today [Dec 5th or 6th] from New York to confer with State officials in the matter of the lynching."[1483]
- "Gov. Albert C. Ritchie last night [Dec 6] ordered Attorney General Lane to assist Wicomico county authorities in a "vigorous prosecution" of the mob which Friday night invaded Salisbury, Md. hospital, seized Matthew Williams, and lynched him. Clergymen here and the Baltimore branch of the International Labor Defense League demanded of the governor a prompt investigation."[1484]
- "Gov. Albert C. Ritchie last night [Dec 6] ordered Attorney General Lane to assist Wicomico county authorities in a "vigorous prosecution" of the mob which Friday night invaded Salisbury, Md. hospital, seized Matthew Williams, and lynched him. Clergymen here and the Baltimore branch of the International Labor Defense League demanded of the governor a prompt investigation."[1485]

Due to Governor Albert C. Ritchie's charge, state and local politicians launched into what was guise as a comprehensive investigation into the actors behind Matthew Williams' lynching:

- "Attorney General William Preston Lane, Jr. assured by Governor Ritchie that the whole power of the state was at his disposal, declined to divulge his plans to bring to justice not only the leaders of the mob but all who participated in any way in the orgy. Denunciation of the lynching came from several Baltimore pulpits during the day."[1486]
- **"**State's Attorney Levin C. Bailey today [December 7th] announced that the coroner's jury summoned to fix the responsibility for the lynching of Matthew Williams, 35-year-old-negro, on Friday night will meet later in the week to hear such testimony as has been obtained in the case. A thorough investigation of the lynching will be made by the State's attorney and other officials…[Mr. Bailey] was seeking to establish the identity of the members of the mob.[1487]
- "While the interrogation of eye witnesses to the hanging of Matthew Williams was continued yesterday [Dec 22], former Mayor W. Arthur Kennerly, declared he would stand firm in demanding subpoenas for H.L. Mencken and the editorial writers of the Baltimore Sun and the Evening Sun, as witnesses before the coroner's jury of which he is the foreman. 'I shall demand that a subpoena be issued for Mr. Mencken and the editors of the Sun papers to appear before the coroner's jury in the case of Matthew Williams…I want these gentlemen to understand that when I say yes I mean yes, and when I say no O mean no. We have lots of questions to ask them pertaining to the particular case. The hearing shall be open.' - former Mayor Kennerly said"[1488]
- When interviewed by an Afro-American reporter, the governor was asked "What do you plan to do if the grand jury fails to indict anybody?" Governor Ritchie: "What can I do? I can do no more about pushing this case after it leaves the hands of the Wicomico grand jury than you could."[1489]

By December 22 there still was no date set for the coroner's inquest[1490] and ultimately "according to the finding of the grand jury nobody was present at the lynching; so, as it is absolutely necessary for someone to be present at an affair of that kind or the ceremonies cannot take place, the lynching never happened, at all. Why, as some wag has pointed out, the grand jury didn't even find that Williams was there…"[1491]

There were many Black residents who came forward and identified members of the murdering mob---Maslin Frysinger Pinkett, a teacher at Princess Anne Academy, Dr. Arthur Brown and Howard Purnell, a worker at the local hotel. Two of the participants pointed out by Dr. Brown named seven other participants. J.R. Waters, who may have become a minister and John Williams also pinpointed individuals in the mob.

State Police Officers M.D. Brubaker and John J. Thompson provided information about mob members, as did Baltimore city police sergeants Walter Martin and Graydon Ware.

There were other witnesses, of both races. In spite of this, the Grand Jury did not return any indictments.[1492]

Despite authorities to conceal the identities of the parties involved, survivors have shared their truth and witnesses have spoken up about Matthew Williams' killers–a lot of which were law enforcement:

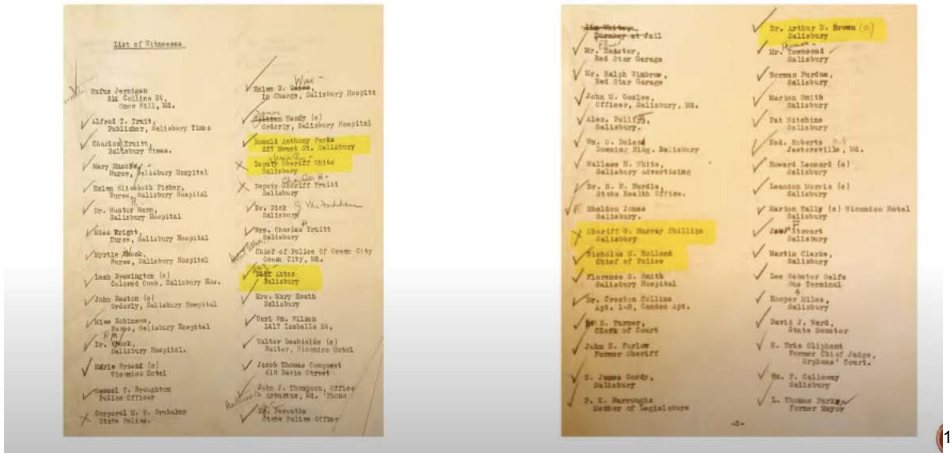
- "Three poor whites will be used as goats for the sham 'investigation' into the lynching of Matthew Williams, while the officials and business men of the city who engineered the lynching will go scot free…The three whites, all brothers, have been arrested and will face the grand jury appointed to whitewash the chief lynchers. Some of these grand jury members are reported to be leaders of the lynch gang which threw the wounded Negro worker out of a hospital window, hanged him, dragged him through town, and burned his body in forty gallons of gasoline."[1493]
- "The police and city officials, with others, can identify the leaders of that mob. At the hospital, the doctors, nurses, and police addressed them by name. Every leader in the mob can be identified. I can identify the leader."[1494]
- Over 140 witnesses were called [in the grand jury investigation] and "Maslin Pinkett was the first witness to name Wilson, Harrington and Webster as individuals who had been at the center of the conspiracy, men responsible for abducting and subsequently lynching Williams. Wilson and Webster's roles in the mob action would later be corroborated by eyewitnesses Patsy interviewed."[1495]
- The Chief of Police, Nicholas Holland, was identified as one of the members of the mob.
- The state's attorney would reportedly go in and out of the courthouse reporting to members of the mob what is being said to make sure that everybody's story straight as they are called to be witnessed. And this again is the state's attorney for Wicomico County, Levin C. Bailey. Also, the individual who appears in the records is Chief Fred A. Grier of Salisbury Fire Department. All of the evidence pertaining the law enforcement's involvement are corroborated and substantiated by all white witnesses.[1496]
    - Some witnesses identified the chief of police as a part of the mob and providing the rope to lynch Matthew Williams while other witnesses say that Chief Frederick A. Grier of the Salisbury Fire Department provided the rope.
        - Talbot Larmore said Holland and Sheriff Parks were among the leaders to get the Negro out of the hospital. Prominent men told these two men their plan for the proposed lynching. Supposedly

Murray Phillips had was one of the men that grabbed Matthew Williams by a leg.[1497]

- Ellwood Waller, who ended up becoming a prominent member of the fire department, confessed directly to Patsy Johnson to pouring the gasoline, five gallons, on Matthew Williams. Ellwood Waller is commemorated in the Salisbury Fire Department Museum, where he served as a firefighter and the head of that department.[1498]

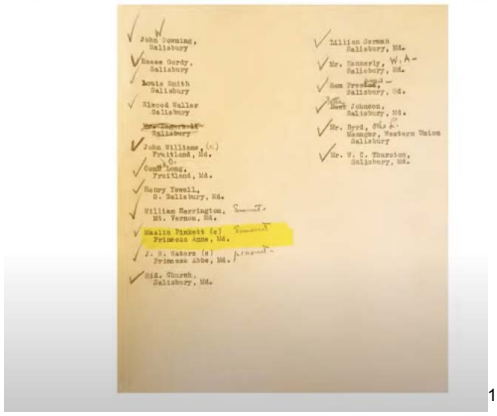
Below are lists of some of the witnesses involved in Matthew Williams' lynching:

LIST OF WITNESSES



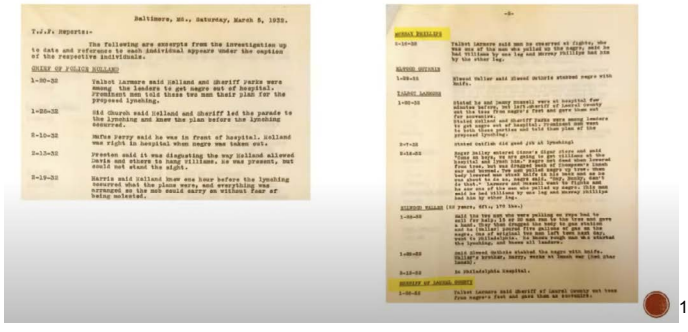
1499

LIST OF WITNESSES

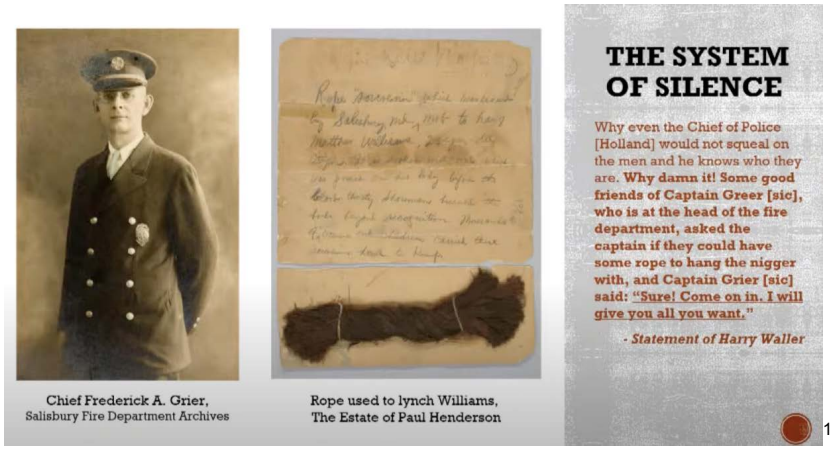


1500

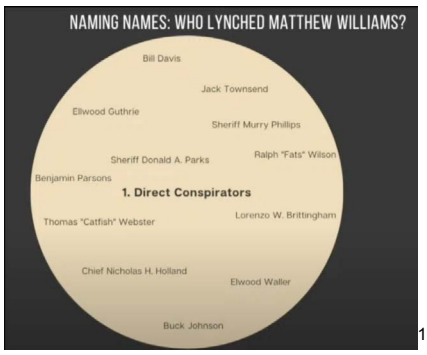
UNMASKING THE MOB



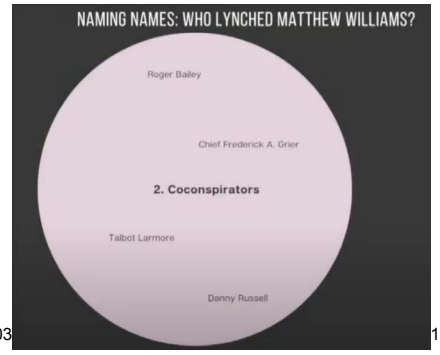
1501



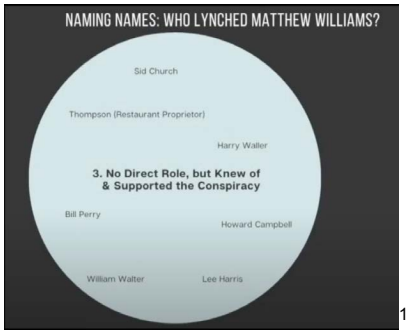
1502



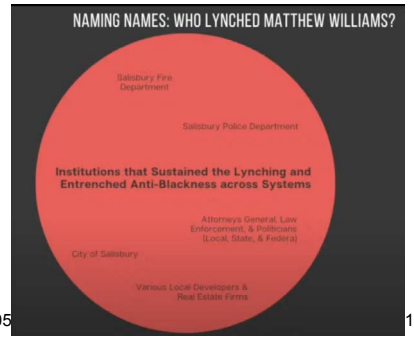
1503



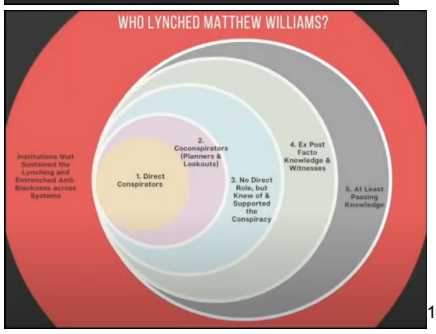
1504



1505



1506



1507

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** A particularly heinous crime
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Discouraged lynching
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Outraged

News sources tended to portray the lynchers as outsiders and town folk and the onlookers were portrayed as celebratory and/or souvenir seeking by non-local press.[1508] Overall, news outlets took a huge hit and many critics took to the news to condemn Maryland's lynch behavior.

The following are some quotes that highlights not only the role the media played in Matthew Williams' lynching but also how it was critiqued following his death:

- A writer at the *Salisbury Times* was heard yelling "Atta boy, Jim" to the leader of the mob[1509]
- "Flaming bitterness was expressed against Baltimore and particularly against the *Baltimore Sun* papers because of a series of editorials denouncing the lynch spirit. H.L. Mencken, famous for his bombastic writings, fanned the flames with such linotype vitriol…"[1510]
- "If this background is clear, the subsequent events can only be explained on a basis of a fiendishness hard to recognize as human. The man Williams was under arrest and was so badly hurt that he could not hope to escape. His conviction and execution would have been as certain as anything in law can be. Yet an old and dignified community in a proud and law-abiding State so lost itself in beastiality that it could think and act only in terms of the jungle."[1511]
    - "To the officers who stood at the front door of the hospital while a handful of men went unhindered in a side door, it would seem that the government of Maryland needs to devote particular attention. Why was not better protection afforded? Why, in view of the unmistakable feeling, was the prisoner not carried elsewhere, wounded though he was? Why, if he could not be taken away, was only one entrance guarded? These matters demand investigation. But in the end the whole community will have to bear the blame for this dark and sadistic performance. Its purification calls for determined and far-reaching action in which the Governor of Maryland must now take the leadership."[1512]
- "Spokesmen for the Maryland Free State long have boasted of its tolerance of its love for the due processes of law and of refusal to draw class distinctions where the element of justice was involved. And these virtues have been accepted generally as the distinguishing mark of the community. Claim to them is no idle boast on the part of men who speak for Maryland. Yet, the country awoke yesterday morning to find that a Negro had been lynched within the town limits of Salisbury. His crime was not the one which usually incites men to mob violence…"[1513] e.g. assault of a white woman.
    - "The problem of the State is to suppress through the sternest measures possible of adoption the lynching spirit. Men who lead death raids must be given to understand that in doing so they are digging their own graves. No community can afford to tolerate mob violence. It strikes at the heart of government. It ridicules the Temple of Justice and paves the way to anarchy. Under the Constitution there is no class distinction. The Negro, Matthew Williams, had as much right to a fair trial by a jury of his peers as did the greatest man in Maryland."[1514]
    - "The country will expect Maryland to act vigorously and effectively to clean its hands of this mob murder."[1515]
- "The lynching last Friday night occurred in the town of Salisbury, on the eastern shore. It was one of the most brutal and open lynch murders staged anywhere in this country."[1516]
- Some news sources sound disgusted in how the *Baltimore Sun* reports about not only Matthew Williams murder but the incompetence of the police:
    - "The Baltimore Sun gloatingly heads its story: 'Salisbury Negro, who shot employer, hanged on the courthouse green.' In its news story, the Baltimore Sun dares to prattle of the wrongs inflicted on the white boss oppressors by the brutally oppressed Negro workers."[1517]

- An open letter to William Randolph Hearst of New York City, Owner of the Hearst Newspapers:
    - “Dear Sir: Negroes of Maryland and throughout the Nation note with much interest the reluctance which is being shown by Hearst papers in Baltimore during the turmoil and strife which have reigned on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Daily publications, not only in Baltimore, but scattered throughout the nation, have condemned, with all the unction and address at their command, the lynching and burning of Matthew Williams of Salisbury, Maryland, on Friday night, December 4th, 1931. If Negroes are to accept the language of philosopher who said “Silence expresses more than loquacity,” we are forced to labor under the belief that Hearst papers are not inclined to help put down that form of orgy known as mob violence which is destroying the cardinal principles of out government and tearing down the magna charta of American liberty.” —Henry F. Arnold[1518]

Headlines

SALISBURY KILLER IS HANGED FROM TREE AT COURTHOUSE

Mob Took Negro From Her Custody

BODY THEN IS BURNED ON LOT NEAR EDGE OF COLORED SETTLEMENT

Crowd Of 2,000 Applauds As Noose Tightens On Bandaged Neck Of Murderer Of White Employer

OFFICERS ON SCENE OFFER NO PROTEST, WITNESSES SAY

Matthew Williams, Wounded By Self And Son Of Victim, Taken From Hospital After Shooting Of Daniel J. Elliott

Ritchie Hastening To City; Statement Due Today

MISS HELEN WISE

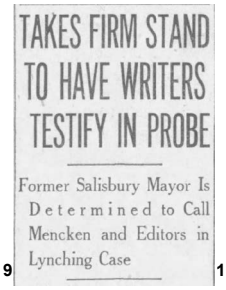
Upon entering the hospital representatives of the lynching party are reported to have gone direct to the superintendent, Miss Helen V. Wise, and demanded the Negro. When she found her protests unheeded, she is said to have asked: "Must you have him?" A spokesman for the lynchers was quoted as saying, "Yes, we must have him." "If you must take him," she is reported to have replied, "take him quietly."

[New York Bureau of The Sun]

New York, Dec. 4—Informed of the lynching of Matthew William, Salisbury (Md.) Negro, tonight, Governor Ritchie, who was the guest of the New York Virginians, said:

"I will leave New York on the midnight train for Baltimore and will be in Baltimore all tomorrow. I want to ascertain the exact facts with reference to this case before making any statement. If they are as reported

1519



TAKES FIRM STAND TO HAVE WRITERS TESTIFY IN PROBE

Former Salisbury Mayor Is Determined to Call Mencken and Editors in Lynching Case

1520

THE HERALD, MIAMI, FLORIDA

RITCHIE DEMANDS MOB PROSECUTION

Maryland Governor Calls For Vigorous Action In Lynching

BALTIMORE, Dec. 6. (AP)—Gov. Albert C. Ritchie last night ordered Attorney General Lane to assist Wicomico county authorities in a "vigorous prosecution" of the mob which Friday night invaded a Salisbury, Md., hospital, seized Matthew Williams, negro, and lynched him.

Clergymen here and the Baltimore branch of the International Labor Defense League demanded of the governor a prompt investigation.

Williams shot and killed his employer, Daniel J. Elliott, 67-year-old lumber dealer, and then shot himself through the chest.

BOND OFFERINGS DECREASE

NEW YORK, Dec. 6. (AP)—New state and municipal bond offerings scheduled by 53 communities this week amount

PUNISHMENT FACES MARYLAND LYNCHERS

Attorney General Assures Governor He Is After Leaders and Members

[BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.]

SALISBURY, Md., Dec. 6.—Maryland officials today reached out to punish all persons responsible for the lynching here Friday evening of Matthew Williams, negro, a few hours after he killed a lumberman who had given him employment.

Attorney General William Preston Lane, Jr., assured by Governor Ritchie that the whole power of the state was at his disposal, declined to divulge his plans to bring to justice not only the leaders of the mob but all who participated in any way in the orgy.

Denunciation of the lynching came

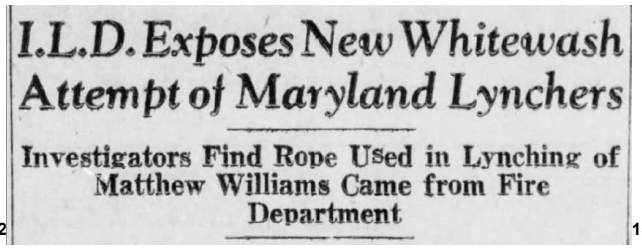
1521

SALISBURY LYNCHING LAID TO RED FEARS

Spread of Communist Rumors Blamed by Officials for Hanging of Slayer by Mob

Other Recent Crimes Further Cause; No Racial Outburst; Probes Begin

1522



I.L.D. Exposes New Whitewash Attempt of Maryland Lynchers

Investigators Find Rope Used in Lynching of Matthew Williams Came from Fire Department

1523

WICOMICO ATTORNEY TO ACT AGAINST MOB THAT HANGED, BURNED WOUNDED NEGRO

State's Attorney Bailey Pledges Quick Action Against Leaders of 700 Mobsters Who Took Matthew Williams, Negro Slayer of Salisbury Lumberman From Hospital, Hanged Him and Burned Body As 1300 Look On — Killed D. J. Elliott, Whose Son Shot Him—Police Chief Tells of His Experience With Mob

GOV. RITCHIE DEPLORES AFFAIR, BUT WAITS REPORT OF OFFICIALS

Special to The Evening Journal.

SALISBURY, Md., Dec. 5 (AP).—Prompt prosecution of the leaders and all identifiable persons of the mob which last night lynched Matthew Williams, Negro slayer, was promised today by State's Attorney Levin C. Bailey.

SALISBURY MAYOR SAYS OUTSIDE AID NOT NEEDED

Mayor Insley, Council Says No Fear of Race Clash; Hold Secret Meeting

CORONER VIEWS NEGRO'S BODY

1524

Boss Press Admits Police Aid In Maryland Lynching

1525

N. Y. Workers Demonstrate at Noon Against Gov. Ritchie

Protest Lynching of Negro Worker, Boss Terror in Maryland, Demand Release Orphan Jones and George Davis

NEWARK HEARS MARCHERS TODAY

Will Tell How Smashed Jim Crow Rule

1526

NEGRO LYNCHING IS DENOUNCED IN STATE CHURCHES

Clergymen Score Action of Mob and Offer Special Prayers

1527

Finds Mob Spirit Rules Eastern Shore; Lynching May Embarrass Ritchie

Chicago Tribune Writer Says Entire Section Approves Of Hanging Of Negro Williams And Doubts If Anyone Ever Will Be Punished

[Chicago Bureau of The Sun]

Chicago, Dec. 26—The Chicago Tribune, which sent a staff correspondent to Salisbury, Md., to investigate the lynching there of Matthew Williams, Negro, on December 4, tomorrow will publish the following:

By TOM PETTEY
[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

1528

Salisbury Mob Lynches Negro Who Killed Man

Then Burns His Body For Shooting Aged Lumberman Dead In Office

EXECUTED IN COURT YARD

1529

Mob Action Not Attempt to Avenge Crime, Says International Labor Defense

1530

LANE IS UNCERTAIN ON SHORE RETURN

No Definite Date Set For Coroner's Inquest In Salisbury Lynching

PROBE BEING CONTINUED

Attorney-General, Who Returned To Hagerstown For Week-End, Conducting Investigation

1531

Man's Toes Cut off by Mob at Salisbury

1532

THE SUN, BALTIMORE, SUNDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 6, 1931 3

Governor Ritchie Demands Salisbury Lynchers Be Arrested And Vigorously Prosecuted

1533

The Afro-American, Week of Dec. 12, 1931 The Nation's Biggest All-Negro Weekly

Salisbury Dubbed Lynchtown; Citizens Wait to Clear Name

1534

Legal/Political Consequences:

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: The probe into Matthew Williams' lynching was "Salisbury's first lynching in 33 years[1535]and the state's first lynching in two decades.[1536]

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements?

"A delegation of negro citizens presented [Governor Ritchie] with a resolution landing his stand on lynching. The resolution, indorsed by the ten-year progress plan and program for the colored citizens of Chicago read: 'The decent, peace-pursuing, law-abiding American citizenry is justly encouraged by the immediate and sweeping investigation ordered by you yesterday of the lynching of Matthews Williams, a resident of Salisbury, Maryland, which followed the conference with William Preston Lane, attorney-general of the State of Maryland…Such fearless and direct official action by the state executives of the nation for the past few years has all but eradicated from the escutcheon of the United Stated the horrible blemish of mob violence lynching…On behalf of the 246,000 colored citizens of Chicago we add out genuine welcome to another of the nation's state executives whose oath to uphold the majesty of the law and to protect all citizens regardless of creed, color, or previous condition has meant more than empty lip service. More power to the Governor of Maryland, who meets every challenge of leadership for the whole citizenry."[1537]

Memorialization/Commemoration:

While there are no known memorials specifically dedicated to Matthew Williams alone, his lynching is collectively commemorated alongside Garfield King and an unidentified 33-year-old victim through a historical marker unveiled on May 22, 2021, on the Salisbury courthouse lawn–the plaza where Matthrw Williams was murdered. The Wicomico Truth and Reconciliation Initiative, in partnership with the Equal Justice Initiative, the City of Salisbury Lynching Memorial Task Force, the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, and numerous descendants and community members, helped establish the marker and organize additional commemorative events—including a soil collection ceremony, with jars now on display at the Legacy Museum in Montgomery, Alabama, and a 2020 candlelight vigil honoring victims of racial terror.[1538]

Ongoing Influence:

Matthew Williams lynching had a profound impact on not only his family and community but the broader social and political landscape when it came to lynchings. Like all racial terror lynchings in the U.S. during the Jim Crow era, the story of Matthew William's lynching played a role in the work of people like Ida B. Wells and organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and is a part of the broader story of racial terror lynchings in Maryland and the United States, reflected in spaces like the National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama. Matthew Williams' case also holds significant weight for political accountability and media accountability, all things that came to a head with George Armwood's case in 1933.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

There are a lot of discrepancies surrounding the Matthew Williams case, most notably evidence that points to Daniel J. (D.J.) Elliott's son being the shooter of both himself and Matthew Williams as well as the fact that there are explicit accounts of members of the lynch mob but no one was brought to justice.

Case Study: Unknown ("John Smith"[1539])

(Wicomico County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Unknown

Date of Birth: Unknown, but estimated between 1896 and 1898[1540]

Place of Birth: Unknown

Occupation/Background: Unknown

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- Although there is very little to no information regarding this victim, the *Afro-American* reports that he was "dressed in overalls, jumper and a brown khaki shirt, with badly worn army shoes" suggesting that maybe he, or someone in his family, was in the army.[1541]

Additional Background Information:

- There is no known additional background information on this unknown individual.

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: Unknown[1542]

Description of Alleged Crime: Unknown

Victim of Alleged Crime: None

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: None

Witness Statements or Claims: Unknown

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident: Unknown

Role of Authorities: Unknown

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: Suspected to be between 33[1543]and 35 years old[1544]

Date and Time: December 4, 1931, shortly after the lynching of Matthew Williams

Location of Lynching: Salisbury, Maryland (Wicomico County). His body was found at College Avenue and Railroad Streets.[1545]

At what point did the lynching take place? Unknown

Method of Lynching: His skull was broken and his body was mutilated and slashed.[1546]

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** Unknown
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: The man "had a broken arm and his skull was fractured. There were blood marks on the railroad track for approximately 25 feet from the place where the body was found…"[1547]

Additional Details: Unknown

Aftermath

Reaction from the Community: "Following Williams's lynching, rumors circulated that Williams was not the only "Negro" to have been killed in Salisbury in early December."[1548]

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Unknown
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** The white press put out stories that the man was "struck by a railroad train and killed" while the Black press reported "it is believed that while he was marketing, he was set upon by a group of the whites who badly wounded him and carried him to the spot where he was found."[1549]

Headlines

SHORE LYNCHERS MAY HAVE HAD SECOND VICTIM

Man Found with Skull Broken After Demonstration.

WAS MARKETING

Out on Night Colored were Told to Stay In.

[1550]

Legal/Political Consequences:

- According to the *Afro-American* "officials made an attempt to keep the finding of the man's body a secret," and as stated in "The Silent Shore": "[State's Attorney Levin C.] Bailey and the Coroner said that in their opinion there [was] no occasion for a formal inquest."[1551]

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: There is no known cultural or political significance immediately following the lynching of this unidentified man, separate from the cultural/political significance of the Matthew Williams lynching.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There were no known legislative changes or social movements immediately following the lynching of this unidentified man, outside of any changes that came about after the lynching of Matthew Williams.

Memorialization/Commemoration: While there are no known memorials specifically dedicated to this unidentified man alone, his lynching is collectively commemorated alongside Garfield King and Matthew Williams through a historical marker unveiled on May 22, 2021, on the Salisbury courthouse lawn–the plaza where Matthew Williams was murdered. The Wicomico Truth and Reconciliation Initiative, in partnership with the Equal Justice Initiative, the City of Salisbury Lynching Memorial Task Force, the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, and numerous descendants and community members, helped establish the marker and organize additional commemorative events—including a soil collection ceremony, with jars now on display at the Legacy Museum in Montgomery, Alabama, and a 2020 candlelight vigil honoring victims of racial terror.[1552]

Ongoing Influence: There is no known ongoing influence immediately following the lynching of this unidentified man outside of any influence that came about after the lynching of Matthew Williams.

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies: It is unknown exactly how this man's life ended, but based on the condition of his body at the time of death and trail of blood marks it is believed that he was indeed murdered. The *Afro-American* also reported: "Late Sunday afternoon, three white men riding in a taxicab made inquiries as to whether the body had been found or not. They approached a group of colored citizens at a corner adjacent to where the man's body was awaiting a coroner's inquest at the establishment of James Stewart. After questioning members of the group, the men got back into their taxicab and hurried away."[1553]

Endnotes

946 1850 United States Federal Census, Caroline County, Maryland, p. 99, accessed April 30, 2025, Ancestry.com, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013796/images/thomas_1850census.jpg.
947 "Affairs in Caroline County," Baltimore Sun, October 3, 1854, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013796/images/thomas_1.pdf
948 "Affairs in Caroline County," Baltimore Sun, October 3, 1854.
949 Caroline County Court (Minutes), October Term, 1854, 1852–1861, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013796/images/thomas_trial.pdf.
950 Caroline County Court (Minutes), October Term, 1854.
951 "The Excitement at Denton," Baltimore Sun, October 11, 1854, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013796/images/thomas_3.pdf.
952 "The Excitement at Denton," Baltimore Sun, October 11, 1854.
953 "Threatened Lynch Law at Denton," Baltimore Sun, October 10, 1854, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013796/images/thomas_2.pdf.
954 This is according to the Baltimore Sun while in the state hearing Lakia Pierce makes mention of other sources that state that he was hung by tree in front of a crowd of 500 Kent, Caroline, and Queen Anne's Counties Public Hearing Transcript, Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, December 7, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/live/X4JwnTEgkKA?si=qP5ysKbkPmZVVFWz
955 "The Excitement at Denton," Baltimore Sun, October 11, 1854.
956 "The Excitement at Denton," Baltimore Sun, October 11, 1854.
957 "Lynch Law in Maryland," American and Commercial Advertiser (Baltimore), October 11, 1854, p. 1, col. 6, https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=yIkSIh5mphAC&dat=18541011&printsec=frontpage&hl=en.
958 "The Excitement at Denton," Baltimore Sun, October 11, 1854.
959 "The Case of Lynch Law at Denton," Baltimore Sun, April 3, 1855, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013796/images/thomas_4.pdf.
960 Descendant Chart for Solomon Wilson, prepared by Heritage Associations, accessed April 30, 2025, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1N80MMR3_9YAowBFMbruHTwHlVYzRmg3M/view?usp=drive_link.
961 Victim Profile: Jim Wilson, prepared by the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, accessed April 30, 2025, https://docs.google.com/document/d/1JU1J40Xtly5Udlq2zDd31GQG6ou_u1QC/edit.
962 Victim Profile: Jim Wilson, prepared by the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission.
963 "The Caroline Tragedy: Marshall Price Charged with Miss Dean's Murder," The Baltimore Sun, April 5, 1895, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013797/images/sun5apr1895.pdf.
964 Newspaper accounts differ in reference to her name. In this case study we will refer to her as Edith, which was the name given to her in the Baltimore Sun article, "The Caroline Tragedy: Marshall Price Charged with Miss Dean's Murder"
965 "The Caroline Tragedy," The Baltimore Sun, April 5, 1895.
966 Kent, Caroline, and Queen Anne's Counties Public Hearing Transcript, Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, December 7, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/live/X4JwnTEgkKA?si=qP5ysKbkPmZVVFWz
967 "A Little Girl Murdered by a Negro," Easton Gazette, November 1, 1862, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013797/images/eastongazette1nov1862.pdf.
968 Historians speculate that this claim is fraudulent."Letter from Denton, MD," The Baltimore Sun, November 4, 1862, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013797/images/baltimoresun4nov1862.pdf.
969 "Letter from Denton, MD," The Baltimore Sun, November 4, 1862.
970 "Letter from Denton, MD," The Baltimore Sun, November 4, 1862.
971 "Letter from Denton, MD," The Baltimore Sun, November 4, 1862.
972 "Letter from Denton, MD," The Baltimore Sun, November 4, 1862.
973 The Highland Weekly News, March 19, 1868.
974 "The Way of the Transgressor." The Smyrna Times, September 4, 1867.
975 "The Way of the Transgressor." The Smyrna Times, September 4, 1867.
976 The Highland Weekly News, March 19, 1868.
977 "A Little Girl Murdered by a Negro," Easton Gazette, November 1, 1862.
978 "Letter from Denton, MD," The Baltimore Sun, November 4, 1862.
979 "Letter from Denton, MD," The Baltimore Sun, November 4, 1862.
980 "Letter from Denton, MD," The Baltimore Sun, November 4, 1862.
981 "A Little Girl Murdered by a Negro," Easton Gazette, November 1, 1862.
982 "Drowned." The Smyrna Times, August 21, 1867.
983 "The Caroline Tragedy," The Baltimore Sun, April 5, 1895.
984 "Letter from Denton, MD," The Baltimore Sun, November 4, 1862.
985 Maryland State Archives Frederick (last name unknown) MSA SC 3520-18344, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018344/html/msa18344.html
986 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearing, October 26, 2024, (Statement of Mike Dixon) https://www.youtube.com/live/w8aD_iXpI6w; "Attempt by a Negro to Commit a Rape on a White Girl--The Negro Hung by the Citizens," Cecil Whig, 28 September 1861, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018344/pdf/ce_whig_28sep1861_mdsa_scm7440-0258.pdf; "Rape," Cecil Democrat, 28 September 1861https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018344/pdf/ce_dem_mdsa_scm7282-0169.pdf; "Lynch Law at Cecilton," Philadelphia Inquirer, 30 September 1861, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018344/pdf/Philadelphia_Inquirer_1861-09-30_4.pdf
987 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearing, October 26, 2024, (Statement of Mike Dixon); Cecil Whig, 28 September 1861; Cecil Democrat, 28 September 1861.
988 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearing, October 26, 2024, (Statement of Mike Dixon)
989 Cecil Whig, September 28, 1861.
990 Philadelphia Inquirer, 30 September 1861
991 Cecil Whig, 24 May 1862.
992 "Arson and Lynch Law," The Cecil Democrat, 3 August 1872. (MSA SC 3387, SCM 7293)
993 Maryland State Archives - John Jones MSA SC 3520-18342 https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018342/html/18342bio.html; Ancestry.com, 1870 United States Federal Census, Kent County, Maryland, p. 42;

994 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearing, October 26, 2024, (Statement of David Armenti); Ancestry.com, 1870 United States Federal Census, Kent County, Maryland, p. 42.
995 "The Recent Lynching in Cecil County." Baltimore Sun, August 3, 1872; cited in Michael L. Dixon," An Investigation of Racial Terror Lynchings: Cecil County, Maryland," Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, August 4, 2019, Prepared for Prepared for the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project Harford County Committee.
996 Maryland State Archives - John Jones MSA SC 3520-18342 https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018342/html/18342bio.html
997 Maryland State Archives - John Jones MSA SC 3520-18342 https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018342/html/18342bio.html; Dixon, Mike. (2010, March 28). "Lost Cecil County Village: Bethel or Pivot Bridge," Window on Cecil County's Past. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018342/images/An%20Investigation%20of%20Racial%20Terror%20Lynchings,%20Cecil%20County.pdf
998 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024, (statement of Mike Dixon)
999 Maryland Lynhcing Truth and Reconciliation Commission Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024, (statement of Mike Dixon); "Fire - A Case of Lynching," The Kent News, 3 August 1872 (MSA SC 2901, SCM 1622); "Lynch Law Cecil County," The Cecil Whig, 3 August 1872. (MSA SC 3341, SCM 7443)
1000 Maryland State Archives - John Jones MSA SC 3520-18342 https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018342/html/18342bio.html
1001 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024, (statement of Mike Dixon).
1002 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024, (statement of Mike Dixon).
1003 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024, (statement of Mike Dixon); "Lynch Law Cecil County," The Cecil Whig, 3 August 1872. (MSA SC 3341, SCM 7443); "Telegrams ." Helena Weekly Herald. August 8, 1872. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84036143/1872-08-08/ed-1/seq-3/.
1004 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024, (statement of Mike Dixon); "Lynch Law Cecil County," The Cecil Whig, 3 August 1872. (MSA SC 3341, SCM 7443)
1005 Maryland Lynhcing Truth and Reconciliation Commission Harford and Cecil Counties Public Hearings, October 26, 2024, (statement of Mike Dixon).
1006 "Destructive Incident Fire, Lynching, &c." Middletown Transcript, August 3, 1872 p. 3
1007 "Telegrams ." Helena Weekly Herald. August 8, 1872. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84036143/1872-08-08/ed-1/seq-3/.

1008 "Greeleyism in Maryland," New National Era (Washington, D.C.) August 15, 1872 p1. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026753/1872-08-15/ed-1/seq-1/
1009 Maryland State Archives - John Jones MSA SC 3520-18342 https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018342/html/18342bio.html
1010 Some sources refer to her as Nettie, but a majority refer to her as Nellie so we will be using 'Nellie' for this case study.
1011 "A Horrible Affair!" The Chestertown Transcript, May 19, 1892, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013740/images/tt18920519(2)a.pdf.
1012 Some accounts state that Nellie was 10 years old while others say she is 11 years old.
1013 "A Horrible Affair!" The Chestertown Transcript, May 19, 1892.
1014 "A Horrible Affair!" The Chestertown Transcript, May 19, 1892.
1015 "Hanged by a Mob," The Pittsburgh Press (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), May 18, 1892, p. 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/141558043/.
1016 "Hanged by a Mob," The Pittsburgh Press, May 18, 1892.
1017 "The Lynchings Continue," The Buffalo News (Buffalo, New York), May 19, 1892, p. 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/842170165/.
1018 "Lynched!" Delaware Gazette and State Journal (Wilmington, Delaware), May 19, 1892, p. 5, https://www.newspapers.com/image/656231535/.
1019 "Lynched!" Delaware Gazette and State Journal, May 19, 1892.
1020 "Hanged by a Mob," The Pittsburgh Press, May 18, 1892.
1021 "Jim Taylor Lynched," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland), May 19, 1892, p. 4, https://www.newspapers.com/image/372946127/.
1022 "Lynched!" Delaware Gazette and State Journal, May 19, 1892.
1023 "Lynched!" Delaware Gazette and State Journal, May 19, 1892.
1024 "Saved from Being Lynched," The Baltimore Sun, May 18, 1892, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013740/images/sun18920518a.pdf.
1025 "Jim Taylor Lynched," The Baltimore Sun, May 19, 1892.
1026 "Jim Taylor Lynched," The Baltimore Sun, May 19, 1892.
1027 "Hanged by a Mob," The Pittsburgh Press, May 18, 1892.
1028 Some sources state James Taylor was 24 at the time of his lynching The Pittsburgh Press (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) Wed, May 18, 1892 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/141558043/
1029 The Times-Transcript (Moncton, Moncton Parish, New Brunswick, Canada), May 20, 1892, p. 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1105780444/.
1030 "Judge Lynch Presided," The Courier-News (Bridgewater, New Jersey), May 19, 1892, p. 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/218785540/.
1031 "Hanged by a Mob," The Pittsburgh Press, May 18, 1892.
1032 "The Lynchings Continue," The Buffalo News, May 19, 1892.
1033 Middletown Transcript (Middletown, Delaware), May 19, 1892, p. 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/466386286/.
1034 "Jim Taylor's Just Fate," Delaware Gazette and State Journal (Wilmington, Delaware), May 26, 1892, p. 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/656231640/.
1035 "Saved from Being Lynched," The Baltimore Sun, May 18, 1892.
1036 "A Horrible Affair!" The Chestertown Transcript, May 19, 1892.
1037 "Saved from Being Lynched," The Baltimore Sun, May 18, 1892.
1038 "Jim Taylor Lynched," The Baltimore Sun, May 19, 1892.
1039 "Jim Taylor Lynched," The Baltimore Sun, May 19, 1892.
1040 "Jim Taylor's Just Fate," Delaware Gazette and State Journal, May 26, 1892.
1041 "Jim Taylor's Just Fate," Delaware Gazette and State Journal, May 26, 1892.
1042 "Jim Taylor's Just Fate," Delaware Gazette and State Journal, May 26, 1892.

1043 “Lynched by a Mob,” Middletown Transcript (Middletown, Delaware), May 19, 1892, p. 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/466386286/.
1044 “A Horrible Affair!” The Chestertown Transcript, May 19, 1892.
1045 “Saved from Being Lynched,” The Baltimore Sun, May 18, 1892.
1046 “Jim Taylor’s Just Fate,” Delaware Gazette and State Journal, May 26, 1892.
1047 “An Innocent Man Lynched,” The York Dispatch (York, Pennsylvania), May 25, 1892, p. 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/614524392/.
1048 “An Innocent Man Lynched,” The York Dispatch, May 25, 1892.
1049 Savannah Morning News, May 27, 1892, p. 4, Savannah, Georgia, https://newspaperarchive.com/savannah-morning-news-may-27-1892-p-4/.
1050 Savannah Morning News, May 27, 1892.
1051 “Jim Taylor’s Just Fate,” Delaware Gazette and State Journal, May 26, 1892.
1052 “A Horrible Affair!” The Chestertown Transcript, May 19, 1892.
1053 “Threats by Negroes | Revengeful Feelings Excited by the Lynching of Jim Taylor at Chestertown,” Delaware Gazette and State Journal (Wilmington, Delaware), May 26, 1892, p. 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/656231640/.
1054 “Saved from Being Lynched,” The Baltimore Sun, May 18, 1892.
1055 “Jim Taylor’s Just Fate,” Delaware Gazette and State Journal, May 26, 1892.
1056 “Hanged by a Mob,” The Pittsburgh Press, May 18, 1892.
1057 “Rope Put to Good Use,” Missoula Gazette (Missoula, Montana), May 19, 1892, p. 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/957296761/.
1058 “Saved from Being Lynched,” The Baltimore Sun, May 18, 1892.
1059 “A Horrible Affair!” The Chestertown Transcript, May 19, 1892.
1060 The Pittsburgh Press (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) Wed, May 18, 1892 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/141558043/
1061 Delaware Gazette and State Journal (Wilmington, Delaware) Thu, May 19, 1892 Page 5 https://www.newspapers.com/image/656231535/
1062 Missoula Gazette (Missoula, Montana) · Thu, May 19, 1892 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/957296761/
1063 Delaware Gazette and State Journal (Wilmington, Delaware) Thu, May 26, 1892 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/656231640/
1064 The Hebron Journal (Hebron, Nebraska) Fri, May 20, 1892 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/701875168/
1065 Omaha World-Herald (Omaha, Nebraska) Thu, May 19, 1892 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/857839097/
1066 “Saved from Being Lynched,” The Baltimore Sun, May 18, 1892.
1067 “Jim Taylor Lynched,” The Baltimore Sun, May 19, 1892.
1068 St. Louis Post-Dispatch (St. Louis, Missouri) Wed, May 18, 1892 · Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/138126507/
1069 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Thu, May 19, 1892 Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/372946127/
1070 Wilkes-Barre Times Leader (Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania) · Wed, May 18,
1892 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/394960793/
1071 Middletown Transcript (Middletown, Delaware) Thu, May 19, 1892 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/466386286/
1072 The Daily News (Lebanon, Pennsylvania) Wed, May 18, 1892 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/515224026/
1073 The Plain Speaker (Hazleton, Pennsylvania) Fri, May 20, 1892 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/502513843/
1074 The Brooklyn Daily Times (Brooklyn, New York) Wed, May 18, 1892 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/557832138/
1075 Smyrna Times (Smyrna, Delaware) Wed, May 18, 1892 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/882242756/
1076 The Buffalo News (Buffalo, New York) Thu, May 19, 1892 Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/842170165/
1077 Grand Rapids Herald (Grand Rapids, Michigan) Fri, May 20, 1892 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/326637600/
1078 Will Bontrager, “Location of Marker Remains in Limbo,” Kent County News, March 14, 2024, https://www.myeasternshoremd.com/kent_county_news/news/location-of-marker-remains-in-limbo/article_104a3abc-dfe3-11ee-b5ed-df0a15c616bd.html.
1079 Will Bontrager, “Location of Marker Remains in Limbo,” Kent County News, March 14, 2024
1080 “A Horrible Affair!” The Chestertown Transcript, May 19, 1892.
1081 Middletown Transcript, May 19, 1892 Pg. 2, Middletown, Delaware, US
https://newspaperarchive.com/middletown-transcript-may-19-1892-p-2/
1082 “Lynched!” Delaware Gazette and State Journal, May 19, 1892.
1083 “Lynched by a Mob,” Middletown Transcript (Middletown, Delaware), May 19, 1892, p. 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/466386286/.
1084 “Jim Taylor’s Just Fate,” Delaware Gazette and State Journal, May 26, 1892.
1085 “By The Rope” St. Louis Post-Dispatch (St. Louis, Missouri) · Wed, May 18, 1892 · Page
6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/138126507/
1086 “An Innocent Man Lynched,” The York Dispatch, May 25, 1892.
1087 1860 United States Federal Census, Slave Schedule, Queen Anne’s County, District 4, p. 1, accessed via Ancestry.com, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018372/images/Slaves%20of%20James%20M.%20Stevens.pdf.
1088 John Fields was charged with having “criminal intimacy with a white girl,” likely making him unmarried. “Previous Lynching,” Cecil Whig, May 16, 1891, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018372/images/18910516%20Cecil%20Whig.pdf.
1089 1860 United States Federal Census, Queen Anne’s County, District 5, p. 11 and 12, accessed April 30, 2025, Ancestry.com.
1090 1860 United States Federal Census, Queen Anne’s County, District 5, p. 11 and 12, accessed April 30, 2025, Ancestry.com.
1091 Queen Anne’s County Circuit Court (Criminal Docket), November Term 1863, C1385-26, entry #25, Maryland State Archives.
1092 “A White Girl Seduced By A Slave,” Baltimore Sun, April 27, 1863.
1093 “A White Girl Seduced By A Slave,” Baltimore Sun, April 27, 1863.
1094 “A White Girl Seduced By A Slave,” Baltimore Sun, April 27, 1863.
1095 “A White Girl Seduced By A Slave,” Baltimore Sun, April 27, 1863.
1096 “Previous Lynching,” Cecil Whig, May 16, 1891.
1097 “A White Girl Seduced By A Slave,” Baltimore Sun, April 27, 1863.
1098 “Found Hung,” The Cambridge Herald, April 29, 1863, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018372/images/Found%20Hung%20The%20Cambridge%20Herald%20April%2029,%201863.pdf.
1099 “Negro Hung,” Smyrna Times (Delaware), April 30, 1863, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/018300/018372/images/Smyrna%20times%20lynching%20of%20Fields%201863-04-30.pdf.
1100 “The Kent Island Assault. Trial of a Colored Man in Queen Anne’s on a Serious Charge,” alleges February 28 as the date of the assault and attempted rape, and provides a description of Asbury Green, including his approximate age. Tolson’s given name is provided in “The Kent Island Assault,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, p. 4, Baltimore, Maryland, https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-may-11-1891-p-4/.
1101 Evening journal. [volume] (Wilmington, Del.), 13 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042354/1891-05-13/ed-1/seq-3/
1102 Most news articles spell the last name ‘Tolson’ but it is spelled ‘Tolsen’ in the Maryland Archives. We will be using the “Tolson” spelling throughout this case study.
1103 Evening Journal, [volume], Wilmington, Del., May 13, 1891, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

1104 “The Kent Island Assault. Trial of a Colored Man in Queen Anne’s on a Serious Charge,” alleges February 28 as the date of the assault and attempted rape, and provides a description of Asbury Green, including his approximate age. Tolson’s given name is provided in “The Kent Island Assault. Verdict of Guilty Against Asbury Green, Charged with a Capital Offense,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, pg. 4.
1105 The Cecil Whig. [volume] (Elkton, Md.), 16 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83016348/1891-05-16/ed-1/seq-2/
1106 Evening Journal, [volume], Wilmington, Del., May 13, 1891, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress;
1107 MSA, Queen Anne’s County Circuit Court, Criminal Papers, May Term 1891, Presentment:
State of Maryland vs. Asbury Green, May 4, 1891; MSA, Queen Anne’s County Circuit Court, Criminal Papers, May Term 1891, Indictment: State of Maryland vs. Asbury Green, May 5, 1891
1108 “The Kent Island Assault,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, p. 4.
1109 “The Kent Island Assault,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, p. 4.
1110 “The Kent Island Assault,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, p. 4.
1111 “The Kent Island Assault,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, p. 4.
1112 Evening Journal, [volume], Wilmington, Del., May 13, 1891, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.
1113 A Centerville Record article (“The Lynching of Green,” Centerville Record, May 16, 1891, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013739/images/cr18910516%283%29a.pdf.) mentions that the alleged crime took place at around 9:30 p.m. but the Baltimore Sun article “The Kent Island Assault” is written in a way that it can be concluded that actual details and quotes from Asbury Green’s trial were included, including the time of the alleged assault.
1114 “The Kent Island Assault,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, p. 4.
1115 “The Kent Island Assault,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, p. 4.
1116 “The Kent Island Assault,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, p. 4.
1117 “The Kent Island Assault,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, p. 4.
1118 “The Kent Island Assault,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, p. 4.
1119 “The Kent Island Assault,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, p. 4.
1120 “The Kent Island Assault,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, p. 4.
1121 “The Lynching of Green,” Centerville Record, May 16, 1891.
1122 “The Lynching of Green,” Centerville Record, May 16, 1891.
1123 “The Kent Island Assault,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, p. 4.
1124 “Twenty-one Years in Prison,” Baltimore Sun, May 12, 1891, p. 4, Baltimore, Maryland, https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-may-12-1891-p-4/.
1125 “Twenty-one Years in Prison,” Baltimore Sun, May 12, 1891, p. 4.
1126 “Twenty-one Years in Prison,” Baltimore Sun, May 12, 1891, p. 4.
1127 Evening journal. [volume] (Wilmington, Del.), 13 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042354/1891-05-13/ed-1/seq-3/>
1128 “The Lynching of Green,” Centerville Record, May 16, 1891.
1129 “Dragged to Death,” Evening Journal, [volume], Wilmington, Del., May 13, 1891, image 3, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042354/1891-05-13/ed-1/seq-3/.
1130 “Twenty-one Years in Prison,” Baltimore Sun, May 12, 1891, p. 4, Baltimore, Maryland, https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-may-12-1891-p-4/.
1131 “The Kent Island Assault,” Baltimore Sun, May 11, 1891, p. 4.
1132 The Cecil Whig. [volume] (Elkton, Md.), 16 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83016348/1891-05-16/ed-1/seq-2/
1133 “Dragged to Death,” Evening Journal, Wilmington, Del., May 13, 1891, image 3.
1134 “Negro Rapist Lynched,” The Times, Owosso, Mich., May 15, 1891, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn96077385/1891-05-15/ed-1/seq-3/.
1135 “Dragged to Death,” Evening Journal, Wilmington, Del., May 13, 1891, image 3.
1136 “Dragged to Death,” Evening Journal, Wilmington, Del., May 13, 1891, image 3.
1137 “Dragged to Death,” Evening Journal, Wilmington, Del., May 13, 1891, image 3.
1138 Some accounts say an orchard
1139 “Dragged to Death,” Evening Journal, Wilmington, Del., May 13, 1891, image 3.
1140 “Dragged to Death,” Evening Journal, Wilmington, Del., May 13, 1891, image 3.
1141 “Dragged to Death,” Evening Journal, Wilmington, Del., May 13, 1891, image 3.
1142 “Dragged to Death,” Evening Journal, Wilmington, Del., May 13, 1891, image 3.
1143 “Asbury Green’s Fate. Dragged by the Neck and Hung on a Bearing Peach Tree. A Mob’s Violence in Centreville,” Baltimore Sun, May 13, 1891, p. 4.
1144 “Cable Flashes,” Baltimore Sun, May 14, 1891, pg.1.
1145 “Dragged to Death,” Evening Journal, Wilmington, Del., May 13, 1891, image 3.
1146 “Centreville Alarmed,” Baltimore Sun, May 13, 1891, pg.1 https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-may-13-1891-p-1/
1147 “Centreville Alarmed,” Baltimore Sun, May 13, 1891, pg.1 https://newspaperarchive.com/baltimore-sun-may-13-1891-p-1/
1148 “Shameful Past: Lynchings on Delmarva—Asbury Green Lynched in Centreville in 1891,” WBOC, February 2025, https://www.wboc.com/archive/shameful-past-lynchings-on-delmarva--asbury-green-lynched-in-centreville-in-1891/article_d18bc23c-2374-5398-980b-127faac79713.html.
1149 “State Capital Matters. Kent Island Colored People’s Appeal to Governor Jackson,” Baltimore Sun, May 22 1891, pg.4.
1150 “Rev. C.W. Mossell on Green’s Lynching,” Baltimore Sun, May 25, 1891, p. 6, https://www.newspapers.com/image/373064898/?match=1&terms=Green%E2%80%99s%20Lynching.
1151 Quote found in “The Lynching of Green,” Centerville Record, May 16, 1891.
1152 Quote found in “The Lynching of Green,” Centerville Record, May 16, 1891.
1153 Quote found in “The Lynching of Green,” Centerville Record, May 16, 1891.
1154 Milford Chronicle, [volume], Milford, Del., May 15, 1891, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87062224/1891-05-15/ed-1/seq-2/.
1155 Alexandria gazette. [volume] (Alexandria, D.C.), 13 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85025007/1891-05-13/ed-1/seq-2/
1156 The Indianapolis journal. [volume] (Indianapolis [Ind.]), 13 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015679/1891-05-13/ed-1/seq-1/
1157 “The Lynching of Green,” Centerville Record, May 16, 1891.

1158 St. Paul daily globe. [volume] (Saint Paul, Minn.), 13 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn90059522/1891-05-13/ed-1/seq-1/
1159 Evening journal. [volume] (Wilmington, Del.), 13 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042354/1891-05-13/ed-1/seq-3/
1160 "Shameful Past: Lynchings on Delmarva," WBOC, February 2025.
1161 The evening bulletin. [volume] (Maysville, Ky.), 13 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87060190/1891-05-13/ed-1/seq-1/
1162 The times. (Owosso, Mich.), 15 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn96077385/1891-05-15/ed-1/seq-3/
1163 The Critic and record. (Washington, D.C.), 12 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87062228/1891-05-12/ed-1/seq-2/.
1164 Brookings register. (Brookings, S.D.), 22 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn2001063544/1891-05-22/ed-1/seq-6/
1165 The Wilmington daily Republican. (Wilmington, Del.), 13 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88053055/1891-05-13/ed-1/seq-1/
1166 The Wilmington daily Republican. (Wilmington, Del.), 12 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88053055/1891-05-12/ed-1/seq-1/
1167 Asheville daily citizen. [volume] (Asheville, N.C.), 12 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn91068076/1891-05-12/ed-1/seq-4/
1168 The morning call. [volume] (San Francisco [Calif.]), 13 May 1891. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn94052989/1891-05-13/ed-1/seq-8/
1169 The Salt Lake herald. [volume], May 13, 1891, Image 1 Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85058130/1891-05-13/ed-1/seq-1/
1170 "Twenty-one Years in Prison," Baltimore Sun, May 12, 1891, p. 4.
1171 The Cecil Whig, Elkton, Md., May 16, 1891.
1172 Birth year is taken from the Somerset County hearing transcript and was read by Ms. Carrie Samus. Other sources say he was born around 1871 and was approximately twenty-three when lynched in 1894.
1173 Supporting evidence includes: Johnson, Howard. "Bahamian Labor Migration to Florida in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." The International Migration Review 22, no. 1 (1988): 84–103. https://doi.org/10.2307/2546397; Nassau Bahamas Birth Records for period ending 30 June 1868, P.44; and United States District Court, Southern District of Florida record of naturalized citizens, 24 August 1888, P.120
1174 Physical description of Kemp from Smyrna Times [Smyrna, Del.], June 13, 1894, Image 3, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020422/1894-06-13/ed-1/seq-3/.
1175 "A Lynching Sequel to the Carver Tragedy in Somerset," The Sun, June 9, 1894, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013741/images/sun18940609_kemp.pdf; .Maryland Lynching Truth And Reconciliation Commission, Heritage Associates, Victim Profile And Case File Check List, Victim Profile - Isaac Kemp, https://docs.google.com/document/d/11zr08TEha-lU1k06BjCGTywWAMRA8P7K/edit
1176 Transcript of Hearing on Lynchings in Somerset County, Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, accessed March 31, 2025, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/MLTRC_Somerset_Transcript.pdf, 9
1177 A peace officer with limited policing authority, typically in a small town.
1178 "Murder in Somerset," The Salisbury Advertiser, June 8, 1894, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013741/images/sa18940608.pdf.
1179 "Horrible Murder," The Snow Hill Democratic Messenger, June 8, 1894 https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013741/images/shdm18940608.pdf.
1180 "Murdered by Negroes," The Cambridge Democrat and News, June 8, 1894, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013741/images/cdn18940608.pdf.
1181 "Murder in Somerset," The Salisbury Advertiser, June 8, 1894.
1182 ""Horrible Murder," The Snow Hill Democratic Messenger, June 8, 1894.
1183 "Murdered by Negroes," The Cambridge Democrat and News, June 8, 1894.
1184 Birth records state Isaac Kemp was born in 1968 making him 26 at the time of his lynching, but various news outlets report him as being 23
1185 "Isaac Kemp Lynching Profile," Maryland State Archives, accessed March 31, 2025, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000070/000000/000044/restricted/00061894kemp.html.
1186 C. Christopher Brown, The Road to Jim Crow (The Maryland Center for History and Culture, 2017), 171.
1187 "The Somerset Prisoners," The Salisbury Advertiser, June 16, 1894, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013741/images/sa18940616a.pdf.
1188 Transcript of Hearing on Lynchings in Somerset County, Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/MLTRC_Somerset_Transcript.pdf, 10
1189 Maryland Lynching Truth And Reconciliation Commission, Heritage Associates, Victim Profile And Case File Check List, Victim Profile - Isaac Kemp, https://docs.google.com/document/d/11zr08TEha-lU1k06BjCGTywWAMRA8P7K/edit
1190 Brown, The Road to Jim Crow, 171.
1191 "Isaac Kemp Lynching Profile," Maryland State Archives.
1192 The Kansas City Blackman, June 22 1894, P.1: Maryland Lynching Truth And Reconciliation Commission, Heritage Associates, Victim Profile And Case File Check List, Victim Profile - Isaac Kemp, https://docs.google.com/document/d/11zr08TEha-lU1k06BjCGTywWAMRA8P7K/edit
1193 "Horrible Murder," The Snow Hill Democratic Messenger, June 8, 1894.
1194 "Murdered by Negroes," The Cambridge Democrat and News, June 8, 1894.
1195 "A Lynching Sequel to the Carver Tragedy in Somerset," The Sun, June 9, 1894, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013741/images/sun18940609_kemp.pdf.
1196 "Negro Murderer Shot by Mob," New York Times, June 9, 1894, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, 9.
1197 "Sentiment in Somerset" - "Uphold the Law," Baltimore Sun, Jun 16, 1894, p.7
1198 The Kansas City Blackman, June 22 1894, P.1
1199 According to the New York Times ("Lynching in Maryland: William D. Andrews, a Negro, Beaten into Insensibility and Hanged at Princess Anne," The New York Times, June 10, 1897, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1897/06/10/102402341.pdf?pdf_redirect=true&ip=0.) he was born in North Carolina, but according to the book C. Christopher Brown, The Road to Jim Crow (The Maryland Center for History and Culture, 2017), 176, he was born in Virginia.
1200 "Andrews in Baltimore Jail," The Baltimore Sun, May 10, 1897, p. 6.
1201 Brown, The Road to Jim Crow, 174.

1202 Based on statements that William Andrews confessed to the crime without any defense (although he did mention that Mrs. Kelley was wrong in that he did not have a pistol - "William D. Andrews Lynching Profile," Maryland State Archives, accessed March 31, 2025, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013746/html/13746bio.html.)
1203 Brown, The Road to Jim Crow, 174.
1204 "Andrews Lynched!," The Cambridge Democrat and News, June 12, 1897, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013746/tif/cdn18970612a.pdf and Brown, The Road to Jim Crow, 174.
1205 Some sources mention Andrews arriving at the courthouse by 9 am (Brown, The Road to Jim Crow, 174) while other sources mention that the trial started at 11 am and lasted around an hour ("Andrews Lynched!," The Cambridge Democrat and News, June 12, 1897.)
1206 "Lynched in Haste," The Salisbury Advertiser, June 12, 1897, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013746/tif/sa18970612a.pdf.
1207 "Mob Violence," The Cambridge Democrat and News, June 19, 1897, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013746/tif/cdn18970619.pdf.
1208 The Baltimore Sun cites him as being 17 years old and sources like the book The Road to Jim Crow and The News & Observer (Raleigh, NC) cite William Andrews as being around 20 years old.
1209 "William D. Andrews Lynching Profile," Maryland State Archives, accessed March 31, 2025, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000070/000000/000044/restricted/00061897andrews.html.
1210 Brown, The Road to Jim Crow, 175.
1211 "William D. Andrews Lynching Profile," Maryland State Archives.
1212 "Lynching of Isaac Kemp," Flickr, accessed March 31, 2025, https://www.flickr.com/photos/nabbresearchcenter/48827260007/in/album-72157711146550751/.
1213 "Mob Violence," The Cambridge Democrat and News, June 19, 1897.
1214 "Andrews' Doom Was Swift," Delaware Gazette, June 9, 1897.
1215 "Andrews Lynched!," The Cambridge Democrat and News, June 12, 1897.
1216 "Lynching in Maryland: William D. Andrews, a Negro, Beaten into Insensibility and Hanged at Princess Anne," The New York Times, June 10, 1897.
1217 "William D. Andrews Lynching Profile," Maryland State Archives.
1218 "Andrews' Doom Was Swift," Delaware Gazette, June 9, 1897.
1219 "Lynching in Maryland: William D. Andrews, a Negro, Beaten into Insensibility and Hanged at Princess Anne," The New York Times, June 10, 1897.
1220 "Andrews Lynched!," The Cambridge Democrat and News, June 12, 1897.
1221 "Lynched in Haste," The Salisbury Advertiser, June 12, 1897.
1222 "Mob Violence," The Cambridge Democrat and News, June 19, 1897.
1223 "Andrews in Baltimore Jail," The Baltimore Sun, May 10, 1897.

1224 "Mob Kills Negro," The Baltimore Sun, July 29, 1907, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013758/tif/sun29july1907.pdf.
1225 "Evening Journal," Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, July 29, 1907, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042354/1907-07-29/ed-1/seq-6/.
1226 The Baltimore Sun article lists the full name of Officer Evans but a blotch on the newspaper makes it difficult to make out his first name."Mob Kills Negro," The Baltimore Sun, July 29, 1907, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013758/tif/sun29july1907.pdf.
1227 "Mob Kills Negro," The Baltimore Sun.
1228 C. Christopher Brown, The Road to Jim Crow (The Maryland Center for History and Culture, 2017), 233.
1229 "Mob Kills Negro," The Baltimore Sun.
1230 Brown, The Road to Jim Crow, 233.
1231 Brown, The Road to Jim Crow, 233.
1232 "Mob Kills Negro," The Baltimore Sun, July 29, 1907.
1233 "James Reed Lynching Profile," Maryland State Archives.
1234 "Mob Kills Negro," The Baltimore Sun, July 29, 1907.
1235 Brown, The Road to Jim Crow, 236.
1236 Brown, The Road to Jim Crow, 233.
1237 Brown, The Road to Jim Crow, 235.
1238 "Mob Kills Negro," The Baltimore Sun, July 29, 1907.
1239 "Mob Kills Negro," The Baltimore Sun, July 29, 1907.
1240 "Biographical Profile of James Reed," Maryland State Archives, last modified March 31, 2025, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013758/html/13758bio.html.
1241 "Negro's Body Torn By Mob: He had been lynched but was exhumed and burned," Crisfield, Md, July 29, 1907, https://www.wboc.com/archive/shameful-past-lynchings-on-delmarva--james-reed-lynched-in-crisfield-in-1907/article_aa634ee9-7c92-5bf1-94e3-399ee2d3ce69.html.
1242 "Another Lynching," The Afro-American Ledger, August 3, 1907, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013758/tif/afro3aug1907b.pdf.
1243 "James Reed Lynching Profile," Maryland State Archives.
1244 "Crisfield in a Frenzy," The Baltimore Sun, July 30, 1907, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013758/tif/sun30july1907.pdf.
1245 The Afro-American Ledger was a publication formed by merging the Afro-American (founded in 1892) with the Ledger (founded in 1898). The Afro-American Ledger existed from 1900 to 1915, after which it reverted to the original name, Afro-American.
1246 "Another Lynching," The Afro-American Ledger, August 3, 1907, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013758/tif/afro3aug1907b.pdf.
1247 "Mob Kills Negro," The Baltimore Sun, July 29, 1907.
1248 "Negro's Body Torn By Mob," Crisfield, Md, July 29, 1907.
1249 "Mob Kills Man," Afro-American (1893-), August 3, 1907, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Black Newspaper Collection, 7.
1250 "Leave Church to Lynch Man" WBOC, accessed March 31, 2025, https://www.wboc.com/archive/shameful-past-lynchings-on-delmarva--james-reed-lynched-in-crisfield-in-1907/article_aa634ee9-7c92-5bf1-94e3-399ee2d3ce69.html.
1251 "Post Cards | Depicting the Scenes | At the Crisfield Lynching Are Eagerly Bought | Body of the Victim Disinterred and Burned–Race Feeling Is Running Very High," WBOC, accessed March 31, 2025, https://www.wboc.com/archive/shameful-past-lynchings-on-delmarva--james-reed-lynched-in-crisfield-in-1907/article_aa634ee9-7c92-5bf1-94e3-399ee2d3ce69.html.
1252 "Crisfield in a Frenzy," The Baltimore Sun, July 30, 1907.

1253 "Mother Faints When Told By Afro Reporter." The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland), Sat, Oct 21, 1933, Page 14, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041611699/; Ifill, Sherrilyn A. On the Court-House Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the Twenty-first Century. Boston: Beacon Press, 2007, p. 36
1254 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Tina Johnson; "Armwood Quit School in 5th Grade, Says Pal." Afro-American, October 21, 1933, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013750/images/afro21oct1933_2_pal.jpg
1255 "Mob Members Knew Prey Was Feeble-Minded" Afro-American, October 21, 1933, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013750/images/afro21oct1933_2_feeble.jpg; "Get at the Roots" The Afro-American, Sat, Oct 21, 1933,https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013750/images/afro21oct1933_roots.jpg; "Mother's Heart is Broken from Lynch Tragedy" Afro-American, October 21, 1933. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013750/images/afro21oct1933_2_mother.jpg
1256 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s Lynching Profile Questionnaire: George Armwood, MSA SC 3570-13750, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000070/000000/000044/restricted/1933armwood.html
1257 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s Lynching Profile Questionnaire: George Armwood, MSA SC 3570-13750
1258 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s Lynching Profile Questionnaire: George Armwood, MSA SC 3570-13750; "Mob Members Knew Prey Was Feeble-Minded" Afro-American, October 21, 1933, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013750/images/afro21oct1933_2_feeble.jpg; "Get at the Roots" The Afro-American, Sat, Oct 21, 1933
1259 Charles Chavis, The Silent Shore: The Lynching of Mathew Williams and the Politics of Racism in the Free State, p. 193; Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Charles Chavis)
1260 "Armwood Quit School in 5th Grade, Says Pal.."
1261 "Mother's Heart is Broken from Lynch Tragedy" Afro-American, October 21, 1933.
1262 Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series), George Armwood (b. 1911 - d. 1933), MSA SC 3520-13750, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013750/html/13750bio.html
1263 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s Lynching Profile Questionnaire: George Armwood, MSA SC 3570-13750
1264 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Charles Chavis)
1265 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Charles Chavis)
1266 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Charles Chavis
1267 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Charles Chavis
1268 "Judge Duer Says He Made an Error in Judgement Regarding Trouble," Baltimore Sun, October 19, 1933
1269 Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series), George Armwood (b. 1911 - d. 1933), MSA SC 3520-13750
1270 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s Lynching Profile Questionnaire: George Armwood, MSA SC 3570-13750
1271 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s Lynching Profile Questionnaire: George Armwood, MSA SC 3570-13750; "Robin and Daugherty Told Armwood Would Be Lynched." Afro-American, 28 October 1933, Page 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041611711/; Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Charles Chavis; Ifill, On the Court-House Lawn, pp. 89-90
1272 Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series), George Armwood (b. 1911 - d. 1933), MSA SC 3520-13750,
1273 "Robins and Daughtery Told Armwood Would Be Lynched." The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Oct 28, 1933 · Page 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041611711/
1274 The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Oct 28, 1933 · Page 17, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041611726/
1275 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Charles Chavis); Ifill, The Courthouse Lawn, p. 90.
1276 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s Lynching Profile Questionnaire: George Armwood, MSA SC 3570-13750
1277 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of David Armenti)
1278 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Charles Chavis)
1279 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Charles Chavis); Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of David Armenti)
1280 Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series), George Armwood (b. 1911 - d. 1933), MSA SC 3520-13750
1281 Ifill, On the Courthouse Lawn, p. 42.
1282 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of David Armenti); "Interracial Group Raps Governor," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Oct 28, 1933 · Page 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041611711/
1283 "Get at the Roots." The Afro-American, October 19, 1933
1284 "Lesson Learned." Time 22 (December 11, 1933): 14 - 15, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013750/images/time_18331211.htm; "At Princess Anne." Time (October 30, 1933, pp, 14-15; https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013750/images/time_19330330.htm
1285 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s Lynching Profile Questionnaire: George Armwood, MSA SC 3570-13750
1286 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s Lynching Profile Questionnaire: George Armwood, MSA SC 3570-13750
1287 "Officers and Posses Hunt Somerset Woods For Negro Assailant of Aged Woman." Salisbury Times, October 16, 1933
1288 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s Lynching Profile Questionnaire: George Armwood, MSA SC 3570-13750; "Who Took Armwood to Baltimore?" Marylander and Herald (Somerset), October 28, 1933
1289 Judge Lynch's Court Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s Lynching Profile Questionnaire: George Armwood, MSA SC 3570-13750; "Robins and Daughtery Told Armwood Would Be Lynched." The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland), Sat, Oct 28, 1933, Page 2; Ifill, On the Courthouse Lawn, p. 60
1290 "Judge Admits He Made Error in Denying Lynching Possibility." Washington Daily News, 19 October 1933,
1291 "Shore Mob Lynches Negro - Drags Him to His Death from Princess Anne Jail." Baltimore Sun, October 19, 1933, https://libraryguides.salisbury.edu/c.php?g=1056210&p=7674235; "Governor Puts Responsibility on Duer and State's Attorney," Baltimore Sun, Sun, Oct 19, 1933,https://libraryguides.salisbury.edu/c.php?g=1056210&p=7674235; "Mob Storms County Jail Wednesday Night; Lynches Negro Accused of Attacking White Woman Monday," Crisfield Times, October 20, 1933, https://libraryguides.salisbury.edu/c.php?g=1056210&p=7674235; "As Our Lynch Law Looks to Editors," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sun, Oct 22, 1933 · Page 8, https://www.newspapers.com/image/373485127/; Bradley, Rose. "Back of the Maryland Lynching." The Nation. 137 (December 13, 1933): 672 - 73; Cantwell, Robert. "Lynchers in Maryland." The New Republic 77 (December 27, 1933): 199;

Johnson, Gerald W. "Lynchers in Maryland." The New Republic 77 (December 27, 1933): 199.; Johnson, Gerald W. "Maryland: Storm Warning." The New Republic 77 (December 20, 1933): 159 - 61."Americanism in Action." The World Tomorrow 16 (October 26, 1933): 581 - 82.; "At Princess Anne." Time 22 (October 30, 1933): 12; "The Beast is Loose." The Survey 69 (December 1933): 413; "Editorial Comment." The Catholic World 138 (February 1934): 521 - 23; "Is the Mob to Rule?" The Christian Century. 50 (December 13, 1933): 1568 - 70; "Lynching: Maryland Judge is Censured for Tragedy." News-Week 2 (October 28, 1933): 8; "Mass Murder in America." The New Republic 77 (December 13, 1933): 116 - 17; "Mass Murders or Civilized Society?" The Sign 13 (January 1934): 324; "Mob Law: Substitution of 'Judge-Lynch' for More Leisurely Justice Inflames National Controversy." News-Week 2 (December 9, 1933): 6 - 8.

1292 "Exclusive Afro Coverage of Armwood Lynching." The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland), Sat, Oct 28, 1933, Page 3, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041611712/; "Three Uncle James Speak," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland), Sat, Dec 16, 1933, Page 11, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041611910/

1293 "Exclusive Afro Coverage of Armwood Lynching." The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland), Sat, Oct 28, 1933, Page 3, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041611712/

1294 Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series), George Armwood (b. 1911 - d. 1933), MSA SC 3520-13750

1295 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Charles Chavis)

1296 Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series), George Armwood (b. 1911 - d. 1933), MSA SC 3520-13750

1297 Ifill, On the Court-House Lawn, p. 91-92; Judge Pattison Releases Four Lynching Suspects as Thousands Cheer Wildly," Baltimore Sun, November 30, 1933.

1298 "Ritchie, Like Pilate, Washes His Hands," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland), Sat, Dec 9, 1933, Page 22, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041611897/

1299 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Marci Bryant); Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Tina Johnson Harris)

1300 Maryland State Archives, George Armwood (b. 1911 - d. 1933)
MSA SC 3520-13750https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013750/html/13750images.html

1301 "Lynched Man's Mother Weeps." The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland), Sat, Oct 28, 1933, Page 17, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041611726/

1302 "Washington ILD Protests Lynching," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland), Sat, Oct 28, 1933, Page 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041611710/

1303 "Wilmington's Councilman Introduces Resolution Condemning Lynching," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Oct 28, 1933 · Page 13, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041611722/

1304 "Potter's Field Gets Last Remains of Mob Victim," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland), Sat, Oct 28, 1933, Page 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041611711/

1305 "EJI Joins Community to Memorialize Lynching Victims on Maryland's Eastern Shore" https://eji.org/news/community-memorializes-terror-lynchings-in-maryland/

1306 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Marci Bryant)

1307 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Somerset County Live Stream, November 5, 2022 (Statement of Tina Johnson Harris)

1308 Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series), George Armwood (b. 1911 - d. 1933), MSA SC 3520-13750, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013750/html/13750bio.html

1309 He is referred to as Garfield and not James in all news articles.

1310 Garfield King Family Chart, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1lA5l0qnqkeHUiyISgv2TrfiIX9c0yomV/view?usp=drive_link

1311 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing, October 22, 2022, 9:00 AM – 1:00 PM, video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE, (Statement of Julian Collins).

1312 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.

1313 Heritage Associates Lynching Profile, Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, https://docs.google.com/document/d/1bb5TQnAEC1VJ431YO01r7TwYV4yEER0W/edit?usp=drive_link&ouid=110850781715944510881&rtpof=true&sd=true

1314 The current University of Maryland Eastern Shore

1315 "Hanged at Salisbury," The Baltimore Sun, May 26, 1898, accessed June 4, 2025, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/53185695/garfield-king?_gl=1*gjprx1*_ga*MTYzMjk4NzYzMy4xNjUyNjQzMTk3*_ga_4QT8FMEX30*MTY2NjMyMzkyMy43OC4xLjE2NjYzMzExMzcuMTEuMC4w#view-photo=227473896.

1316 "31 Lynchings in Maryland Since the Year 1882: 28 of the Victims Were...," Afro-American, December 12, 1931, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Black Newspaper Collection, 3.

1317 Ms. LaTanya Christopher (Descendant), granddaughter of Mary King, whose father was Neman King, whose father was Scott King, and James Garfield King was the brother of Scott King, my great, great grandfather (Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.)

1318 "Shooting Near Salisbury," The Morning News (Wilmington, DE), May 24, 1898, 3, https://www.newspapers.com/image/153948645/.

1319 "Lynching in Wicomico," The Evening Journal (Wilmington, DE), May 26, 1898, 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/153912714/.

1320 "31 Lynchings in Maryland Since the Year 1882."

1321 "Shooting Near Salisbury."

1322 "Lynching in Maryland," Times Herald (Washington, DC), May 26, 1898, 8, https://www.newspapers.com/image/72083087/.

1323 "Shooting Near Salisbury."

1324 "31 Lynchings in Maryland Since the Year 1882."

1325 "Lynching in Maryland."

1326 "Shooting Near Salisbury."

1327 "Lynching is Feared," Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, PA), May 26, 1898, 5, https://newspaperarchive.com/philadelphia-inquirer-may-26-1898-p-5/.

1328 "Hanged at Salisbury."

1329 Some sources spell his name 'Dashill' but a majority spell it 'Dashiell'

1330 "Hanged at Salisbury."

1331 Wilmington Daily Republican (Wilmington, DE), May 27, 1898, 2, https://newspaperarchive.com/wilmington-daily-republican-may-27-1898-p-2/.

1332 Ms. Janae Wallace from the Salisbury City Lynching Memorial Task Force (Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.)

1333 "Hanged at Salisbury."

1334 Ms. Janae Wallace from the Salisbury City Lynching Memorial Task Force (Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.)

1335 "Lynching in Maryland."

1336 "Lynching in Maryland."

1337 "Lynching in Maryland."
1338 "Lynching in Maryland."
1339 "Lynching in Maryland."
1340 "Lynching in Maryland."
1341 "Lynching in Maryland."
1342 "Mob Vengeance in Maryland," The Princeton Telegraph (Princeton, MO), June 8, 1898, 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/781882127/; C. Christopher Brown, The Road to Jim Crow: Judge Lynch Arrives on the Eastern Shore, pp. 177-8.
1343 "Mob Vengeance in Maryland."
1344 Ms. Janae Wallace from the Salisbury City Lynching Memorial Task Force (Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.)
1345 "Hanged at Salisbury."
1346 Wilmington Daily Republican (Wilmington, DE), May 27, 1898, 2, https://newspaperarchive.com/wilmington-daily-republican-may-27-1898-p-2/.
1347 Ms. Janae Wallace from the Salisbury City Lynching Memorial Task Force (Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.)
1348 Wilmington Daily Republican.
1349 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.
1350 Wilmington Daily Republican.
1351 Wilmington Daily Republican.
1352 "Salisbury Lynching," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, MD), May 27, 1898, 8, https://www.newspapers.com/image/371754012/.
1353 Wilmington Daily Republican.
1354 "Wicomico Aroused," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, MD), May 28, 1898, 9, https://www.newspapers.com/image/371755370/.
1355 "Wicomico Aroused."
1356 Ms. Janae Wallace from the Salisbury City Lynching Memorial Task Force (Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.)
1357 "Hanged at Salisbury."
1358 "Wicomico Aroused."
1359 "Hanged at Salisbury."
1360 "Salisbury Lynching."
1361 "Hanged at Salisbury," The Baltimore Weekly Sun, May 28, 1898, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013747/tif/weeklysun.pdf.
1362 Wilmington Daily Republican.
1363 Wilmington Daily Republican.
1364 "The Lynching of the Negro King," The Salisbury Advertiser, May 28, 1898, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013747/tif/kinglynching.pdf.
1365 "A Murder and Lynching," The Salisbury Advertiser, May 28, 1898, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013747/tif/murder.pdf.
1366 Wilmington Daily Republican.
1367 "Condemnation Resolution," The Salisbury Advertiser, June 4, 1898, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013747/tif/condemnation.pdf.
1368 GOVERNOR (General File) MSA S1041. There was a search for letters to the governor from Dr. Lyons, W. Ashby Hawkins, R.P. Graham, Solomon T. Huston, and J. F. Gaddis, members of the committee selected to petition the governor for a $1,000 reward to arrest the lynchers of Garfield King. Nothing found.
1369 Maryland State Archives, "Garfield King (d. 1898)," accessed June 4, 2025, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000070/000000/000044/restricted/00061898king.html.
1370 Maryland State Archives, "Garfield King."
1371 "Salisbury Lynching," Wilmington Daily Republican (Wilmington, DE), May 27, 1898, 2, https://newspaperarchive.com/wilmington-daily-republican-may-27-1898-p-2/.
1372 "Full of Lead," The Tennessean (Nashville, TN), May 27, 1898, 4, https://www.newspapers.com/image/604227505/.
1373 "Victim of a Mob's Wrath," The News Journal (Wilmington, DE), May 26, 1898, 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/160904796/.
1374 Montana Helena Independent (Helena, MT), May 27, 1898, 1, https://newspaperarchive.com/montana-helena-independent-may-27-1898-p-1/.
1375 Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, PA), May 26, 1898, 5, https://newspaperarchive.com/philadelphia-inquirer-may-26-1898-p-5/.
1376 Wilmington Daily Republican.
1377 "Salisbury Lynching," The Baltimore Sun
1378 "Lynching in Maryland," The Commonwealth (Greenwood, MS), June 2, 1898, 6, https://www.newspapers.com/image/609059408/.
1379 "Mob Vengeance in Maryland."
1380 Arkansas City Daily Traveler (Arkansas City, Kansas), May 26, 1898, 1, accessed [date], https://www.newspapers.com/image/53217006/.
1381 "Lynching in Wicomico," The Evening Journal, May 26, 1898.
1382 "Wicomico Aroused."
1383 "Negro Boy Lynched," Vernon County Censor (Viroqua, Wisconsin), June 1, 1898, 4, accessed [date], https://www.newspapers.com/image/773822947/.
1384 "Lynch a Negro," Omaha World-Herald (Omaha, Nebraska), May 27, 1898, 4, accessed June 4, 2025, https://www.newspapers.com/image/859273412/.
1385 "Lynching in Maryland," Times Herald (Washington, District of Columbia), May 26, 1898, 8, accessed June 4, 2025, https://www.newspapers.com/image/72083087/.
1386 "Kenny's Murderer Lynched," The Inter Ocean (Chicago, Illinois), May 27, 1898, 4, accessed June 4, 2025, https://www.newspapers.com/image/34163614/.
1387 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.
1388 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.
1389 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.
1390 Ms. Cynthia King Polik is the daughter of Mary King Christopher. Mary was the daughter of Neman Webster King. Neman King was the son of Scott King, and Scott King was the brother of James Garfield King (Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.)
1391 Ms. Cynthia King Polik is the daughter of Mary King Christopher. Mary was the daughter of Neman Webster King. Neman King was the son of Scott King, and Scott King was the brother of James Garfield King (Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.)

1392 Ms. Cynthia King Polik is the daughter of Mary King Christopher. Mary was the daughter of Neman Webster King. Neman King was the son of Scott King, and Scott King was the brother of James Garfield King (Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.)
1393 "Hanged at Salisbury."
1394 Heritage Associates Lynching Profile, Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, https://docs.google.com/document/d/1bb5TQnAEC1VJ431YO01r7TwYV4yEER0W/edit?usp=drive_link&ouid=110850781715944510881&rtpof=true&sd=true
1395 "Historical Marker Dedicated in Salisbury, Maryland," Equal Justice Initiative, https://eji.org/news/historical-marker-dedicated-in-salisbury-maryland/.
1396 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Wicomico County, YouTube video, 3:22:20, posted by "Maryland Office of the Attorney General," October 22, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE.
1397 "Lynchers in Salisbury Had Right-of-Way," The Afro-American (Baltimore, MD), December 12, 1931, p. 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576402/.
1398 "Lynchers in Salisbury Had Right-of-Way."
1399 "Lynchers in Salisbury Had Right-of-Way."
1400 "Lynchers in Salisbury Had Right-of-Way."
1401 "Lynchers in Salisbury Had Right-of-Way."
1402 Levi Jolley, "Aunt Sobs, Declares 'Buddie' Mob Lynched Was a Good Boy," The Afro-American (Baltimore, MD), December 12, 1931, p. 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576407/.
1403 "Lynchers in Salisbury Had Right-of-Way."
1404 "Lynchers in Salisbury Had Right-of-Way."
1405 "Fellow Worker of Lynched Man Says He Was Quiet, Industrious," The Afro-American (Baltimore, MD), December 12, 1931, p. 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576402/.
1406 Jolley, "Aunt Sobs."
1407 Matthew Williams, Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Victim Profile, Google Docs document, accessed June 3, 2025, https://docs.google.com/document/d/1-48Ui7VEf2BPWCN6VYeB2yUs2ig7S6xw/edit#heading=h.gjdgxs.
1408 The Elks' director also probed into Matthew Williams' lynching pledging to bring the members of the mob to justice ("Elks' Director Probes Lynching," The Afro-American (Baltimore, MD), December 12, 1931, p. 5, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576419/.)
1409 Jolley, "Aunt Sobs."
1410 "Church as Usual on Sunday for Lynchers," The Afro-American (Baltimore, MD), December 12, 1931, p. 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576407/.
1411 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing, October 22, 2022, 9:00 AM – 1:00 PM, video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE.
1412 The spelling of Elliot's last name varies between "Elliot" and "Elliott." We will be using the Elliott spelling as it is what appears in most news articles of the day.
1413 "Fellow Worker of Lynched Man Says He Was Quiet, Industrious."
1414 "Fellow Worker of Lynched Man Says He Was Quiet, Industrious."
1415 "Fellow Worker of Lynched Man Says He Was Quiet, Industrious."
1416 "Maryland's Lynching," The World-News (Roanoke, VA), December 7, 1931, p. 6, https://www.newspapers.com/image/913141445/.
1417 "Negro Lynched and Burned," Montgomery County Sentinel (Rockville, MD), December 11, 1931, p. 3, https://www.newspapers.com/image/881524990/.
1418 "Fellow Worker of Lynched Man Says He Was Quiet, Industrious."
1419 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Wicomico County Public Hearing.
1420 Matthew Williams (b. 1908 – d. 1931), Maryland State Archives, accessed June 3, 2025, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013749/html/13749bio.html.
1421 Jolley, "Aunt Sobs."
1422 Jolley, "Aunt Sobs."
1423 "Salisbury Lynching Laid to Red Fears," The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, PA), December 6, 1931, p. 6, https://www.newspapers.com/image/173861932/.
1424 "Lynching Probe Awaits Action of Coroner's Jury," The Morning News (Wilmington, DE), December 8, 1931, p. 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/160365688/.
1425 "Salisbury Lynching Laid to Red Fears."
1426 "Salisbury Lynching Laid to Red Fears."
1427 "In the Best of Families," Richmond Times-Dispatch (Richmond, VA), December 6, 1931, p. 32, https://www.newspapers.com/image/827867720/.
1428 Shepard Krech III, Praise the Bridge That Carries You Over: The Life of Joseph L. Sutton (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1981).
1429 "Boss Press Admits Police Aid in Maryland Lynching," The Daily Worker (Chicago, IL), December 8, 1931, p. 3, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020097/1931-12-08/ed-1/seq-3/.
1430 "Negro Lynched and Burned," Montgomery County Sentinel (Rockville, MD), December 11, 1931, p. 3, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83016209/1931-12-11/ed-1/seq-3/.
1431 "Negro Lynched and Burned."
1432 "Salisbury Lynching Laid to Red Fears."
1433 "Salisbury Killer Is Hanged from Tree at Courthouse," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, MD), December 5, 1931, p. 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/373285916/.
1434 "Boss Press Admits Police Aid."
1435 "Boss Press Admits Police Aid." but from a Baltimore Sun article.
1436 "Police Carted Body Out of Town, Buried it, Then Brought it Back," The Afro-American (Baltimore, MD), December 12, 1931, p. 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576402/.
1437 "Eye Witness Tells How Mob Acted," The Afro-American (Baltimore, MD), December 12, 1931, p. 2, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576407/.
1438 "Slayer Lynched by Mob," The Midland Journal (Rising Sun, MD), December 11, 1931, p. 4, https://www.newspapers.com/image/859807989/.
1439 "I.L.D. (International Labor Defense) Exposes New Whitewash Attempt of Maryland Lynchers," The Daily Worker (Chicago, IL), December 31, 1931, p. 3, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020097/1931-12-31/ed-1/seq-3/.
1440 "Salisbury Lynching Laid to Red Fears."
1441 "Eye Witness Tells How Mob Acted," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576407/

1442 "Eye Witness Tells How Mob Acted," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576407/
1443 "Salisbury Mob Lynches Negro Who Killed Man," The News (Frederick, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 5, 1931 · Page 12 https://www.newspapers.com/image/8524794/
1444 "In the Best of Families," Richmond Times-Dispatch (Richmond, Virginia) · Sun, Dec 6, 1931 Page 32 https://www.newspapers.com/image/827867720/
1445 "In the Best of Families," Richmond Times-Dispatch (Richmond, Virginia) · Sun, Dec 6, 1931 Page 32 https://www.newspapers.com/image/827867720/
1446 "Boss Press Admits Police Aid in Maryland Lynching," The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Tue, Dec 8, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1144173609/ BUT from a Baltimore Sun article.
1447 "I.L.D. (International Labor Defense) Exposes New Whitewash Attempt of Maryland Lynchers," The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Thu, Dec 31, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/878754753/
1448 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 5, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/373285916/
1449 "Eye Witness Tells How Mob Acted," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576407/
1450 "In the Best of Families," Richmond Times-Dispatch (Richmond, Virginia) · Sun, Dec 6, 1931 Page 32 https://www.newspapers.com/image/827867720/
1451 "Eye Witness Tells How Mob Acted," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576407/
1452 "Salisbury Lynching Laid to Red Fears," The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) · Sun, Dec 6,1931 · Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/173861932/
1453 "Eye Witness Tells How Mob Acted," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576407/
1454 "I.L.D. (International Labor Defense) Exposes New Whitewash Attempt of Maryland Lynchers," The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Thu, Dec 31, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/878754753/
1455 "I.L.D. (International Labor Defense) Exposes New Whitewash Attempt of Maryland Lynchers," The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Thu, Dec 31, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/878754753/
1456 "Man's Toes Cut off by Mob at Salisbury," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 19, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576499/
1457 "Eye Witness to Lynching Tells How Mob Acted," The Afro-American, December 12, 1931. https://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/msaref10/msa_s1048_1_and_10/pdf/sc5458_000051_002352.pdf
1458 https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013749/html/13749bio.html
1459 The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 19, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576499/
1460 "Eye Witness Tells How Mob Acted," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576407/
1461 Wicomico County Public Hearing October 22, 2022 9:00 AM – 1:00 PM https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE
1462 The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576402/
1463 "Salisbury Lynching Laid to Red Fears," The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) · Sun, Dec 6,1931 · Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/173861932/
1464 "Salisbury Lynching Laid to Red Fears," The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) · Sun, Dec 6,1931 · Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/173861932/
1465 The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576402/
1466 Wicomico County Public Hearing October 22, 2022 9:00 AM – 1:00 PM https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE
1467 "I.L.D. (International Labor Defense) Exposes New Whitewash Attempt of Maryland Lynchers," The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Thu, Dec 31, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/878754753/
1468 "I.L.D. (International Labor Defense) Exposes New Whitewash Attempt of Maryland Lynchers," The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Thu, Dec 31, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/878754753/
1469 "I.L.D. (International Labor Defense) Exposes New Whitewash Attempt of Maryland Lynchers," The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Thu, Dec 31, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/878754753/
1470 Original Source: "A Statement,"The Daily Times (Salisbury, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 5, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/280401268/
1471 "I.L.D. (International Labor Defense) Exposes New Whitewash Attempt of Maryland Lynchers," The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Thu, Dec 31, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/878754753/
1472 "Wicomico Attorney to Act Against Mob That Hanged, Burned Wounded Negro," The Evening Journal (Wilmington, Delaware) · Sat, Dec 5, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/154130541/
1473 "I.L.D. (International Labor Defense) Exposes New Whitewash Attempt of Maryland Lynchers," The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Thu, Dec 31, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/878754753/
1474 "Mob Action Not Attempt to Avenge Crime, Says International Labor Defense," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576410/
1475 "Mob Action Not Attempt to Avenge Crime, Says International Labor Defense," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576410/
1476 "N.Y. Workers Demonstrate at Noon Against Gov. Ritchie" The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/878754089/
1477 "Negro Lynching is Denounced in Stated Churches,"The Morning Herald (Hagerstown, Maryland) · Mon, Dec 7, 1931 · Page 12 https://www.newspapers.com/image/4646267/
1478 "Negro Lynching is Denounced in Stated Churches,"The Morning Herald (Hagerstown, Maryland) · Mon, Dec 7, 1931 · Page 12 https://www.newspapers.com/image/4646267/
1479 "Negro Lynching is Denounced in Stated Churches,"The Morning Herald (Hagerstown, Maryland) · Mon, Dec 7, 1931 · Page 12 https://www.newspapers.com/image/4646267/
1480 "Elks' Director Probes Lynching," The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 5 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576419/
1481 "Finds Mob Spirit Rules Eastern Shore; Lynching May Embarrass Ritchie," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sun, Dec 27, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/373295616/
1482 "Ritchie Orders Vigorous Prosecution of Mob that Lynched Salisbury Killer," The Baltimore American, December 6, 1931. (https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013749/tif/amer6dec31a.pdf)

1483 “Salisbury Lynching Laid to Red Fears,” The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) · Sun, Dec 6,1931 · Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/173861932/
1484 “Ritchie Demands Mob Prosecution,” The Miami Herald (Miami, Florida) · Mon, Dec 7, 1931 · Page 10 https://www.newspapers.com/image/617426395/
1485 “Ritchie Demands Mob Prosecution,” The Miami Herald (Miami, Florida) · Mon, Dec 7, 1931 · Page 10 https://www.newspapers.com/image/617426395/
1486 “Punishement Faces Maryland Lynchers,” The Miami Herald (Miami, Florida) · Mon, Dec 7, 1931 · Page 10 https://www.newspapers.com/image/617426395/
1487 “Lynching Probe Awaits Action of Coroner’s Jury,” The Morning News (Wilmington, Delaware) · Tue, Dec 8, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/160365688/
1488 “Takes Firm Stand to have Writers Testify in Probe,” Public Opinion (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania) · Wed, Dec 23, 1931 ·Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/449841856/
1489 “Governor Ritchie Promises Sweeping Investigation,” The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576407/
1490 “Lane is Uncertain on Shore Return,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Tue, Dec 22, 1931 · Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/373294626/
1491 “Blankety, Blank, Blank!” Jeffersonian, 26 March 1932. https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013749/pdf/jeff26mar32.pdf
1492 Wicomico County Public Hearing October 22, 2022 9:00 AM – 1:00 PM https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE
1493 “I.L.D. (International Labor Defense) Exposes New Whitewash Attempt of Maryland Lynchers,” The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Thu, Dec 31, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/878754753/
1494 “Eye Witness Tells How Mob Acted,” The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576407/
1495 Wicomico County Public Hearing October 22, 2022 9:00 AM – 1:00 PM https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE pg. 15
1496 Wicomico County Public Hearing October 22, 2022 9:00 AM – 1:00 PM https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE pg. 15
1497 Wicomico County Public Hearing October 22, 2022 9:00 AM – 1:00 PM https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE pg. 17
1498 Wicomico County Public Hearing October 22, 2022 9:00 AM – 1:00 PM https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE pg. 15
1499 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE
1500 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE
1501 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE
1502 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE
1503 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, “Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” YouTube video, 1:00:00, posted October 22, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE
1504 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, “Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” YouTube video, 1:00:00, posted October 22, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE
1505 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, “Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” YouTube video, 1:00:00, posted October 22, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE
1506 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, “Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” YouTube video, 1:00:00, posted October 22, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE
1507 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission, “Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” YouTube video, 1:00:00, posted October 22, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oBpbA4EeyE
1508 Maryland State Archives, “Matthew Williams,” Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000070/000000/000044/restricted/00121931williams.html
1509 “Eye Witness Tells How Mob Acted,” The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576407/
1510 “Finds Mob Spirit Rules Eastern Shore; Lynching May Embarrass Ritchie,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sun, Dec 27, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/373295616/
1511 “Maryland’s Lynching,” The World-News (Roanoke, Virginia) · Mon, Dec 7, 1931 · Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/913141445/
1512 “Maryland’s Lynching,” The World-News (Roanoke, Virginia) · Mon, Dec 7, 1931 · Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/913141445/
1513 “In the Best of Families,” Richmond Times-Dispatch (Richmond, Virginia) · Sun, Dec 6, 1931 Page 32 https://www.newspapers.com/image/827867720/
1514 “In the Best of Families,” Richmond Times-Dispatch (Richmond, Virginia) · Sun, Dec 6, 1931 Page 32 https://www.newspapers.com/image/827867720/
1515 “In the Best of Families,” Richmond Times-Dispatch (Richmond, Virginia) · Sun, Dec 6, 1931 Page 32 https://www.newspapers.com/image/827867720/
1516 “Boss Press Admits Police Aid in Maryland Lynching,” The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Tue, Dec 8, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1144173609/
1517 “Boss Press Admits Police Aid in Maryland Lynching,” The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Tue, Dec 8, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1144173609/
1518 “An Open Letter,” The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 19, 1931 · Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576519/
1519 The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 5, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/373285916/
1520 “Takes Firm Stand to have Writers Testify in Probe,” Public Opinion (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania) · Wed, Dec 23, 1931 ·Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/449841856/
1521 The Miami Herald (Miami, Florida) · Mon, Dec 7, 1931 · Page 10 https://www.newspapers.com/image/617426395/
1522 “Salisbury Lynching Laid to Red Fears,” The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) · Sun, Dec 6,1931 · Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/173861932/
1523 “I.L.D. Exposes New Whitewash Attempt of Maryland Lynchers,” The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Thu, Dec 31, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/878754753/
1524 “Wicomico Attorney to Act Against Mob That Hanged, Burned Wounded Negro,” The Evening Journal (Wilmington, Delaware) · Sat, Dec 5, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/154130541/
1525 “Boss Press Admits Police Aid in Maryland Lynching,” The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Tue, Dec 8, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1144173609/
1526 “N.Y. Workers Demonstrate at Noon Against Gov. Ritchie” The Daily Worker (Chicago, Illinois) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/878754089/

1527 “Negro Lynching is Denounced in Stated Churches,”The Morning Herald (Hagerstown, Maryland) · Mon, Dec 7, 1931 · Page 12 https://www.newspapers.com/image/4646267/
1528 “Finds Mob Spirit Rules Eastern Shore; Lynching May Embarrass Ritchie,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sun, Dec 27, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/373295616/
1529 “Salisbury Mob Lynches Negro Who Killed Man,” The News (Frederick, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 5, 1931 · Page 12 https://www.newspapers.com/image/8524794/
1530 “Mob Action Not Attempt to Avenge Crime, Says International Labor Defense,” The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576410/
1531 “Lane is Uncertain on Shore Return,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Tue, Dec 22, 1931 · Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/373294626/
1532 “Man’s Toes Cut off by Mob at Salisbury,” The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 19, 1931 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576499/
1533 “Governor Ritchie Demands Salisbury Lynchers be Arrested and Vigorously Prosecuted,” The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sun, Dec 6, 1931 · Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/373286280/
1534 The Afro-American (Baltimore, Maryland) · Sat, Dec 12, 1931 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1041576407/
1535 “Salisbury Lynching Laid to Red Fears,” The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) · Sun, Dec 6,1931 · Page 6 https://www.newspapers.com/image/173861932/
1536 Maryland Lynchings, The Baltimore Sun, https://news.baltimoresun.com/maryland-lynchings/.
1537 “Chicago Board of Trade Hails Gov. Ritchie,” Cumberland Evening Times, December 07, 1931 Pg. 5, Cumberland, Maryland, US https://newspaperarchive.com/cumberland-evening-times-dec-07-1931-p-5/
1538 “Historical Marker Dedicated in Salisbury, Maryland,” Equal Justice Initiative, https://eji.org/news/historical-marker-dedicated-in-salisbury-maryland/.
1539 There was a death certificate issued for the unknown victim (John Smith) of a “railroad accident,” December 8, 1931. Collection of Maryland State Archives.
1540 There is very little information available regarding the Black man found mutilated and deceased following the murder of Matthew Williams. The Afro-American states that he appeared to be around 35 years of age while a marker that was dedicated to him in 2021 states that he was 33 years old.
1541 Mystery Death Believed to be Second Mob Victim: SHORE LYNCHERS MAY ...
Afro-American (1893-); Dec 12, 1931; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Black Newspaper Collection
pg. 1
1542 It is believed that this person’s only “crime” was being Black during a time when Salisbury’s white population was wreaking havoc on the Black community.
1543 Equal Justice Initiative, “Historical Marker Dedicated in Salisbury, Maryland,” Equal Justice Initiative, June 8, 2021, https://eji.org/news/historical-marker-dedicated-in-salisbury-maryland/.
1544 Mystery Death Believed to be Second Mob Victim: SHORE LYNCHERS MAY ...
Afro-American (1893-); Dec 12, 1931; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Black Newspaper Collection
pg. 1
1545 Mystery Death Believed to be Second Mob Victim: SHORE LYNCHERS MAY ...
Afro-American (1893-); Dec 12, 1931; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Black Newspaper Collection
pg. 1
1546 Mystery Death Believed to be Second Mob Victim: SHORE LYNCHERS MAY ...
Afro-American (1893-); Dec 12, 1931; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Black Newspaper Collection
pg. 1
1547 From Charles L. Chavis Jr., The Silent Shore: The Lynching of Matthew Williams and the Politics of Racism in the Free State (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2022) that quotes: B.J. Reports, Thursday, January 7, 1932, 2
1548 Charles L. Chavis Jr., The Silent Shore: The Lynching of Matthew Williams and the Politics of Racism in the Free State (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2022)
1549 Mystery Death Believed to be Second Mob Victim: SHORE LYNCHERS MAY ...
Afro-American (1893-); Dec 12, 1931; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Black Newspaper Collection
pg. 1
1550 Mystery Death Believed to be Second Mob Victim: SHORE LYNCHERS MAY ...
Afro-American (1893-); Dec 12, 1931; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Black Newspaper Collection
pg. 1
1551 From Charles L. Chavis Jr., The Silent Shore: The Lynching of Matthew Williams and the Politics of Racism in the Free State (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2022) that quotes: B.J. Reports, Thursday, January 7, 1932, 2
1552 “Historical Marker Dedicated in Salisbury, Maryland,” Equal Justice Initiative, https://eji.org/news/historical-marker-dedicated-in-salisbury-maryland/.
1553 Mystery Death Believed to be Second Mob Victim: SHORE LYNCHERS MAY ...
Afro-American (1893-); Dec 12, 1931; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Black Newspaper Collection
pg. 1

CALVERT COUNTY LYNCHING CASE

Case Study: Charles Whitley
(Calvert County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Charles Whitley[858]

Date of Birth: 1867[859]

Place of Birth: Uncertain; possibly Stafford County, Virginia

Occupation/Background: Domestic Servant/Cook at the home of Rev. L. M. Lyle[860]

Marital Status: Unknown[861]

Family and Personal Background:

- Charles Whitley's mother, Caroline Whitley, was born in 1849 in Virginia.
- Charles Whitley's father is unknown.
- Through extensive research, it is believed that Charles Whitley's great grandmother was a woman named Bettie Whitley from Stafford County, Virginia[862]

Additional Background Information:

- The 1880 Stafford County, VA census indicates Charles Whitley could read and was attending school.
- Charles Whitley was regularly described as a "bright mulatto"[863] and was 5 feet 8 inches and 135 pounds.[864]
- Charles Whitley and his mother Caroline, from at least 1870, were servants and lived with John and Mary Green of Aquia, Stafford County VA. Charles Whitley was still a Green family servant in 1880 according to that year's census. However, Caroline was not recorded in the Green household when the 1880 census was taken.
- From approximately 1885 until his 1886 lynching Charles was a domestic servant and resided with Rev. Lee M. Lyle and his family in Calvert County, Maryland.[865]
- Described in a *Baltimore Sun* article of June 12, 1886, as having been raised from infancy by a respectable Christian Stafford County VA family, presumably the Greens. Lyle went on to say Charles Whitley was the most efficient servant he ever had. Charles Whitley cooked for the Lyle family.[866]
- The Lyle family supposedly moved from Virginia to Prince Frederick with Charles Whitley one or two months before the alleged attack.[867]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: Wednesday, June 2, 1886, in a secluded garden location at Rev. Lee M. and Roberta M. Lyle's Prince Frederick Calvert County home.

Description of Alleged Crime: Daisy Lyle, the 11 year-old, daughter of Rev. Lee M. and Roberta M. Lyle, accused Charles Whitley of assaulting the youngest daughter, five year-old Annie.

Victim of Alleged Crime: Annie Lyle (child, female, white)

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Charles Whitley (adult, male, Black)

Witness Statements or Claims:

- Daisy Lyle was the only witness reported to accuse Charles Whitley of an alleged assault.

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

- On the morning of Wednesday, June 2, 1886, Charles Whitley and Annie Lyle reportedly went to gather berries and flowers from the woods. After some time, Mrs. Lyle reportedly told Daisy to go in search of her sister. According to a Michigan-based news article, Daisy claimed to discover Charles Whitley in a partly nude state after hearing her sister's screams.[868] Daisy claimed that Charles Whitley threatened to cut the throats of the two girls if they ever "told." The girls told their mother their story and Mrs. Lyle sent for her husband whose first impulse was to kill Charles Whitley on the spot. Supposedly his wife reminded him that he was a clergyman and urged him to take Charles Whitley to the county jail.[869]
- That same day there reportedly was a hearing before Justice W.W.L. Dalrympie where Dr. George H. Jones was called upon to make an examination of Annie Lyle; the doctor reportedly indicated that Annie "appeared bruised" with no additional information.[870]

Role of Authorities:

- Sheriff Anderson, claimed to fear an attempt to lynch Charles Whitley, and placed a guard around the one-story wooden jail, sheathed on the inside with sheet iron."[871]A conflicting story indicates that Sheriff Anderson left the evening of Charles Whitley's imprisonment, leaving two guards on duty - Samuel W. Patterson and Leonard Carroll - because he did not think anything would happen to Charles Whitley. [872]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 18/19[873] years old

Date and Time: Sunday, June 6, 1886, around 11:00 p.m.

Location of Lynching: Joseph A. Wilson's land, a mile from Prince Frederick[874]

At what point did the lynching take place? After Charles Whitley was apprehended and detained, but before any trial

Method of Lynching: Hung to a persimmon tree

Who Was Involved:

- **What role did the local law enforcement play in the lynching?** Preventative (through action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before local judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

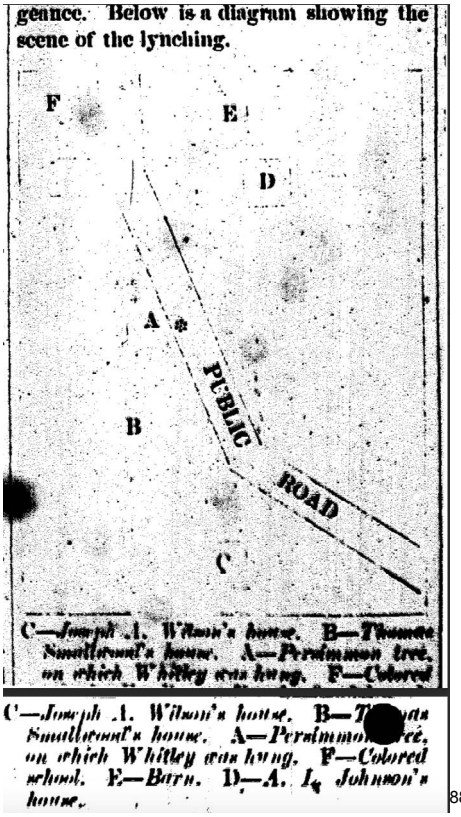
- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** Preventative (through action, even if unsuccessful)
- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** No role (lynching occurred before state judiciary became involved)
- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** Unknown

Public/Private Nature: Public–"in the open country"[875]

Physical Condition of Victim: Strangulation

Additional Details:

- The county jail where Charles Whitley was confined was a small, one-story frame building, from which there had been multiple prisoner escapes over the years. When the lynchers arrived, the single door was unlocked and secured only by a wire fastening on the inside.[876]
- A majority of sources state "the crime became known" but there are sources that suggest that the crime "became known" in Rev. Mr. Lyle's own church and the lynching was carried out by his congregants and neighbors. Following church service, black muslin masks were distributed to nearly 50 men who went to the sheriff's house between 11 pm and midnight to demand the jailhouse keys.[877]
- Reportedly, in the struggle for the possession of the keys, several pistol-shots were fired from outside the fence, one bullet passing in close proximity to the Sheriff's face.[878]
- When refused the mob threatened to burn the jail and Charles Whitley with it. One of the lynchers started around with a lighted torch to carry out the threat, while others overpowered and bound the sheriff, unlocked the jail, and dragged Charles Whitley out of the building by a rope around his neck. Charles Whitley was given five minutes for prayer at the foot of a persimmon tree and the mob strung him up."[879]
- On Tuesday, June 8, 1886, the Sheriff found Charles Whitley's dead body, dressed in a pair of dark cassimer pants, checked calico shirt, and a pair of cotton socks, his left ankle wearing the leg-iron with which he had been secured, with a piece of the chain two feet long attached.[880]



881

Aftermath

Coroner's Inquest:

- The sheriff summoned the following jury of inquisition: James B. Duke, R.A. Buckmaster, C.D. Parran, James J. Pitcher, James T. Sewell, W.W. Bowen, Perry S. Ross, Thomas E. Hall, Leonard Carroll, Silas R. King, James S. Catterton, and Wm. H. Dowell. The State's Attorney John P. Briscoe conducted the examination of witnesses before the jury. After hearing the testimony of Sheriff Thomas F. Anderson, Samuel W. Patterson, Leonard Carroll, R.A. Buckmaster, and Charles J. Thawley, the jury rendered a verdict that 'Charles Whitley came to his death on Sunday, June 6, 1886, by hanging "at the hands of parties unknown.""[882]

- The sheriff and one of the guards testified that they positively identified James W. Lyons among the lynching party and Lyons was initially charged with participation.[883] Subsequently the sheriff recanted his testimony and it was agreed that members of the white community had no clue as to the identity of the lynchers and did not want to know.[884]

Reaction from the Community:

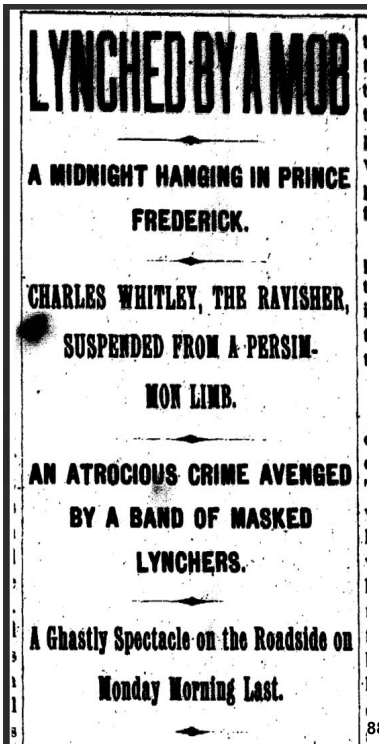
- The white community of Calvert County seemed to agree with this quote from a local newspaper, "We commend this prompt action of the men of Calvert. When the guilt of such a brutal criminal is clearly established–as in this case–the best way to dispose of him is by Judge Lynch's court. The country is well rid of such scoundrels and this is the most certain and effective manner of disposing of them."[885]

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** A unique and/or unprecedented crime

- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Encouraged lynching
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?**Approving of the lynching

Headlines


LYNCHED BY A MOB

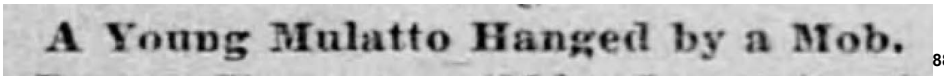
A MIDNIGHT HANGING IN PRINCE FREDERICK.

CHARLES WHITLEY, THE RAVISHER, SUSPENDED FROM A PERSIMMON LIMB.

AN ATROCIOUS CRIME AVENGED BY A BAND OF MASKED LYNCHERS.

A Ghastly Spectacle on the Roadside on Monday Morning Last.

886

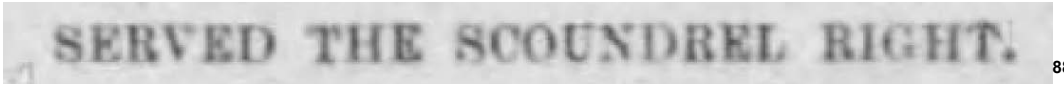

A Young Mulatto Hanged by a Mob.

887

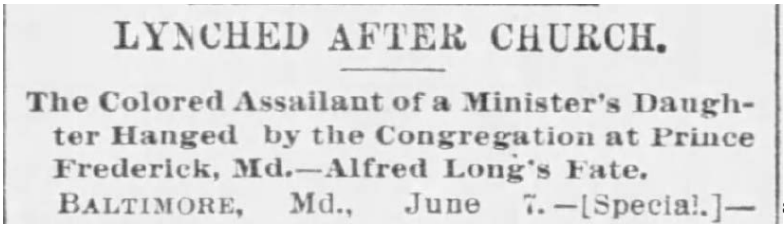
STRUNG UP TO A PERSIMMON TREE.

Maryland Lynchers Rid Themselves of a Mulatto Fiend in Short Order.

888


SERVED THE SCOUNDREL RIGHT.

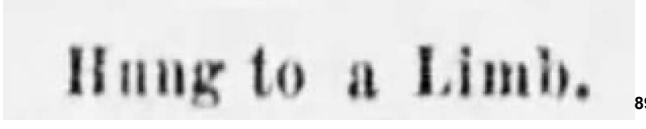
889


LYNCHED AFTER CHURCH.

The Colored Assailant of a Minister's Daughter Hanged by the Congregation at Prince Frederick, Md.—Alfred Long's Fate.

BALTIMORE, Md., June 7.—[Special.]—

890


Hung to a Limb.

891

ON A PERSIMMON TREE.

A Young Mulatto Rapist Strung Up For His Crime.

892

CRIMINAL CALENDAR.

MULATTO LYNCHED.

893

ANOTHER SCORE FOR LYNCH.

The Old Gentleman Keeping Up His Competition with the Sheriff.

894

PROMPT VENGEANCE

Meted Out to a Black Brute by a Mob of Masked Men.

Another Lynching in North Carolina --Maxwell's Nerve.

A Black Brute Hanged.

895

JUDGE LYNCH.

A Mulatto Boy Rapes a 5-year-old Girl and is Jailed—A Mob Captures Him and Hangs Him.

896

LYNCHED FOR OUTRAGE.

Prince Frederick Residents Take the Law into Their Own Hands.

897

A Negro Brute Strung Up.

898

A Would-Be Rapist Lynched.

899

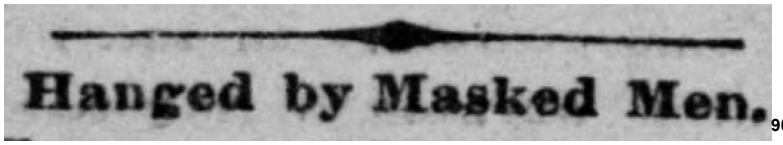
Lynched by Church Members.

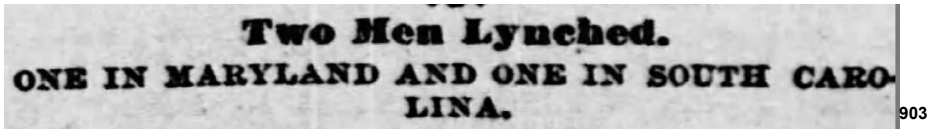
BALTIMORE, June 7.—Charles Whittle, an

900

Strung Up to a Persimmon Tree.

901


Hanged by Masked Men.[902]


Two Men Lynched.
ONE IN MARYLAND AND ONE IN SOUTH CAROLINA.[903]

Legal/Political Consequences:

- The lynchers of Charles Whitley were never brought to justice.

Legacy and Impact

Cultural/Political Significance: There were no known cultural or political significance immediately following Charles Whitley's lynching.

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There were no known legislative changes or social movements immediately following Charles Whitley's lynching.

Memorialization/Commemoration:

- Charles Whitley's body was encased in a plain pine coffin and buried in the northwest corner of the court-house lot.[904]
- The lynching of Charles Whitley has never been formally acknowledged by Calvert County.[905]
- In 2021, Governor Hogan directed his legal counsel to review all known accounts of racial lynching in Maryland. And as a result of that review, he issued 34 pardons acknowledging the identified victims of racial terror lynchings between the years of 1854 and 1933. His pardon absolved them from any guilt of their alleged offenses and exempted them from any pains and penalties imposed upon them. Charles Whitley is a recipient of that pardon.[906]

Ongoing Influence:

- Charles Whitley was new to Calvert County and largely unknown to the local community. Seen as an outsider, his lynching was neither condemned nor meaningfully acknowledged. At the St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing on November 16, 2024, Diane Davies of Calvert County—speaking on behalf of the Big Conversation—remarked that Whitley's lynching has never been formally recognized by the county. She reflected that this silence, stretching across generations, continues to send a troubling message: that even in the 21st century, acts of racial intimidation are quietly tolerated in Calvert County.[907]

Additional Notes

Controversies or Discrepancies:

- The only reported witness to Charles Whitley's alleged crime is the 11-year-old daughter of the Lyle family and no additional investigation confirmed the veracity of her claims.[908]

- The coroner's inquest was conducted by the sheriff, the same person who allowed or at least had some involvement in the taking of Charles Whitley from the jail that resulted in the lynching, creating at best a conflict of interest.[909]

ST. MARY'S COUNTY LYNCHING CASE

Case Study: Benjamin Hance

(St. Mary's County)

Basic Information

Full Name: Benjamin Hance

Date of Birth: 1865

Place of Birth: Reportedly Benjamin Hance was from the state of Virginia[910]

Occupation/Background: Benjamin Hance was employed as a servant in the house of Henry Mattingly and as a hand on the vessel of Captain Frank Russell.[911]

Marital Status: Unknown

Family and Personal Background:

- Believed to be a free Black man at birth

Additional Background Information:

- Benjamin Hance was believed to be a parishioner at St. Aloysius Catholic Church in Leonardtown, because that is where he was ultimately buried.[912]

Alleged Crime

Date and Location of Alleged Crime: May 27, 1887, in Leonardtown, St. Mary's County

Description of Alleged Crime: Unsolicited non-fatal violence[913]

Victim of Alleged Crime: Alice Bailey, local, female, white, child/teenager

Perpetrator of Alleged Crime: Benjamin Hance, local, male, Black, adult (healthy)

Witness Statements or Claims:

- In May 1887, Benjamin Hance's employer, Captain Russell sent Benjamin Hance to carry a message to Judge Daniel Parne, a resident of St. Clement's Bay. While returning to the vessel along a road towards Stone's Wharf, Benjamin Hance was reported to run into Alice Bailey, daughter of a farmer named Shercliffe Bailey.[914]

- Alice Bailey accused Benjamin Hance of asking her for directions to the landing, and then making an improper proposal which she refused and then fled. Newspapers reported that Benjamin Hance ran after Dailey and threw her to the ground. Benjamin Hance reportedly gave up the struggle as he thought Bailey's cries and fits of resistance would bring attention to the assault.[915]

- Benjamin Hance was apprehended by Constable Russell with the assistance of W.V. Waters and Perrin Dawkins, and he was brought before Justice John Hurry and committed to the jailhouse in Leonardtown on May 27, 1887. Alice Bailey testified at the magistrate's trial.[916]

Events Leading to the Lynching

Triggering Incident:

- Benjamin Hance was awaiting his trial for several weeks. Around 2:00 a.m. the morning of June 17, 1887, a party of men broke into the jail. Mr. C. John Clements was on guard at the jail house that morning. He stated that on the Friday morning in question, several men came to the jail doors claiming to have a prisoner. The men then admitted they had come for Benjamin Hance. When Mr. Clements refused to give up his keys, the party broke in the jail door. The men cautioned Clements to stay in his room and they rushed upstairs to Benjamin Hance's cell. It took the men thirty minutes to break into Benjamin Hance's cell, but when they did, it was reported that Benjamin Hance complied in silence.[917]

Role of Authorities:

- The jail's guard, Clements, was unable to report the incident to Sheriff Greenwell, who was away from his office during this time.[918] Several of the lynchers held Clements at gunpoint after Benjamin Hance was taken from the jail. Clements was not charged with any wrongdoing.[919]

- One editorial claimed that a "worthy" Black who attended a Republican meeting in Chaptico reported the "slander" that Sheriff Greenwell knew that Benjamin Hance was to be lynched and did nothing to prevent it.[920]

Details of the Lynching

Age at Time of Lynching: 22 years old

Date and Time: Friday, June 17, 1887, at 2:00 AM

Location of Lynching: Leonardtown, near the farm of John F. Wathen on Newtown Neck Road, across from McIntosh Run.

At what point did the lynching take place? Several weeks after the alleged crime; before the trial could commence[921]

Method of Lynching: Hanging

Who Was Involved:

- Thirty to forty of townfolk were reported to be involved[922]
- At the coroner's inquest looking into the lynching, Mr. and Mrs. Clement testified that they heard the voices of W.T. or Sheriff Bailey, and W.V. Waters.[923]
- Joe Dorsey, a Black man, testified that horses he knew as belonging to W.V. Waters passed him on Spalding Street at the time of the lynching.[924]
- A.D. Keiser testified that the same horses passed him on Fenwick at the time of the lynching.[925]

- **What role did the local judiciary play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role the local judiciary played in the lynching of Benjamin Hance

- **What role did the local executive play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role the local executive played in the lynching of Benjamin Hance

- **What role did the state law enforcement play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role the state law enforcement played in the lynching of Benjamin Hance

- **What role did the state judiciary play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role the state judiciary played in the lynching of Benjamin Hance

- **What role did the state executive play in the lynching?** It is unknown what role the state executive played in the lynching of Benjamin Hance

Public/Private Nature: Public

Physical Condition of Victim: Strangulation

Additional Details:

- The mob forcibly took Benjamin Hance into the jail yard to a locust tree and intended to lynch him there. They were stopped by Dr. Spalding, who lived across the street, who said it would upset his ill wife. He recommended they do it elsewhere.[926]

- The men apprehended Benjamin Hance and took him about a mile from the jail to the outskirts of town Before Benjamin Hance was hanged it was reported that the lynchers asked him of his guilt. The men claimed that Benjamin Hance responded that he was guilty and ought to be hung for his deed. Reportedly, Benjamin Hance prayed for God to have mercy upon his soul.[927]

- Benjamin Hance's body was discovered by Mr. Peter H. Abell who attempted to report it to the absent sheriff. Benjamin Hance's body was cut down a short time after and examined by Dr. Charles Comb. Dr. Charles Combs received the body and ordered the burial in the St. Aloysius graveyard. [928]

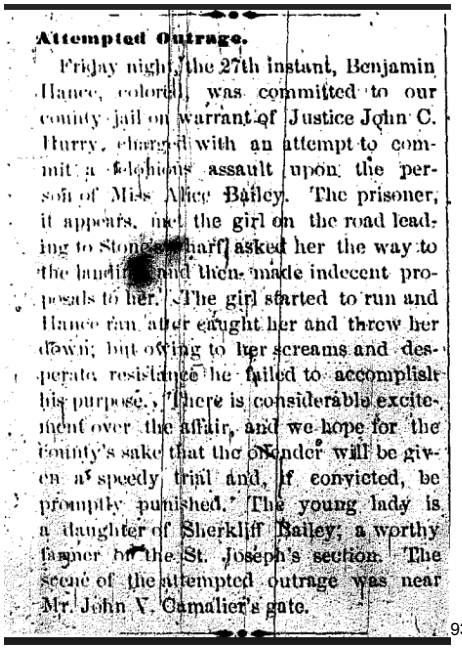
<u>Aftermath</u>

Reaction from the Community:

- Many citizens of Maryland felt the courts purposely chose to ignore the testimony in order to protect the lynchers. Many editorials about the events condemned the lynchers and felt that due process for the accused would have brought about the appropriate verdict.[929]

Media Coverage:

- **What was the disposition of the press toward crime?** A unique and/or unprecedented crime. One newspaper specifically expressed "hope for the county's sake" that there be a speedy trial.



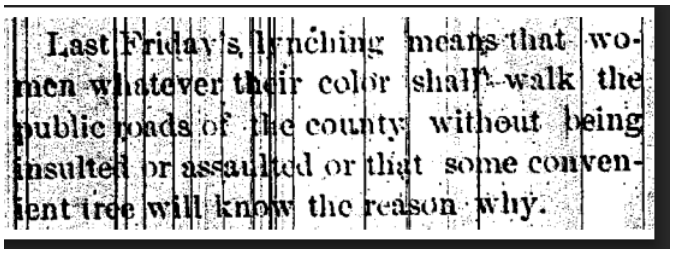
Attempted Outrage.

Friday night, the 27th instant, Benjamin Hance, colored, was committed to our county jail on warrant of Justice John C. Harry, charged with an attempt to commit a felonious assault upon the person of Miss Alice Bailey. The prisoner, it appears, met the girl on the road leading to Stonestreet Wharf, asked her the way to the landing, and then made indecent proposals to her. The girl started to run and Hance ran after caught her and threw her down; but owing to her screams and desperate resistance he failed to accomplish his purpose. There is considerable excitement over the affair, and we hope for the county's sake that the offender will be given a speedy trial and, if convicted, be promptly punished. The young lady is a daughter of Sherkliff Bailey, a worthy farmer of the St. Joseph's section. The scene of the attempted outrage was near Mr. John V. Camalier's gate.

- 930

- **What was the disposition of the press toward possibility of lynching?** Discouraged lynching
- **What was the disposition of the press toward lynching after the fact?** Both approval and outrage

Said to be the first known lynching in St. Mary's County,[931] the *St. Mary's Beacon* applauded the lynching as protection for all of the women of St. Mary's "whatever their color" to be free from insult or assault.[932]



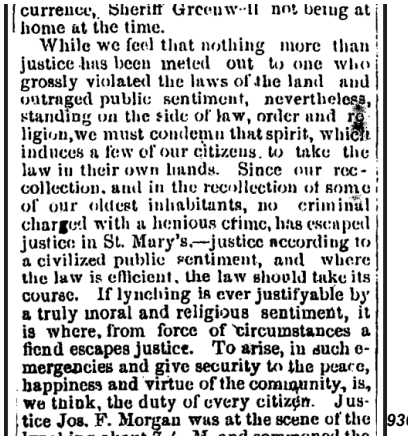
Last Friday's lynching means that women whatever their color shall walk the public roads of the county without being insulted or assaulted or that some convenient tree will know the reason why.

Some articles suggested that the lynching, while "[lowering] the majesty of the law," was delayed community gratification for the prolonged trial, dual conviction, and failure to punish Benjamin Biscoe, a Black man of similar age to Benjamin Hance, for the murder of Captain Robert Dixon on August 29th, 1886.[933]

One article suggested that the lynchers, including "men of standing and influence…office holders and servants of the people" did not want the law to take its course for fear of being exposed as "reckless" hypocrites.[934]

Most articles and editorials were insulted by the characterization of St. Mary's citizens as lawless and as approving of the lynching of Benjamin Hance. One suggested that the punishment of lynching did not fit the alleged crime since there was no "excessive force" in Benjamin Hance's "improper proposal."[935]

Headlines



currence, Sheriff Greenwell not being at home at the time.

While we feel that nothing more than justice has been meted out to one who grossly violated the laws of the land and outraged public sentiment, nevertheless, standing on the side of law, order and religion, we must condemn that spirit, which induces a few of our citizens to take the law in their own hands. Since our recollection, and in the recollection of some of our oldest inhabitants, no criminal charged with a henious crime, has escaped justice in St. Mary's,—justice according to a civilized public sentiment, and where the law is efficient, the law should take its course. If lynching is ever justifyable by a truly moral and religious sentiment, it is where, from force of circumstances a fiend escapes justice. To arise, in such emergencies and give security to the peace, happiness and virtue of the community, is, we think, the duty of every citizen. Justice Jos. F. Morgan was at the scene of the

936

Legal/Political Consequences:

- A jury of inquest was called to hear testimony about the lynching.
- Several people were called to testify, including Joseph F. Neal, William C. Drury, Harry Spalding, Dr. John T. Spalding, Dr. Billopp, and John Rustin.[937]
- Mr. Harry Spalding testified that someone, whom he refused to identify, told him that the jail would be broken into with the intention of lynching Benjamin Hance.
- The lynchers said that the lynching had to happen to save Alice Bailey from the shame of having to testify.[938]
- Mr. and Mrs. Clements testified that they heard the voices of Sheriff Bailey, the father of Alice Bailey, and W.V. Waters among the crowd. Joe Dorsey, a Black man living in town, testified that he saw Mr. Waters' horse pass him on Spalding Street. "Another witness, Mr. A.D. Kaiser, testified to the same accusations. Other witnesses claim to have heard rumors throughout the evening that Hance would be lynched."[939]
- Regardless of testimony implicating several citizens of the lynching of Benjamin Hance, the jury was unable to agree upon a verdict , and the inquest "failed to fix the guilt upon any particular party or parties." [940]
- In the aftermath of the trial, Jeremiah Jordan, a Black man and one of the jury's jurors, suffered the loss of his business from a suspicious fire. He owned a successful hotel in Leonardtown on the Lawrence Avenue end of Fenwick Street, which, along with the stables, was a favorite of both Black and white citizens. It was presumed at the time that it was arson and was retaliation for his service on the jury one way or another, perhaps for not finding the mob innocent, or perhaps for not finding them guilty. No one was ever charged with that crime.[941]

<u>Legacy and Impact</u>

Cultural/Political Significance:

- The jailhouse where Benjamin Hance was imprisoned is now open as a museum and visitor center[942]

Any Legislative Changes or Social Movements? There are no known legislative changes or social movements following the lynching of Benjamin Hance.

Memorialization/Commemoration:

- Benjamin Hance's remains are buried at old St. Aloysius's Burial Ground on Cemetery Road in Leonardtown.[943]
- The Museum Division worked with the Equal Justice Initiative and erected a marker in Leonardtown in recognition of Benjamin Hance's lynching.[944]

Ongoing Influence:

- The Maryland Lynching Memorial Project St. Mary's County[945] continues to welcome additional information about the lynching of Benjamin Hance.

Additional Notes

- **Controversies or Discrepancies**: There are no known additional controversies or discrepancies following the lynching of Benjamin Hance.

Endnotes

858 He had the alias of Charles Whittle
859 Either 1867 or 1865 https://docs.google.com/document/d/1iGC4iIqOBw_NhJkwFoi3bpXOHXHeykrS/edit
860 "Another Score for Lynch," The Kalamazoo Gazette (Kalamazoo, Michigan), Wed, Jun 9, 1886, Page 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/1146181360/
861 Given Charles Whitley's age at the time of his death, it is likely that he was unmarried, though no sources have been found that explicitly confirm his marital status.
862 https://docs.google.com/document/d/1iGC4iIqOBw_NhJkwFoi3bpXOHXHeykrS/edit
863 "Lynched After Church," Chicago Tribune (Chicago, Illinois) · Tue, Jun 8, 1886 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/349712025/
864 "Lynched by a Mob" https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1vI169zWnCVUWauQsBxOmEbVuUJJfvNCo; There is some evidence that Charles Whitley may have been born of a white mother and a Black man (see St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing November 16th, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEHjVau3rEE, (Statements of Michael Kent))
865 Heritage Associates, Charles Whitley Profile, https://docs.google.com/document/d/1iGC4iIqOBw_NhJkwFoi3bpXOHXHeykrS/edit]
866 Heritage Associates, Charles Whitley Profile, https://docs.google.com/document/d/1iGC4iIqOBw_NhJkwFoi3bpXOHXHeykrS/edit
867 "Lynched After Church," Chicago Tribune (Chicago, Illinois) · Tue, Jun 8, 1886 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/349712025/
868 "Another Score for Lynch," The Kalamazoo Gazette (Kalamazoo, Michigan) · Wed, Jun 9, 1886 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1146181360/
869 Maryland Independent (Port Tobacco, Maryland) · Fri, Jun 11, 1886, Page 3 , https://www.newspapers.com/image/850259600/ ; "Strung up to a Persimmon Tree," The Times Recorder (Zanesville, Ohio) Tue, Jun 8, 1886 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/287769399/
870 "Lynched by a Mob" https://acrobat.adobe.com/id/urn:aaid:sc:US:ed7acdc2-cd53-4dc4-99b5-2ade2a2fb9a0 ; St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing November 16th, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEHjVau3rEE, (Statement of Michael Kent)
871 The Democratic Advocate (Westminster, Maryland) · Sat, Jun 12, 1886 ·Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/348155944/ "Lynching in Calvery County," Maryland Independent (Port Tobacco, Maryland) , Fri, Jun 11, 1886, Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/850259600/
872 "Lynched by a Mob" https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1vI169zWnCVUWauQsBxOmEbVuUJJfvNCo; St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing November 16th, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEHjVau3rEE, (Statement of Michael Kent)
873 His age varies by source
874 "Strung up to a Persimmon Tree," The Times Recorder (Zanesville, Ohio) Tue, Jun 8, 1886 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/287769399/
875 "Lynching in Calvert County," Maryland Independent (Port Tobacco, Maryland) · Fri, Jun 11, 1886 ·Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/850259600/
876 "Lynched by a Mob" https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1vI169zWnCVUWauQsBxOmEbVuUJJfvNCo;
877 "Lynched After Church," Chicago Tribune (Chicago, Illinois), Tue, Jun 8, 1886, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/349712025/ ; "Lynched by Church Members," The Boston Globe (Boston, Massachusetts), Tue, Jun 8, 1886, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/430988784/ ; "Strung up to a Persimmon Tree," The Times Recorder (Zanesville, Ohio) Tue, Jun 8, 1886 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/287769399/
878 "Lynched by a Mob" https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1vI169zWnCVUWauQsBxOmEbVuUJJfvNCo
879 "Lynched After Church," Chicago Tribune (Chicago, Illinois), Tue, Jun 8, 1886, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/349712025/
880 "Strung up to a Persimmon Tree," The Times Recorder (Zanesville, Ohio) Tue, Jun 8, 1886 Page 1, https://www.newspapers.com/image/287769399/ ; "Lynched by a Mob" https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1vI169zWnCVUWauQsBxOmEbVuUJJfvNCo
881 "Lynched by a Mob" https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1vI169zWnCVUWauQsBxOmEbVuUJJfvNCo
882 "A Young Mulatto Hanged by a Mob," The Sacramento Union (Sacramento, California) Tue, Jun 8, 1886 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/49877090/; "Lynched by a Mob" https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1vI169zWnCVUWauQsBxOmEbVuUJJfvNCo
883 "Lynched by a Mob" https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1vI169zWnCVUWauQsBxOmEbVuUJJfvNCo; "Charged with Abetting the Lynching," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Mon, Jun 14, 1886 Page 5 https://www.newspapers.com/image/371078347/
884 "Charged with Abetting the Lynching," The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland) Mon, Jun 14, 1886 Page 5 https://www.newspapers.com/image/371078347/; "Strung up to a Persimmon Tree," The Times Recorder (Zanesville, Ohio) Tue, Jun 8, 1886 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/287769399/; "Hung to a Limb," El Paso Times (El Paso, Texas), Tue, Jun 8, 1886, Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/429253955/; St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing November 16th, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEHjVau3rEE, (Statements of Michael Kent)
885 "Another Brutal Outrage," The Baltimore County Union, The Towson News (Towson, Maryland) · Sat, Jun 12, 1886 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/890060093/
886 "Hanged by a Mob,"Calvert Gazette, June 12, 1886 https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1vI169zWnCVUWauQsBxOmEbVuUJJfvNCo
887 The Sacramento Union (Sacramento, California) Tue, Jun 8, 1886 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/49877090/
888 The Times Recorder (Zanesville, Ohio) Tue, Jun 8, 1886 Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/287769399/
889 The Pacific Bee (Sacramento, California) · Fri, Jun 11, 1886 · Page 7 https://www.newspapers.com/image/623315460/
890 Chicago Tribune (Chicago, Illinois) · Tue, Jun 8, 1886 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/349712025/
891 El Paso Times (El Paso, Texas) · Tue, Jun 8, 1886 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/429253955/
892 The Lima News (Lima, Ohio) · Tue, Jun 8, 1886 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/667739189/
893 The Oregonian (Portland, Oregon) · Tue, Jun 8, 1886 · Page 4 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1083716618/
894 The Kalamazoo Gazette (Kalamazoo, Michigan) · Wed, Jun 9, 1886 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/1146181360/
895 The Saint Paul Globe (Saint Paul, Minnesota) · Tue, Jun 8, 1886 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/81051403/
896 St. Joseph Gazette (St. Joseph, Missouri) · Fri, Jun 11, 1886 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/559894258/
897 The Savannah Morning News (Savannah, Georgia) · Tue, Jun 8, 1886 ·Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/830490506/
898 The Kansas City Times (Kansas City, Missouri) · Tue, Jun 8, 1886 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/650121663/
899 Chattanooga Daily Times (Chattanooga, Tennessee) · Tue, Jun 8, 1886 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/604700742/
900 The Boston Globe (Boston, Massachusetts) · Tue, Jun 8, 1886 · Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/430988784/
901 The Champaign Daily Gazette (Champaign, Illinois) · Tue, Jun 8, 1886 ·Page 3 https://www.newspapers.com/image/668162286/
902 The Indianapolis Journal (Indianapolis, Indiana) · Tue, Jun 8, 1886 · Page 2 https://www.newspapers.com/image/842088536/
903 Evening star (Washington, District of Columbia) · Tue, Jun 8, 1886 ·Page 1 https://www.newspapers.com/image/146200753/
904 "Lynched by a Mob" https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/1vI169zWnCVUWauQsBxOmEbVuUJJfvNCo
905 St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing November 16th, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEHjVau3rEE, (Statement of Diane Davies).
906 St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing November 16th, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEHjVau3rEE, (Statement of David Weiskopf).

907 St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing November 16th, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEHjVau3rEE, (Statements of Diane Davies and Deborah Harris).
908 St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing November 16th, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEHjVau3rEE, (Statements of Michael Kent)
909 St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing November 16th, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEHjVau3rEE, (Statements of Michael Kent and Robert Harvey)

910 "Hance a Virginian." St. Mary's Enterprise, 11 June 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/sme18870611.pdf
911 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing, November 16, 2024 (Testimony of Karen Stone); 1880 Census and "Hance Lynched" St. Mary's Beacon, June 18, 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/sme18870618.pdf
912 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing, November 16, 2024 (Testimony of Karen Stone)
913 Judge Lynch's Court: Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Profile of Benjamin Hance
MSA SC 3520-13737,
https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000070/000000/000044/restricted/00061887hance.html
914 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing, November 16, 2024 (Testimony of Karen Stone); "Attempted Outrage" St. Mary's Beacon June 2, 1887 chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/smb18870602.pdf
915 "Attempted Outrage." St. Mary's Beacon, 2 June 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/smb18870602.pdf
916 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing, November 16, 2024 (Testimony of Karen Stone); "Attempted Outrage" and "Hance Lynched" St. Mary's Enterprise June 18, 1887
917 "Hance Lynched." St. Mary's Enterprise, 18 June 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/sme18870618.pdf
918 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing, November 16, 2024 (Statement of Karen Stone); "Hance Lynched." St. Mary's Enterprise, 18 June 1887, col 3, p3.
919 Maryland State Archives, Benjamin Hance, MSA SC 3520-13737, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/html/13737bio.html
920 [Editorial]. St. Mary's Beacon, 31 October 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/smb18891031.pdf
921 Judge Lynch's Court: Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Profile of Benjamin Hance
MSA SC 3520-13737
922 Judge Lynch's Court: Mob Justice in Maryland During the Age of Jim Crow, 1860s - 1930s, Profile of Benjamin Hance
MSA SC 3520-13737
923 "Ben Hance's Ride to Death." St. Mary's Beacon, 23 June 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/smb18870623a.pdf
924 "Ben Hance's Ride to Death." St. Mary's Beacon, 23 June 1887
925 "Ben Hance's Ride to Death." St. Mary's Beacon, 23 June 1887
926 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing, November 16, 2024 (Statement of Karen Stone); "Ben Hance's Ride to Death." St. Mary's Beacon, 23 June 1887.
927 "Ben Hance's Ride to Death." St. Mary's Beacon, 23 June 1887
928 "Ben Hance's Ride to Death." St. Mary's Beacon, 23 June 1887
929 "The Lynchers." St. Mary's Enterprise, 25 June 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/sme18870625a.pdf
930 "Attempted Outrage." St. Mary's Beacon, 2 June 1887,https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/smb18870602.pdf
931 "The Lynching." St. Mary's Beacon, 23 June 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/smb18870623(3).pdf; "The Lynchers." St. Mary's Enterprise, 25 June 1887; https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/sme18870625a.pdf
932 [Editorial]. St. Mary's Beacon, 23 June 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/smb18870623(2).pdf; [Letter to the Editor]. St. Mary's Beacon, 28 July 1887; https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/smb18870728.pdf
933 "The Lynching." St. Mary's Beacon, 23 June 1887; "The Lynchers." St. Mary's Enterprise, 25 June 1887; Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing, November 16, 2024 (Testimony of Karen Stone)
934 "The Lynchers." St. Mary's Enterprise, 25 June 1887.
935 "The 'Sun' in Error." St. Mary's Enterprise, 25 June 1887; https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/sme18870625(2).pdf; "The Lynching." St. Mary's Enterprise, 2 July 1887; https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/sme18870702a.pdf;
936 "Hance Lynched." St. Mary's Enterprise, 18 June 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/sme18870618.pdf
937 "Ben Hance's Ride to Death," St. Mary's Beacon, 23 June 1887; "The Lynching." St. Mary's Beacon, 23 June 1887, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/smb18870623%283%29.pdf
938 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing, November 16, 2024 (Statement of Karen Stone)
939 "Ben Hance's Ride to Death," St. Mary's Beacon, 23 June 1887
940 "Report of the Grand Jury." St. Mary's Beacon, 29 September 1887; https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/tif/smb18870929.pdf; "The Lynching." St. Mary's Enterprise, 2 July 1887
941 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing, November 16, 2024 (Statement of Karen Stone)
942 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing, November 16, 2024 (Statement of Karen Stone)

943 Maryland State Archives, Benjamin Hance, MSA SC 3520-13737, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/013700/013737/html/13737bio.html; Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing, November 16, 2024 (Statement of Karen Stone); St. Mary's Beacon July 27, 1893

944 Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties Public Hearing, November 16, 2024 (Statement of Diane Davies); Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, St. Mary's County, https://mdlynchingmemorial.wixsite.com/stmarco

945 Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, St. Mary's County, https://mdlynchingmemorial.wixsite.com/stmarco

Appendix C

Anti-Lynching Legislation

1898 (Williams)

SENATE OF MARYLAND.

No. 34.

Mr.[Stevenson A.] WILLIAMS-Judicial Proceedings.

By the SENATE, *January* 21, 1898.

Introduced, read the first time and referred to

the Committee on Judicial Proceedings.

By order, M. M. HIGGINS, *Secretary*.

A BILL Entitled "an Act to amend Article twenty-seven of the Code of Public General Laws of Maryland," title, "Crimes and Punishments," by enacting an additional section thereto to follow after section one hundred and eighty-six, under the sub-title, "Lynching" and to be known as section one hundred and eighty-six A.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That the following additional section be incorporated into Article twenty seven of the Code of Public General Laws, to follow after section one hundred and eighty-six, to wit: "Lynching."
186 A. Every person, his aiders, abettors, and counsellors, who shall break into or forcibly enter, or who shall attempt to break into or forcibly enter any jail or other place of confinement or place where persons under arrest for violations of the laws of the State may then be, or who shall forcibly take or attempt to take from the custody of the officers of the law any person then being under arrest or imprisoned for any violation of law, whether for the purpose of releasing such person or of inflicting on him any bodily injury, shall be deemed guilty of felony, and shall, upon conviction thereof, be sentenced to the penitentiary for not more than ten years nor less than eighteen months, and shall be forever disfranchised and disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit in this State; but no indictment or conviction under this section shall prevent the person so indicted from being also tried, convicted and punished for the homicide or for the actual infliction of any bodily injury by him upon any person so taken or attempted to be taken from the custody of the officers of the law as aforesaid.

1933 (Metzerott)

House of Delegates

NO.4.

MR.[Oliver Samuel] METZEROTT-Judiciary.

By theHOUSE OF DELEGATES, November 23, 1933.

Introduced, read first time and referred to the Committee on Judiciary.

By order, JOHN J. NOWAKOWSKI, Chief Clerk.

A BILL ENTITLED AN ACT to add a new section to Article 27 of the Code of Public General Laws of Maryland(1924 Edition), title “Crimes,” sub-title “Murder,” to be known as Section 404A, to define and prohibit mobs and lynchings, to provide penalties, and civil and criminal liability of individual persons, public officials, counties and cities.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That a new section be added to Article 27 of the Code of Public General Laws of Maryland (1924 Edition), title “Crimes,” sub-title “Murder,” to be known as Section 404A, and to read as follows:

Sec.404A. (a) Any collection of individuals, five or more in number, assembled for the unlawful purpose of offering violence to the person or property of any one supposed to have been guilty of a violation of the law, or for the purpose of exercising correctional or regulative powers over any person or persons by violence, and without lawful authority, shall be regarded and designated as a ‘mob’ or ‘riotous assemblage.”

(b) The term “serious injury,” for the purposes of this section, shall include any injury to property which shall cause damage to the owner thereof, or any injury to the person which shall temporarily or permanently disable the person injured from earning a livelihood.

(c) The putting to death of any person within this State by a mob or riotous assemblage shall be murder, and every person participating in such mob or riotous assemblage by which a person is put to death shall be guilty of murder, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished as the law provides in other cases of murder.

(d) Any person or persons who shall compose a mob or riotous assemblage, with the intent to inflict damage or injury to the person or property of any individual charged with crime, or, under the pretense of exercising correctional powers over such person or persons by violence, and without lawful authority, shall be subject to a fine of not less than one hundred and not more than one thousand dollars, and may be imprisoned, in the discretion of the court, in the Maryland House of Correction not less than thirty days nor more than twelve months for each and every offense. Any person or persons who shall compose a mob or riotous assemblage, and who shall inflict damage or injury to the person or property of any individual charged with crime, shall be
guilty of a felony, and, upon conviction, shall be confined in the penitentiary not less than one and not more than five years for each and every offense.

(e) Any person or persons composing a mob or riotous assemblage under the provisions of this section, who shall, by violence, inflict serious injury to the property or to the person or any other person upon the pretense of exercising correctional or regulative powers over such person or persons, and without authority of the law, shall be deemed guilty of

a felony, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be confined in the penitentiary not exceeding five years; and any person suffering serious injury to his person or his property by a mob, shall have an action against the county, or against the City of Baltimore, if inflicted within the confines of said city, for such damage as he may sustain, to an amount not to exceed five thousand dollars.

(f) If such person charged with a crime has been taken from a state, county or municipal officer within the confines of Baltimore City or within the confines of any county, and lynched and put to death, then said city or county, as the case may be, shall be subject to a forfeiture of five thousand dollars, which may be recovered by appropriate action therefor, in the name of the personal representative of the person put to death, for the use of his dependent family or estate. Such action may be brought in any circuit court. If such forfeiture is not paid upon recovery of judgment therefor, the court rendering such judgment shall have power to enforce the payment thereof, and may compel the levy and collection of a tax therefor, or otherwise compel the payment thereof by mandamus or other appropriate process, and every officer of such county or city, and every other person who disobeys or fails to comply with any lawful order of the court, shall be liable to punishment according to law as for contempt and to any other penalties provided by law therefor.

(g) The fact that any person so put to death shall have been taken from any state, county or municipal officer in one county or the City of Baltimore, by a mob or riotous assemblage of five or more persons, and transported out of such county or city before such killing shall have taken place, and the fact that such killing occurred out of the county or city from which such person may have been taken from such state, county or municipal officer, shall not relieve such county or city from which he was taken from the liability provided by this section. And if the person so taken from such officer or officers shall be transported from and put to death and lynched in another county or in the City of Baltimore, outside of the county or the City of Baltimore wherein he was taken from such officer or officers, no county or the City of Baltimore through which such person may have been transported, or in which such person has been lynched and put to death, shall be liable to damage hereunder, unless it is clearly shown that the officers or citizens in such county or city participated in, aided, abetted, or encouraged such unlawful putting to death.

(h) Every state, county or municipal officer having the duty or power of preservation or conservation of the peace at the time and place of any such putting to death, or the committing of serious injury to the person or to the property as prescribed in this section, who, having reasonable cause to believe that the same is to be done, or is attempted to be done, and neglects or omits to prevent the same, and every such officer from whose custody such person may be taken by such mob or riotous assemblage, and put to death by the same, or whose property or person suffers serious injury at the hands of such mob or riotous assemblage, shall be guilty of negligence in the discharge of his official duty, and the county or city which shall have been sued and compelled to pay damages as herein provided may recover same from such negligent officer by appropriate action upon his official bond.

(i) In any prosecution for any of the offenses defined herein, and any action for the forfeiture imposed as herein provided, every person who has participated in the lynching or in the putting to death of, or in the infliction of great bodily violence or serious injury to the person or the property of any person, without authority of the law, and every person who entertains or has expressed any opinion in favor of lynching or in the justification or excuse thereof, or whose character, conduct, or opinions have been or are such as, in the judgment of the court, may tend to disqualify him for an impartial and unprejudiced trial of the cause, shall be disqualified to serve as a juror, and in any such action or prosecution, any attorney interested in the case shall be entitled to make full inquiry thereof and to produce evidence

thereon; and every person who refuses to answer any inquiry touching his qualifications on the ground that he may thereby incriminate himself shall be disqualified as aforesaid.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That this Act shall take effect from June 1st, 1934.

1933 (Altfeld, No.57)

Senate of Maryland

NO. 57.

MR. [E. Milton] ALTFELD-Judicial Proceedings.

By the SENATE, December 5, 1933.

Introduced, read first time and referred to the Committee on Judicial Proceedings.

By order, E. R. CROTHERS, Secretary.

A BILL ENTITLED AN ACT to add two new sections to Article 27 of the Annotated Code of Maryland (1924 Edition), title “Crimes and Punishments,” sub-title I, “Crimes and Punishments,” defining the crime of lynching and fixing the penalties therefor.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That two new sections be and they are hereby added to Article 27 of the Annotated Code of Maryland (1924 Edition), title “Crimes and Punishments,” sub-title I, “Crimes and Punishments,” said new sections to be known as Sections 350A and 350B, to follow immediately after Section 350 of said Article, and to read as follows:

Section 350A. Lynching is the killing or aggravated injury of a human being by the act or procurement of a mob.

Section 350B. Every person convicted of a lynching which shall result in death shall suffer death or undergo a confinement in the penitentiary of the State for the period of their natural life in the discretion of the Court before whom such person may be tried. Every person convicted of the crime of lynching where death does not result shall be sentenced to the penitentiary for not less than five nor more than eighteen years.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That this Act is hereby declared to be an emergency law and necessary for the immediate preservation of the public health and safety, and having been passed upon by a yea and nay vote, supported by three-fifths of all the members elected to each of the two Houses of the General Assembly, the same shall take effect from the date of its passage.

1933 (Altfeld, No.58)

Senate of Maryland

NO. 58.

MR. [E.Milton] ALTFELD-Judicial Proceedings.

By the SENATE, December 5, 1933.

Introduced, read first time and referred to the Committee on Judicial Proceedings.

By order, E. R. CROTHERS, Secretary.

A **BILL** ENTITLED
AN ACT to add three new sections to Article 82 of the Annotated Code of Maryland (1924 Edition), title "Riots," said new sections to be known as Sections 5, 6 and 7 and to follow immediately after Section 4 of said Article imposing a liability upon a county or political unit in which a lynching occurs and providing for a method of recovery and payment of said liability.

SECTION 1. *Be* it enacted by the General Assembly of *Maryland*, That three new sections be and they are hereby added to Article 82 of the Annotated Code of Maryland (1924 Edition), title "Riots," said new sections to be known as Sections 5, 6 and 7 and to follow immediately after Section 4 of said Article and all to read as follows:

5. The County, or the City of Baltimore, in which a lynching occurs shall be liable to each lynched person or his estate for a penal sum of not less than Two Thousand Dollars ($2,000.00) or more than Ten Thousand Dollars ($10,000.00) to be recovered in a civil action in any State Court. The Court shall direct a verdict in favor of the plaintiff if the only reasonable inference to be drawn from the evidence is that death or injury resulted from mob violence. Otherwise the case shall be submitted to the jury. In the event of a recovery the defendant County, or the City of Baltimore, shall be directed by the Court to pay a reasonable amount as fees for the plaintiff's counsel.

6. The amount recovered shall be included in the next tax levy of the political unit against which such recovery is had. Failure on the part of the proper officer to do so, or failure on the part of the proper officer to pay the judgment, shall place the officer or officers so failing in contempt of the Court by which the judgment is rendered.

7. In addition to the ordinary civil and crit...nal liabil ity to which they are subject, all members of the mob shall be jointly and severally liable to each and all of the Counties, or the City of Baltimore, which shall have had to pay a judgment or judgments under the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That this Act is hereby declared to be an emergency law and necessary for the immediate preservation of the public health and safety, and having been passed upon by a yea and nay vote, supported by three-fifths of all the members elected to each of the two Houses of the General Assembly, the same shall take effect from the date of its passage.

1933 (Goodman/Ades)

House of Delegates

NO. 101.

MR. [Alexander]GOODMAN (By Request)-Judiciary.

By the HOUSE OF DELEGATES, December 6, 1933.

Introduced, read first time and referred to the Committee on Judiciary.

By order, JOHN J. NOWAKOWSKI, Chief Clerk.

A BILL ENTITLED AN ACT to add five new sections to Article 27 of the Annotated Code of Maryland (1924 Edition), title “Crimes and Punishments,” sub-title “Murder,” said new sections to be known as Sections 404A, 404B,404C, 404D and 404E and to follow immediately after Section 404 of said Article, defining lynching, providing penalties and relating to civil and criminal liability of individuals, public officials, counties and cities.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly ofMaryland, That five new sections be and they are hereby added to Article 27 of the Annotated Code of Maryland (1924 Edition), title “Crimes and Punishments,” sub-title “Murder,” said new sections to be known as Sections 404A, 404B, 404C, 404D and 404E to follow immediately after Section 404 of said Article and all to read as follows:

404A. Lynching is hereby defined as an act or acts of violence leading up to and resulting in the death or aggravated injury of a human being, whether they be acts of individuals or of officers of the law, when said act or acts of violence are directed against the injured person wholly or partly because of the supposed inferiority of the injured person on account of his race, color or nationality or wholly or partly because he is accused or suspected of a crime associated in public tradition with supposed inferiority of race, color or nationality, or when said act or acts of violence are directed against any person accused of any crime or accused or suspected of having ideas or opinions contrary to those held by his attackers, or when said acts of violence are directed against any striker or organizer of any strike in any dispute between workers and their employers.

Allpersons participating in a lynching shall be equally guilty as principals; that when a lynching results in the death of the person attacked the principals shall be guilty of murder in the first degree.

404B. The county or city in which a lynching occurs shall be liable to each lynched person or his estate for a penal sum of not less than $5,000.00, to be recovered in a civil action in the Circuit Court of any County or in the common law courts of Baltimore City. The court shall direct a verdict in favor of the plaintiff if the only reasonable inference to be drawn from the evidence is that death or injury resulted from a lynching. Otherwise the case shall be submitted to the jury. In the event of a recovery, the defendant county or city shall be directed by the court to pay a reasonable amount as fees for the plaintiff’s counsel. Process shall be had by serving a copy of the proceedings on the Attorney-General.

The amount recovered shall be included in the next tax levy. Failure on the part of the proper officer to do so, or failure on the part of the proper officer to pay the judgment shall place the officer or officers so failing in contempt of the Court issuing the judgment.

The amount recovered under the preceding paragraphs of this section shall be exempt from all claims by creditors of the deceased or of the plaintiffs.

Each county or city through which the lynchers shall have passed shall be liable as herein provided. But a recovery against one county or city shall bar a recovery against all the others. All said other counties or cities, however, shall be liable to the county or city against which the judgment is recovered in a suit for contribution to share equally the expense both of the judgment and the costs.

404C. The Governor shall remove the sheriff and declare his office vacant, whenever any person in the county of said sheriff is lynched, regardless of whether such person had been arrested. If a lynching has been attempted, but not consumated, the Governor shall remove the sheriff only on a showing that said sheriff did not do all in his power to suppress the attempted lynching.

The Governor shall remove any other peace officer and declare his office vacant, when any person shall have been taken from the custody of said peace officer and lynched. If a lynching of a person in the custody of a peace officer has been attempted, but not consumated, the Governor shall remove such peace officer only on a showing that he did not do all in his power to suppress the attempted lynching.

The sheriff or other peace officer so removed shall thereafter be forever ineligible to hold any public office in this State. If the said sheriff or other peace officer resigns after a lynching or attempted lynching before the Governor has had a reasonable opportunity to discharge the duty imposed upon him herein, then said sheriff or other peace officer shall be likewise forever ineligible to hold any public office in this State.

404D. The sheriff or any other peace officer and their bondsmen shall be liable to any lynched person or to his estate for such damages as have been sustained, where such sheriff or other peace officer has not done all in his power to prevent the lynching. And suit for said damages may be brought in the Circuit Court of any county or in the Common Law Courts of Baltimore City whether the defendant be a resident of such City or County or not and the defendants shall be summoned by service of a copy of the proceedings upon the Attorney-General of Maryland.

404E. All prosecutions in cases of lynching may be by indictment or by information filed either by a States Attorney or by the Attorney-General of Maryland.

In all investigations and trials growing out of a lynching or attempted lynching no person shall be excused from testifying touching his knowledge or information in regard to the offense being investigated, or tried, upon the ground that his answer might tend to subject him to prosecution, pains or penalties, or that his evidence might tend to incriminate himself; but no discovery made by such witness upon any such examination shall be used against him in any court in any penal or criminal prosecution, and shall, when so examined as a witness for the State be altogether pardoned of any and all participation in any crime arising under the provisions of this Act.

In all investigations and trials growing out of a lynching or attempted lynching, no evidence shall be incompetent on the ground that it is a hearsay, if the Judge, in his discretion, finds that such evidence is trustworthy.

The trial of any person or persons accused of taking part in a lynching shall not be held in the same judicial Circuit in which the lynching occurred or through which the lynchers passed.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That this Act shall 2 take effect June 1, 1934.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
Dec. 5, 1933, p.3

ANNAPOLIS, Md., Dec. 4.-Bernard Ades, Communist lawyer, today led a delegation of one white man and nineteen Negroes from Baltimore into the State House and demanded the impeachment of Governor Ritchie and the elimination of all racial discrimination throughout the State. Ades and his group presented their request to Senator E. Milton Altfeld and Delegate Alexander Goodman, both of whom represent the fourth district, which contains a large part of Baltimore's Negro population. Delegate Goodman promised he would introduce the bill which Ades brought with him-a measure providing life-term punishment for all members of lynching mobs and wiping out all racial discrimination. Goodman did not promise to support the bill. Ades denounced Governor Ritchie because the National Guard withdrew from the eastern shore and left the Negro population "to the fury of the lynch mob." "The subsequent driving out of 300 Negroes from their homes by the mob can be placed directly at the door of the Governor," Ades said.

Appendix D

Concentric Circles of Conspiracy

Appendix D: Concentric Circles of Conspiracy

Concentric Circles of Conspiracy: The Case of Matthew Williams

a. First, innermost circle

The group of conspirators who actually planned and carried out the abduction and murder; occupied the very core of the conspiracy to commit abduction and murder[1]

- Bill Davis—Directed the lynching[2]
- Jack Townsend—Directed the lynching[3]
- Sheriff Murry Phillips—Abducted Williams[4]
- Sheriff Donald A. Parks—Among the mob (led the parade) and participated in the criminal conspiracy[5]
- Chief Nicholas H. Holland—Among the mob (led the parade) and participated in the criminal conspiracy[6]
- Elwood Guthrie—Stabbed Williams with knife[7]
- Thomas "Catfish" Webster—Leader of the mob[8]
- Benjamin Parsons—Confessed to having lynched Williams
- Lorenzo W. Brittingham—Participated in the lynching[9]
- Elwood Waller—Confessed to helping hang Williams, pouring the gasoline on Williams, and participating in the larger criminal conspiracy
- Ralph "Fats" Wilson—Participated in the lynching[10]
- Buck Johnson—Confessed to having helped abduct and lynch Williams

[1] A criminal conspiracy exists when two or more people agree to commit almost any unlawful act, then take some action toward its completion. The action taken need not itself be a crime, but it must indicate that those involved in the conspiracy knew of the plan and intended to break the law. A person may be convicted of conspiracy even if the actual crime was never committed.

[2] Identified as the leader of the lynch mob by Buck Johnson, Bill Perry, Danny Russell, Beulah Smith, Fred Rurak, Howard Campbell, and Samuel Preston.

[3] Identified as one of the leaders (along with Bill Davis) by Bill Perry.

[4] Identified by Talbot Larmore as one of the men who carried Williams to the lynching.

[5] Identified by Larmore as being among the men, along with Chief Holland, who abducted Williams from the hospital. Larmore also stated that Parks and Holland were informed by "prominent men" regarding what the plan was for the lynching.

[6] Identified by Larmore, Sid Church, and Rufus Perry as being among the mob.

[7] Identified by Elwood Guthrie as having stabbed Williams with a knife.

[8] Identified by Talbot Larmore as being involved in the lynching and by Fred Rurak as being a leader of the mob, along with Bill Davis.

[9] Identified by Talbot Larmore as having cut off Williams's toes. This is also corroborated in the *Baltimore Afro-American* newspaper.

[10] Identified by Kellar Crawford and Lee Harris as having taken an active part in the lynching.

b. Second circle

The men who helped plan the lynching and served as lookouts (including law enforcement); coconspirators (conspiracy to commit murder)

- Roger Bailey[1]
- Chief Frederick A. Grier—Provided the rope used to lynch Williams[2]
- Talbot Larmore—Identified as being at the hospital
- Danny Russell—Identified as being at the hospital when Williams was abducted[3]

[1] Identified by Larmore as having entered Cinno's cigar store and announced the plan to get Williams

[2] Identified by Harry Waller (Red Star counterman) and Lee Harris as having provided the rope

[3] Identified by Talbot Larmore as being at the hospital a few minutes before Williams's abduction

c. Third circle

People who knew of the conspiracy and the approximate time when the crime would occur but had no direct role in the lynching

- Sid Church—Confessed to having witnessed the lynching and having been aware of the conspiracy.
- Thompson (proprietor of restaurant)—Phoned a New York–based newspaper to give a play-by-play of lynching.
- Harry Waller—Was aware of the conspiracy
- Bill Perry—Identified Jack Townsend as one of the leaders of the mob
- Lee Harris—Knew about the conspiracy and those involved
- Howard Campbell—Knew about the conspiracy and those involved
- William Walter—Witnessed the entire lynching

d. Fourth circle

People with direct, though ex post facto, knowledge of the lynching, including who had witnessed at least part of the abduction but claimed not to have recognized any of the men

- Bill Maddox
- Rufus Perry
- Byrd
- Samuel Preston
- Hospital staff

e. Fifth circle

People who had only passing knowledge of the conspiracy, of the parties involved, and of the probability that something was going to happen. Many of the residents of Salisbury and Wicomico County belong in this circle.

- Rufus Perry—Was given a piece of the rope
- Beulah Smith—Had only passing knowledge of the conspiracy
- Kellar Crawford—Had only passing knowledge of the conspiracy
- Fred Rurak—Had only passing knowledge of the conspiracy

Charles L. Chavis Jr., *The Silent Shore: The Lynching of Matthew Williams and the Politics of Racism in the Free State* (Baltimore Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2022).

Appendix E

List of Affiliated Organizations

Appendix E: MLTRC Hearing Participants, Research Contributors, and Affiliated Organizations

Allegany County

- David Fakunle, MLTRC chair
- Clory Jackson, Allegany County Lynching Truth & Reconciliation Committee
- Heidi Gardner, presented lynching narrative, historian/librarian/genealogist
- David Armenti, testified, MLTRC Commissioner
- Renee Page, testified, descendant
- Angela Davidson, testified, descendant
- Karen Hughes White, testified, descendant
- Elliot Spillers, testified, Equal Justice Initiative
- Chuck Ternet, testified, Chief of Cumberland Police
- Tiffani Fisher, testified, Allegany County NAACP
- Teresa McMinn, written testimony, Journalist, Cumberland Times

Anne Arundel County

- Gavin Buckley, Mayor
- Steuart Pittman, County Executive
- Scott Poyer, Anne Arundel County, Clerk of the Court
- Vicky Gibson, District Judge
- Sheila Finlayson, Alderwoman
- Ellen Tierney, Annapolis Alderwoman
- Dana Jones, testified, State Delegate
- Sarah Elfreth, State Senator
- Ann Colt Leitess, State's Attorney
- Ms. Lynda Davis, testified, Connecting the Dots, Anne Arundel County
- Tony Spencer, testified, commissioner for the Maryland Commission on African American History and Culture.
- Monica Lindsay, testified, Founder of Connecting the Dots, Board member of the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project
- Emma Buckman, presented lynching narrative,, member of Connecting the Dots
- Rick Forgo, presented lynching narrative, Owner Time Passages independent book publisher
- Thornell Jones, presented lynching narrative, member of Connecting the Dots
- Elinor Thompson, presented lynching narrative, member of the Maryland Commission on African American History and Culture
- Elaine Bachman, testified, Maryland State Archives as the state archivist.
- Chief Edward Jackson, testified, City of Annapolis police department
- Janicee Hays-Williams, commissioner with the Maryland Heritage Area Authorities.
- Lisa Rodvien, testified, Anne Arundel County Councilwoman
- Nora Dean Leitner, testified, President of St. John's College.
- Lorraine Thomas, member of the public, great great great niece of Dr. William Bishop
- Merrin Winke, member of the public, descendant of a witness a lynching victim
- Sherri Warren, member of the public, relative of a 1986 victim
- Marguerite Morris, member of the public, Community Actively Seeking Transparency, Connecting the Dots.
- Linnie Girdner, member of public

Baltimore County

- Amy Millin, Conducted oral histories and Introduction and local hearing host; BaltCoLMP Co-Leader; Hearing Committee Member
- Carol Brooks, Historical Context: BaltCoLMP Member; research

- Jennifer Liles, Howard Cooper Family History: BaltCoLMP Member; public historian; research
- Troy Williams, Presented the lynching narrative; BaltCoLMPCo-Leader; Hearing Committee Member
- Linda Shopes Community Context and conducted oral histories; BaltCoLMP Member; oral historian
- Debbie Harner, Press Reporting and conducted oral histories; BaltCoLMP Member; researcher, public historian
- Nancy Goldring, History of East Towson; BaltCoLMPt Co-Leader and Hearing Committee Member
- Dana Vickers Shelley, testified on the policing of Black communities
- Cheryl Pasteur, testified on Education disparities
- Peta Richkus, testified on Baltimore County Council redistricting
- Stephanie Robinson, Descendant Testimony (victim)
- Juliet Hinley, Descendant Testimony (perpetrator)
- Joan Bryan, BaltCoLMP Member and Expert Witness
- Dennis Halpin, PhD, Expert Witness (author of *A Brotherhood of Liberty*); professor
- Samuel Collins, PhD, Expert Witness (cultural anthropologist, professor)
- Chief Melissa Hyatt, Expert Witness: Baltimore County Police Department
- Will Schwarz, Closing Statement; BaltCoLMP, Co-Leader and Hearing Committee Member; President MLMP
- Ailish Hopper, BaltCoLMP Hearing Committee Member
- Nic Powell, BaltCoLMP Hearing Committee Member
- Sue Royer, BaltCoLMP Hearing Committee Member
- Linda Shopes, BaltCoLMP Hearing Committee Member
- Toby Tighe, BaltCoLMP Hearing Committee Member
- Barbara Waters, BaltCoLMP Hearing Committee Member
- Denise Baugh, BaltCoLMP Hearing Committee Member
- David Truscello, PhD, BaltCoLMPHearing Committee Member
- Bev Bickel, PhD, BaltCoLMPHearing Committee Member

Carroll County

- Jenny Liles, research on descendents; testified
- Warren Dorsey, community descendant via pre-recorded video (deceased)
- John Lewis, community descendant via pre-recorded video
- Kevin Dayhoff, community descendant; has done research on family and local history; Westminster City Council member, former mayor
- Roxanna Harlow, PhD, testified; Carroll County LMP; sociologist
- Richard Smith, PhD. testified about reparations; Vice President Institutional Mission & Belonging, equity and equality and belonging at McDaniel College
- Pam Zappardino, PhD, testified; Carroll County LMP; McDaniel College; part of local planning committee
- Bryn Upton, PhD, testified; professor of history at McDaniel College
- Clyde Johnson, testified; Carroll Community College Equity Officer
- Jim Kunz, PhD, Carroll County LMP; part of local planning committee; professor at McDaniel College
- Stacey Kahler, local planning committee

Frederick County

- Willie Mahone, testified; local planner, President of Frederick NAACP
- Veronica Lowe, introduced Dean Herrin and Terry Ann Scott
- Dean Herrin, PhD, Expert Witness - history and researcher; local planner

- Terry Ann Scott, PhD, Expert Witness - contextual history
- Devontae Freeland, Descendant Testimony (victim)
- Eric Ashby-Bey, Descendant Testimony (victim)
- Lacy Spencer, testified - descendant
- Shanta Teflar, presented Lacy Spencer's testimony - descendant
- Robin Dorsey Cosley, testified - descendant
- Gayon Sampson, Chief of Staff to the mayor of the City of Frederick
- Tiana Massaquoi, testified, local planner
- Seavon Gordon, testified
- Ashley Bush, testified
- Akiyyah Billups, testified
- Ms. Claggin, testified on behalf of James Carroll family
- Elin Ross. local planner
- Rose Chaney, local planner

Montgomery County

- Maya Davis, Commissioner, testified history - as provided by Heritage Associates and MLTRC Research Team
- Teisha Dupree-Wilson, PhD, testified, Commissioner; legacy of lynching and lack of victim descendant testimony
- Bobbie Legg, Descendant Testimony (perpetrator)
- Reverend Timothy B Warner, testified
- Mayor Pro-Tem Barbara Raimondo, testified
- Steven Waddy, testified
- Reverend Alexa Fraser, testified; MoCoLMP Committee Member
- Jason Green, testified; local planner; Montgomery County Commission on Remembrance and Reconciliation
- Holly Syrrakos, local planner; MoCoLMP Committee Member
- Derrick Tabor, local planner; MoCoLMP Committee Member member
- James (Jim) Stowe, local planner; Montgomery County Commission on Remembrance and Reconciliation

Harford County/Cecil County

- Roxann Redd-Wallace, hosted hearing; local planner, Harford County Committee of the Lynching Memorial Project member
- Rabbi Meek Simerly, greeting
- Lisa Tuzo, testified - history (Harford); researcher; local planner; member of Harford County Committee of the Lynching Memorial Project
- Mike Dixon, testified - history (Cecil); researcher; local planner; member of Harford Co Local Memorial Project
- Iris Leigh Barnes, Ph.D, testified; local planner; member of Harford County/Cecil County Lynching Memorial Project
- Randy Getz, testified, descendant of a community member who employed Lewis Harris' wife
- Tremain Smith, testified, descendant of enslaver; local planner
- Christine Thompson , testified
- Vicki Jones, testified - NAACP President, Harford County
- Reverend Dr. Marlon B. Tilghman, testified
- Alyssa Ehrsam, local planner, member of Harford County LynchingMemorial Project

St. Mary's / Calvert / Charles Counties

- Reverend Cummings, Invocation
- Michael Kent, testified - history; local planner
- Karen Stone, testified - history; local planner; St. Mary's County Government
- Robert Harvey, testified; Calvert Co State's Attorney
- Debora Harris, testified; Calvert Co NAACP President
- Diane Davies, testified; local planner
- David Weiskopf, testified
- Janice Walthour, testified; local planner
- Reverend Greg Syler, testified
- Reverend Kate Heichler, testified

Kent / Caroline/ Queen Anne's Counties

- Lakia Pierce, testified - history, local planner
- Darius Johnson, testified - history, local planner
- Niambi Brown Davis, testified - history and community descendant, local planner
- Hess Stinson, testified - community, local planner
- Katie Warrington, read by Philip Dunton, testified - descendant of James Taylor's accuser
- Philip Dunton. local planner, James Taylor Justice Coalition
- Tina Sewell, testified - descendant of Asbury Green
- Mayor David Foster, testified
- Paul Tue, III, testified
- John Queen, testified
- Dr. Willie G. Woods, testified
- Clayton "Clay" Washington, read by Darius Johnson, testified
- Vic Pfieffer, local planner

Howard County

- Marlena Jareaux, local planner; Howard County Truth & Reconciliation, Inc.
- Delegate Terri Hill, testified
- Richard Gibson. testified; Howard County State's Attorney
- Jo Glasco, Esq, testified
- Joy Owens, testified; Descendant Testimony (victim)

Prince George's County

- Alphonso Blakeney-Lewis, led opening song at hearing
- Maryland Attorney General Anthony G. Brown, testified
- Maryland State Delegate Joseline A. Peña-Melnyk, testified; sponsored House Bill
- Artura Jackson, testified; historian
- Isabella Carrero-Baptista, read history into the record
- Naira Wiley, read history into the record
- Isis Bandele-Asante, read history into the record
- Akua Bandele-Asante, read history into the record
- Crystal Queen, testified; 4th great niece of Stephen Williams (victim)
- Blair Bowie, Esq. testified; descendant of enslaving family from Prince George's County
- Dora Davis Proctor, testified; community descendant
- Lula Beatty, PhD, testified - trauma response; PGCLMP; local planner

- Reverend Tony Love, testified, St. Paul at Oxon Hill
- Katina Gomez, testified - law enforcement
- Crystal Carpenter, testified; PGCLMP; local planner
- Emily DeMarco, PGCLMP planner
- Gina Lewis, PGCLMP planner
- Mary Craft, PGCLMP planner
- Reverend Diane Teichert, PGCLMP planner
- Sharon Kniss, PGCLMP planner
- Pat Neal, PGCLMP planner
- Katie Pugliese, PGCLMP planner
- Krystina Tucker, PGCLMP planner
- Reverend Karen Lee Scrivo, PGCLMP planner
- Melodye Robinson, PGCLMP researcher
- Janet Simpson, PGCLMP researcher
- Carolyn Rowe, PGCLMP researcher
- Isaac Prentice, PGCLMP researcher
- Diane Thompkins, PGCLMP researcher

Somerset County

- Heidi Anderson, remarks, President of University of Maryland Eastern Shore
- Michelle Johnson, remarks, President of Town Commission, Princess Anne
- Craig Mathias, remarks, President of the Somerset County Commission
- Carrie Samus, presented a lynching narrative, Main Street Princesse Anne
- Charles Hall, presented a lynching narrative
- Margot Green Gale, presented a lynching narrative
- Charles Chavis, testified, MLTRC Commissioner, George Mason University professor
- Marci Bryant, testified, descendant
- Tina Johnson, testified, descendant
- David Armenti, testified, MLTRC Commissioner
- Kirkland Hall, testified, MLTRC Commissioner

Wicomico County

- Jake Day, remarks, Mayor of Salisbury
- Janae Wallace, presented lynching narrative, Salisbury City Lynching Memorial Task Force
- LaTanya Christopher, testified, descendant
- Cynthia King Polk, testified, descendant
- Charles Chavis, testified, MLTRC Commissioner, George Mason University professor
- Teresa Combs, healing activity, Living and Growing
- Descendant testimony via video interview
- Amber Green, testified, descendant
- James Yamakawa, testified, Wicomico County Truth and Reconciliation Initiative
- Shanie Shields, testified, Chipman Foundation

Appendix F

Participants and Expert Witnesses

Appendix F: Participants and Expert Witnesses | Statewide Hearing April 4 and 5, 2025

Reckoning and Repair Public Hearings (* indicates that written testimony was also submitted)

- Maryland Attorney General Anthony Brown
- Dr. “Mama” Deborah Pierce-Fakunle, Musical Selection
- Carole Boston Weatherford, Author
- Ally Hunter Harris, Musical Selection, Baltimore County Lynching Memorial Project
- Balancing the Scales: Advancing Fairness, Accountability, and Community Trust
    - Charlton T. Howard III, Maryland State Prosecutor
    - Jonathan Smith*, Maryland Attorney General, Civil Rights Division
    - James Wyda, Federal Public Defender (Maryland)
- Many Voices, One Goal: Diverse Approaches to Criminal Justice Reform
    - Chaz Arnett, Associate Professor of Law, University of Maryland Baltimore
    - Dr. Rashall Brackney,Visiting Professor, George Mason University
    - Louis Dekmar, Chief of Police and Public Safety, Newnan, Georgia
    - Tonya McClary, Executive Director, Citizens Police Oversight Commission
- Who’s a Victim, Who’s a Threat? The Media’s Framing of Crime & Racial Justice
    - DeNeen Brown, Full Professor, University of Maryland Philip Merrill College of Journalism; staff writer, *The Washington Post*
    - Dr. Frances Murphy Draper*, Publisher, The AFRO-American Newspapers
    - Dr. Stacey Patton, journalist, author, historian and child advocate; professor
    - ER Shipp, journalist and associate professor at Morgan State University’s School of Global Journalism
    - Armstrong Williams*, political commentator and owner of Howard Stirk Holdings, a media company affiliated with Sinclair Broadcasting
- From Pain to Power: Mental Health Solutions for Coping and Thriving
    - Rev. Dr. Joanne Braxton*, CEO and President of the Board of the Braxton Institute
    - Dr. Gail Christopher*, former Senior Advisor and Vice President of the W K Kellogg Foundation (WKKF) and past Executive Director of The Institute for Government Innovation at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University; visionary for and architect of the WKKF-led Truth Racial Healing and Transformation effort for America
    - Dr. Cheryl Grills, Professor of Psychology, Loyola Marymount University
- Reparations as Justice: Economic, Legal, and Social Pathways to Repair
    - Joel Edward Goza*, Professor of Ethics at Simmons College of Kentucky; author of *Rebirth of a Nation: Reparations and Remaking America*
    - Dreisen Heath, Public policy strategist, racial justice and reparative justice expert
    - Dr. Marcus Anthony Hunter, Scott Waugh Endowed Chair in the Social Sciences Division, Professor of Sociology & African American Studies at UCLA
    - Matiangai Sirleaf*, Nathan Patz Professor of Law, University of Maryland Francis King Carey School of Law
- Law and Legacy: Legal Pathways to Justice and Accountability
    - Adjoa A. Aiyetoro*, Director, Institute on Race and Ethnicity at University of Arkansas, Little Rock
    - Justin David Hansford, Professor of Law and Director of the Thurgood Marshall Civil Rights Center, Howard University School of Law
    - Sherrilyn Ifill, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Esq. Endowed Chair in Civil Rights at Howard University School of Law; former president and director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund; author of *On the Courthouse Lawn*

    - Demetria McCain, Director of Policy, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
- The People's Truth: Community Reflections on Justice and Repair
    - Yvette Carnell*, President, American Descendants of Slavery (ADOS) Advocacy Foundation
    - Dawn Collins, Co-Founder and President, 2LT Richard W. Collins III Foundation
    - Lawrence Grandpre, Director of Research, Leaders of a Beautiful Struggle
    - Jerika Richardson, Senior VP for Equitable Justice & Strategic Initiatives at the National Urban League
    - Brett Tyler, President, Heritage Associates; genealogist for the MLTRC

Additional Experts who Provided Written Testimony

- Dr. William Darity, Samuel DuBois Cook Professor of Public Policy, African and African American Studies, and Economics at Duke University
- Dr. Gloria Ladson-Billings, Professor Emerita, University of Wisconsin- Madison
- Dr. Darcelle Lahr, Founder and Executive Director, L.C. and Lillie Cox Haven of Hope

June 16, 2025: Discussion with Maryland State Police Leadership

- Colonel Roland Butler, Maryland State Police Superintendent (2023-2025)
- Wayne R. Silver, Sr., Executive Director, Police Training and Standards Commission

Written Testimony

Yvette Carnell

From Yvette Carnell, President ADOS Advocacy Foundation
Slavery Built America: The Debt
I want to talk about a debt. A specific, unpaid, multi-generational debt. One that built this nation's wealth, prestige, and dominance. I'm talking about the debt owed to American Descendants of Slavery—ADOS. It's not just a moral obligation. It's an economic one. One that demands repair.

Let's begin where the wealth began—with slavery.

Historian David Blight, writing about the pre-Civil War economy, said:

"In 1860, 4 million American slaves were worth some $3.5 billion, making them the single largest financial asset in the entire U.S."

That's $3.5 billion in 1860 dollars—more than all the nation's factories, railroads, and banks combined. Slavery wasn't a side story to American development. It was the story. The forced labor of our ancestors laid the bricks of the U.S. Capitol, harvested the cotton that powered the Industrial Revolution, and built the economic infrastructure of both the North and the South.

And what was our inheritance?

Multigenerational plunder.

A Legacy of Theft and Exploitation

After emancipation, our people were never made whole. In fact, every promise of freedom was followed by a new iteration of theft.

- Sharecropping trapped us in cycles of debt on land we didn't own, often working for the very people who once enslaved us.
- Convict leasing criminalized Black life and turned incarceration into a profit model, supplying corporations with cheap, brutal labor.
- Land theft destroyed our opportunity to build generational wealth. From Wilmington to Tulsa to the slow grind of eminent domain and tax foreclosure, our land was stripped from us.
- Redlining and FHA policy kept us from accessing home loans while white families bought into suburbs and watched their home values rise.
- Employment discrimination locked us out of high-paying industries, union jobs, and pensions.
- Mass incarceration further devastated families and communities, gutting our social fabric and removing wealth through fines, fees, and lost wages.

This is not a closed chapter. These aren't historical footnotes. They are ongoing conditions, and their impact is measurable.

Inheritance of Poverty: The Present-Day Numbers

You hear it all the time: “You weren’t a slave. Why should you get reparations?”

But if we’re not entitled to repair, why are we still living with the injury?

The wealth from slavery is still circulating in this economy, while the poverty from slavery is still locked in our communities.

Consider this:

According to Federal Reserve data, between the third quarter of 2022 and the fourth quarter of 2023, the value of stocks held by Black households in America fell by 30%—dropping from $360 billion to $270 billion. During that same period, the value of stock holdings by white households grew by $7 trillion—from $28 trillion to $35 trillion.

This is not about hard work or hustle. It’s about capital—and how it’s inherited.

Wealth is a lineage (inheritance). So is poverty. Our access to capital, when it exists, is often predatory—payday loans, high-interest credit cards, rent-to-own appliances.

Our oppression is inherited, just like their advantage. It’s not just about Blackness. It’s about lineage. We are the descendants of slavery, not just people with dark skin who happen to live in America.

And this is where the reparations framework gets distorted in today’s conversations.

Too often, there’s an assumption that all Black people in America share the same claim, but lineage matters. Black immigrants were barely even present in this country prior to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. Before that? They were to the right of the decimal point in census data—statistically insignificant.

According to Pew Research, “African-born Black immigrants stand out for their more recent arrival in the U.S.: Three-quarters immigrated in 2000 or later, with over four-in-ten (43%) arriving between 2010 and 2019 alone.” We don’t deny the presence of racism in their experiences. But reparations are not about racial experience—they’re about lineage and injury.

The people who arrived here post-1965 are not due repair for harms they did not experience. They weren’t enslaved here, they didn’t suffer Jim Crow, and they weren’t locked out of New Deal wealth. Their families didn’t flee Tulsa, or suffer the convict leasing camps of the Deep South.

Black immigrants and their progeny voluntarily emigrated into a racist country. That was their choice. Our enslavement was not a choice.

This is not about division—it’s about precision.

A reparations framework based on harm cannot include those who were not harmed. It must be rooted in descendancy from chattel slavery and the government-backed plunder that followed. Anything else reduces a justice claim into a diversity initiative.

America Has Done Reparations Before

And let me address the biggest lie of all: that reparations are impossible.

The truth? America has already done reparations. Many times. It's not a question of capability—it's a question of will.

Let me walk you through some examples.

"Early reparations legislation resulted from Marshall Island inhabitants suing the United States in the U.S. Court of Claims. To process those claims, the independent Nuclear Claims Tribunal was established in 1986, and the government set up a $150 million Nuclear Claims Fund to compensate victims in exchange for the islands agreeing to 'espouse and dismiss' the damages claims of its citizens."

America caused nuclear damage and paid out to people not even within its borders. That fund was created to extinguish liability, and yet, even that wasn't the end of the spending.

"The United States agreed to compensate for harms, 'past, present and future … which are based on, arise out of, or are in any way related to the Nuclear Testing Program' related to loss or damage to persons or property as a result of the U.S. nuclear testing program. Due to claims and damages far exceeding the original amount of the trust fund, between 1954 and 2004 the federal government spent between at least $834 million (in 2022 dollars) on paying for individual compensation, health care, cleanup of contaminated sites, and housing resettlement efforts. By December 2004, the Nuclear Claims Tribunal had paid personal injury awards to approximately two thousand individuals. The program ceased payments in 2011 after the funds were depleted, despite efforts to continue the payouts."

This wasn't an apology—it was a payout. A substantial one. And it wasn't the only program.

"The second major legislation for nuclear testing reparations was enacted in 1990… After decades of advocacy, in 1990 the federal government enacted the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (RECA), which established a $100 million trust fund to provide "compassionate lump-sum payments" to individuals harmed by exposure to radiation… The program awards tax-free lump-sum compensation ranging from $50,000 to $100,000…"

That's real money, real compensation. Specific harms were identified. Payments were made accordingly.

"In 2000, more than half a century after the United States tested the first nuclear bomb, Congress enacted a third major program… the Energy Employees Occupational Illness Compensation (EEOIC) program. This sweeping program of reparatory compensation provides up to $150,000 in cash stipends plus medical care… President Clinton's Executive Order 13179 stated:

'Thousands of these courageous Americans… paid a high price for their service, developing disabling or fatal illnesses… While the Nation can never fully repay these workers or their families, they deserve recognition and compensation for their sacrifices.'"

What's important here is that reparations were based on a specific harm. Not to "nuclear workers of color." Not to "all people exposed to hard times." It was targeted, specific, and lineage-based.

Japanese Reparations and the Lesson for ADOS

Let's not forget the Japanese American Redress Movement. After World War II, over 120,000 Japanese Americans were wrongfully incarcerated in internment camps. Decades later, after coordinated advocacy, Congress passed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which paid $20,000 to each surviving internee.

As The Atlantic article titled “What Reparations Actually Bought” shows, this compensation wasn’t symbolic. It changed lives. It allowed recipients to go back to school, open businesses, buy homes. It was real money, and it was given to a specific harmed group—not all Asians, not even all Japanese Americans—just those who were detained.

That’s the model. Specificity, not symbolism. That’s how reparations work.

The ADOS Movement: Turning Injustice Into Action

And that is why we started the ADOS Movement—to build a grassroots, national coalition around this lineage-based justice claim.

We don’t believe in vague diversity initiatives. We believe in direct repair.

We are building this movement from the ground up. We’re forming chapters, educating the public, and challenging politicians. We’ve changed the conversation. And we’re just getting started.

Here with us today is ADOS Maryland, one of our many chapters across the country, who embody what it means to organize for justice at the local level. They are making sure that elected officials hear our voices and understand our demand: reparations for American Descendants of Slavery.

This isn’t about hope. It’s about homework. About building the infrastructure for justice, brick by brick, chapter by chapter.

Closing: The Debt Remains

So no—we’re not asking for a favor. We’re demanding what is owed. Not just for our ancestors—but for us. For the communities still locked out, still locked down, still locked into the very poverty that slavery created and Jim Crow preserved.

America knows how to do reparations. It has done them before. It just hasn’t done them for us.

But that time is coming.

Thank you.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Establish an Office of ADOS Affairs

Create a permanent state agency tasked with addressing the specific needs of American Descendants of Slavery (ADOS) in Maryland. This office would:

- Serve as a centralized hub for research, policy development, and community outreach.
- Ensure that ADOS concerns are not erased within pan-ethnic or pan-Black frameworks.
- Work interdepartmentally to monitor outcomes across health, housing, education, and employment.

2. Disaggregate Data to Reflect ADOS Lineage

Mandate all state agencies to collect and report disaggregated data that separates ADOS from other Black populations. This distinction is essential for:

- Measuring the outcomes of targeted policies.
- Avoiding statistical erasure of the unique historical disadvantage faced by ADOS communities.
- Informing future reparative efforts based on lineage and harm.

3. Create a Lineage-Based Reparations Task Force

Form a specialized task force to explore reparations specifically for ADOS, not under the broad category of race. The task force should:

- Be composed of legal scholars, economists, historians, and community members.
- Produce a detailed reparations proposal which can be used to push the case for federal reparations.
-
- Define eligibility based on lineage from American chattel slavery.

4. Expand ADOS Education for All Students

Mandate ADOS-specific education at every level of the school system:

- Require ADOS history to be taught in Maryland K–12 public schools.

Base this effort on the bipartisan HEAL Act, which aims to improve Holocaust education in the U.S. .

Jonathan M. Smith

Before the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission April 4, 2025

We have been asked to discuss the role of government to ensure that policing is fair, just, and equitable. Before we can do so, it is important to acknowledge the record of state sponsored violence that has led us to ask this question.

On August 9, 2014, Michael Brown was shot to death in Ferguson, Missouri, by police officer Darren Wilson. Members of the Ferguson community rose up in response. Protests demanding that police violence against Black people cease and that accountability for police misconduct be addressed erupted across the country. The Black Lives Matter movement, which had been founded following the killing of Trayvon Martin two years earlier became a wide spread demand for change.

The deaths of Black people at the hands of police in Baltimore, Maryland; Chicago, Illinois; Waller County, Texas; and elsewhere kept the movement alive. Almost five years ago George Floyd was murdered in Minneapolis by a police officer and a summer of protest followed. The mass media, the political elite, and the white middle class woke up to a reality that had been long known to communities of color – force is used disproportionately against people of color, and this has caused a breakdown in trust between the police and the communities they are sworn to serve.

This was not a new phenomenon. In the summer of 1967, in more than 100 cities across the nation, Black communities rose up in protest and rebellion only to be violently put down by police. The following year when the Kerner Commission issued its report, amongst its most critical findings was the that each of these uprisings started with an act of violence by police against a Black person.

In the years that followed, the pattern repeated. The Overtown neighborhood in Miami erupted in a riot that killed 18 people following the acquittal of the officer who beat Black businessman Arthur McDuffie to death in 1981. In 1984, Eleanor Bumpurs was killed by the New York City police while they were evicting her for being behind in rent. In 1991, the Mount Pleasant neighborhood in Washington, DC erupted following the police shooting of Daniel Gomez. In 1992, the acquittal of the officers who beat Rodney King set off a rebellion in Los Angeles. Nationwide protests erupted in 1994 when Ernest Stayon was suffocated and died while Staten Island police handcuffed him, and a grand jury refused to indict and in 1997 when Abner Louima, a Haitian immigrant, was beaten and sexually tortured by New York City police. In

1 This testimony is offered in my personal capacity only and does not reflect the position of my employer, the Attorney General of Maryland. This testimony is drawn from a more than 40-year career as a civil rights and anti poverty lawyer with a large portion of my career working on cases at the intersection of race, poverty, and the criminal legal system. From 2010 to 2015, I was the Chief of the Special Litigation Section of the Civil Rights Division of the United States Department of Justice where I supervised the investigation of more than 20 police department.

1999, four officers shot unarmed Amadou Diallo with forty-one bullets in New York, again leading to public calls for change.

This is far from a complete list of high-profile police involved killings that sparked protests and uprisings, and it is a dramatically incomplete record of state-sponsored violence as social control. The record of official racially motivated violence dates back to the days that Europeans first stepped foot on this continent and has taken many forms. The slavery of Africans was enforced by state power even in the face of a movement for abolition; police were used to ensure that slave owners sustained their dominion over the people

they claimed as property. The naked use of police to enforce white supremacy extended through the period of Jim Crow and was apparent to the Kerner Commission in 1968, when it concluded that police "symbolize white power, white racism and white repression" to many in the Black community.2 The end of the de jure Jim Crow led immediately into the war on drugs and mass incarceration. Police were also used to enforce the Apartheid of Native people and to enforce racialized immigration laws.

There is much to unpack from this history that goes to the very core and purpose of policing in our communities. It is against this backdrop that there have been calls for a fundamental change to the paradigm of public safety that would replace law enforcement with community investments and other forms of accountability. Reparations and other mechanism that will restore and repair the harms of de jure oppression, segregation, and mass incarceration should be central to the conversation about what justice requires to address this history.

There is much to learn from the police reform efforts of the last decade. Drawing from the lessons of the recent efforts to address police accountability, I offer the following for consideration by the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Define the role of policing: There is a lack of consensus on the role of policing. Despite evidence to the contrary, police are often characterized as the creators of public safety. While law enforcement has a public safety role, whether communities are safe has far more to do with investments in housing, employment, education, nutrition, health and mental health care, and education.

The mis-defining of the role of policing creates the conditions for structural injustice. The primary public safety strategy is punishment and incarceration. The United States has the highest incarceration rate amongst any of the world's democracies. Here in Maryland, we incarcerate 531 of every 100,000 of our residents – more than four times the rate of the United Kingdom, five times the rate of Canada and ten times the rate of Norway.3 Our rate of violent crime is also far higher than other developed nations. Incarceration does not make us safer.

The prioritization of punitive measures to create public safety necessitates that police are given both extraordinary powers and extraordinary responsibilities. They are among the few public officials authorized by law to routinely use force in the course of their duties. While there

2 Kerner Comm'n, The Kerner Report: The 1968 Report Of The National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders 301 (Pantheon Books 1988)

3 States of Incarceration: The Global Context 2021 | Prison Policy Initiative

are constitutionally imposed limits on the use of force by police officers, these protections have been severely limited by the Supreme Court in recent years. The Court has found constitutional justifications for uses of force that many community members find abhorrent. The Court's jurisprudence in this arena has created a substantial gap between what is lawful and what is right. Moreover, barriers to enforcement, such as qualified immunity, have proven insurmountable in many cases.

Compounding the problem is the assignment to police of activities and functions that can, and should, be handled by others. In recent years, there have been successful efforts to reduce the use of police to respond to persons who are in a mental health crisis, although much more needs to be done. However, police continue to patrol schools in a way that criminalizes normal adolescent behavior that can be addressed without risk to school

safety by teachers and counselors; perform stops for minor traffic violations despite that it does not take a gun and arrest powers to write a ticket for a broken taillight or a missed stop sign; and removing unhoused persons from the streets when a social workers can provide a more permanent solution.

Creating trust and promoting the coproduction of public safety must start with a response to the question of when do we need a person with a gun, arrest powers, and the authority to use force and when is there another solution that creates public safety without the harmful consequences of our criminal legal system?

Democratize police: Communities with the greatest public safety needs often feel that they face the choice of victimization by crime or victimization by police. A conversation with a mother living in public housing will always stick with me. She told me that she was afraid in her home but would not call the police because she was more afraid of the violence that police might bring to her son and other young Black men. I asked her what would make her feel safe. After a moment of silence, she told me that no one had ever asked her that question before. After a pause, she gave me a long list of investments in her community that would make a difference, from better lighting to opportunities for meaningful work, but most importantly she wanted to be included in making the decisions about her community. Solutions imposed without consulting impacted persons do not work.

Despite reforms in recent years, police departments remain free from significant oversight. The most critical decisions about policing tactics, policies, and priorities remain beyond democratic control. A chief of police, with little meaningful oversight, makes the critical decisions on how a police department does its work. Given the profound impact of policing on communities, the inability of the persons who will be subject to policing to influence key policies and practices leads to the harms and mistrust of the current system.

Structures that provide greater democratic influence over policing will improve trust and legitimacy and improve public safety. Below, I discuss the need for a civilian role in accountability when something goes wrong. However, front end accountability might have a greater influence. Schools provide an interesting model. Like policing they impact large components of the community in profound ways. To ensure community influence, we have elected school boards, parent teacher associations, and other formal and informal mechanisms for community members to influence the development of school policy. While it may not make

sense to mirror school governance structures in the police context, democratically controlled mechanisms that serve similar functions of influencing policy and priorities could be developed. To be successful, the mechanism must be designed to account for the interests of those persons most likely to be policed – communities of color, low-income communities, youth, and others.

Strong systems accountability

In addition to creating clarity on the appropriate role of police and strengthening our democratic institutions to give community members a role in the setting of policies and practices, effective accountability is essential.

Transparency: The first element of accountability is transparency. The operation of police departments is opaque, but that opacity is neither necessary nor healthy in a democratic society. Accountability will bring much needed trust between officers and the communities they serve, and that trust will ensure both constitutional policing and public safety. Officers and civilians will both be better off.

Police routinely report crime statistics and arrests. Under state law, they are required to track and report certain demographic data concerning traffic stops.4 Many departments

publish their policies online. These are all necessary measures. However, absent a lawsuit or a consent decree, little else is known about the behavior of police, how often they use force and under what circumstances, negative and positive interactions with community members, or the nature and content of training. Substantially greater transparency that will aid democratic oversight can be achieved without revealing confidential methods or case specific information that would harm an investigation.

System Accountability: Police departments must also be learning institutions and institutional accountability is essential to protecting the public from abuse and promoting a partnership in the creation of public safety. Departments must use every negative outcome as a learning tool to understand how to improve recruitment, hiring, training, policy, supervision, and accountability. Data on behavior and outcomes should be reviewed constantly for insight into needed changes. Body worn camera video, now available in almost every department, should be routinely reviewed at random to understand how daily encounters with community members are being conducted and what policy or training guidance might improve them.

Civil rights investigations by the United States Department of Justice and increasingly by state attorneys general provide important accountability. Civil rights investigations most often come in the wake of a serious use of force that causes community outrage. Following an incident, federal or state investigators open pattern and practice investigations that perform a thorough review of the police department and also engage in extensive outreach to understand the experience of diverse community members with the policies and practices of the police. At the conclusion of the investigation, a findings report is issued that discloses the facts found, applies those facts to the legal standard, and introduces broad recommendations for reform. In

4 Md. Code Ann. Trans. Article § 25–113(f)(2).

this way, the entire community had a baseline to address the necessary changes in a department.5 The transparency of the investigation creates credibility and sets the stage for the hard project of reform. Community members see, in some cases for the first time, the official acknowledgement of their experience.

Findings are most often followed by a consent decree with a monitor. The consent decree provides further accountability and transparency. While the reform process can take years, it works, and is, in many cases, the only effective strategy to force changes necessary to ensure constitutional policing. However, a caution is important. Consent decrees achieve compliance with the law and the law sets a low bar. Communities often want changes to their police department that go beyond a constitutional minimum. While consent decrees provide transparency that is helpful for more fundamental change, securing that change is a political project that requires sustained community engagement.

Federal and state investigations can address issues that are often beyond the reach of private litigation. Issues of standing and jurisdiction are easier to overcome, government agencies have resources that private litigants often lack, and prelitigation investigative tools are more frequently available. However, these cases are time and resource intensive. In the nearly 30 years since the enactment of the statute giving the Department of Justice authority to bring pattern and practice cases involving law enforcement, fewer than 100 police departments have been investigated.

Individual Accountability: In recent years, there has been considerable attention on individual accountability for officers. While prosecutions and departmental discipline are critical to provide justice for families and communities and to remove officers from the force who do not belong there, it must be joined with transparency and system accountability.

Civilian review boards and criminal prosecutions alone will not bring communities the police departments that they seek to have.

Criminal prosecutions of police officers are rare. While there are more than 1200 in custody deaths each year, a tiny fraction of officers involved face criminal consequences.6 There are many reasons, including that many deaths are not the result of misconduct. But the burden of a prosecutor to bring a case against a police officer is high, and many avoidable deaths result from systemic failures rather that individual officer wrongdoing, thus avoiding any consequences for a tragedy that should not have happened.

The Maryland Attorney General's Independent Investigation Division investigates and issues a public report on every office involved death in the State and brings prosecutions when appropriate. This is a critical and important function that creates accountability and transparency and builds community trust. The independence of the office and the issuance of high-quality

5 Finding reports from the United States Department of Justice can be found at: https://www.justice.gov/crt/special litigation-section-cases-and-matters#police.

6 Prosecutions occur in between 1% and 3% of cases. M. Kaste, Are Police Officers Facing Prosecution?, NPR (September 25, 2023) https://www.npr.org/2023/09/25/1201620935/are-more-police-officers-facing-prosecution-as the-data-shows-its-complicated,

reports following a thorough investigation are important for community healing. However, it is a limited tool to bring about the policy and practice changes necessary to prevent the next death.

* * *

Finally, it is essential to speak about this moment in history. We are in the midst of a backlash against the modest reforms that were implemented in response to the protests following the murder of George Floyd. Despite historically low crime and progress on addressing the social dislocation created by COVID, demagoguery is being used to create fear and to shut down discussion of solutions designed to address inequity.

The new federal administration's campaign against racial justice is touching every aspect of our society. The progress made by the struggle and sacrifice of so many people is at risk. We are in rough times and there will be more ahead, but we stand on the shoulders of great leaders who showed us how to struggle in times of adversity.

Gloria Ladson-Billings, Professor Emerita, FBA

February 23, 2025

Dear Dr. Fakunle:

Thank you for your generous invitation to participate in the historic Maryland Lynching Truth & Reconciliation Commission. Unfortunately, the date of the hearing conflicts with a previous commitment. However, I have decided to offer a few thoughts in writing that I hope will be helpful in your deliberations. My area of expertise is successful educators of African American students and in that capacity, I have had an opportunity to serve as an expert witness in funding equity cases in New York and South Carolina.

I have a special affinity for the State of Maryland as a proud alumna of Morgan State University and a respect for the role your state has played in the liberation of Black people with freedom fighters like Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman. My time in Maryland was during some of the most turbulent times of the nation with my college career book-ended by the tragic deaths of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. I arrived in Maryland shortly after the Northwood Shopping Center and theater were desegregated but it remained a site of racial tension. I had the privilege of studying under the tutelage of the eminent historian the late Dr. Benjamin Quarles.

You are embarking on an important project that only a few other states have dared to examine. The Mississippi Civil Rights Museum has a solemn tribute to lynchings in the state by county and of course, Bryan Stevenson's work in Alabama at the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI) is a testament to the horrors of lynching. Here in Wisconsin we are home to America's Black Holocaust Museum that opened in 1988 and was forced to close in 2008 due to the country's economic downturn. The museum was the brainchild of Mr. James Cameron who is perhaps the only known lynching survivor. The generosity of community members has allowed the galleries to re-open in February of 2022. There is also an online site with which you may already be familiar that allows for a virtual visit at: https://www.abhmuseum.org/. The online site is organized around 4 themes—Remembrance, Resistance, Redemption, and Reconciliation.

While I am uncertain what I can contribute to your effort, I do have some ideas about how you can help young people better understand the full history of lynching in your state and what citizens must do to ensure this horror is never replicated. Much like our citizens of Jewish ancestry we have to insist that "Never Again," be our rallying cry.

There is a tendency to regard Maryland as a "liberal" state and there is much to attest to that identity. But it is also a "border" state, and the Mason-Dixon Line speaks to the demarcation between the US north and south. Although Maryland remained a part of the Union during the Civil War, there were strong sympathies for secession and Confederate sentiments. As a native Philadelphian (who has lived in Seattle, the San Francisco Bay Area, and now Wisconsin) I have no illusions about the competing ideologies about race that exist throughout the nation. When people bring up the "north-south" divide I remind them that for African Americans everything south of the Canadian border is "south!"

What then should we help our students and citizens understand about lynching? According to the NAACP, a lynching is "the public killing of an individual who has not received any due process. These executions were often carried out by lawless mobs, though police officers did participate, under the pretext of justice." From 1882 to 1968, 4,743 lynchings occurred in the U.S., according to records maintained by NAACP. Other accounts, including the Equal Justice Initiative's report on lynching, count slightly different numbers, but it's

impossible to know for certain how many lynchings occurred because there was no formal tracking. Many historians believe the true number is underreported. Mississippi, Georgia, and Texas, respectively have the most recorded lynchings. Arizona, Idaho, Maine, Nevada, South Dakota, Vermont, and Wisconsin have no recorded lynchings. While people of various races, ethnicities, and national origins have been lynched, about 72 percent of all lynchings in the US were against Black people.

The documenting of lynching is not about pointing fingers or affixing guilt. Just like other horrors of history, it is about understanding the truth so that we are not destined to repeat it. Below are a few ideas for helping to educate our students and our citizens so they can remain vigilant toward human suffering and lawlessness.

1. Create an accessible curriculum guide so that teachers in both formal classrooms and community classrooms (e.g. after school programs, independent schools, Sunday school classrooms, and church youth groups, etc.) can have resources with which to teach and learn.

2. Develop resource lists that consists of books, films and websites that allow students to explore this aspect of US History on their own. Oscar Micheaux, one of the nation's first Black filmmakers created a film in 1920 to counter the propaganda of D.W. Griffiths, "Birth of a Nation" that glorified the Ku Klux Klan and violence towards Black people. Micheaux's film, "Within Our Gates," contains a scene that depicts a mob beating and lynching a Black man and Black woman.

3. Identify some of those who spoke out against this horror so that students and citizens can learn the strategies that are available in a democracy to fight against undemocratic and lawless behaviors. This could include biographies and institutional stories such as Ida Barnett Wells, the NAACP, Paul Robeson and the American Crusade Against Lynching.

4. The Baltimore Sun has a list (with locations) of the 44 documented lynchings in Maryland starting with David Thomas in 1854 up to George Armwood in 1933. The Commission can create and distribute a map of these atrocities.

5. Collaborate with local news organizations to tell the story of lynching in Maryland. In 2005, 3 reporters from the Hartford Courant wrote a magazine length report titled, Complicity: How the North Promoted, Prolonged, & Profited from Slavery. So compelling was the report that the leaders in Hartford, CT requested copies of the report be made available free of charge for all middle and high school students in the local schools. A few years later the authors, Anne Farrow, Joel Lang, & Jennifer Frank published the report as a book (2007) with Random House. This is similar to Nicole Hannah Jones' project known as 1619.

6. Create a video archive of survivors' family members. Just as there are video archives of Jewish Holocaust survivors it will be important to hear the stories of families who have been directly impacted by these gross miscarriages of justice.

7. Take advantage of the wealth of college students in your state. History and anthropology students from your HBCUs (e.g., Morgan State, Coppin State, University of Maryland, Eastern Shore, Bowie State, etc.) along with your PWIs (e.g., University of Maryland, Towson State, Loyola, Salisbury, etc.) can participate in projects that curate and document the specifics of lynchings that occurred in the state.

8. Consider developing a traveling exhibit to visit schools and community sites. Unfortunately, all students will not be able to travel to a site like the Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland. A smaller curated exhibit will allow students to see artifacts and other items central to this time period.

9. Talk with the people at the National Museum of African American History & Culture in Washington, DC to determine their interest in curating a Maryland lynching collection.

These are but a few suggestions for deciding how the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission can move forward with the necessary healing that allows the community to acknowledge what transpired and vow to never again allow it to happen.

Again, thank you for the generous invitation. I hope you will keep me in mind for subsequent activities related to this project.

Sincerely,

Gloria Ladson-Billings, Professor Emerita, FBA
Former Kellner Family Distinguished Professor in Urban Education
Past-President, National Academy of Education
Fellow, The British Academy
Fellow, American Academy of Arts & Sciences
Fellow, American Educational Research Association
Fellow, Hagler Institute, Texas A&M University (2020-2022)
Distinguished Scholar on Race & Social Justice, Rutgers Graduate School of Education
Email: gjladson@wisc.edu

Darcelle Lahr, Ed.D., MBA, PE

Written Testimony in Support of the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission

BACKGROUND

Historical lynchings have been shown to be a deliberate tool of racial oppression, inflicting enduring, multigenerational trauma in Black communities. This profound impact has deeply affected not only the immediate victims and their families, but has also extended to the social and economic fabric defining these communities.

Kampanelis and Elizade1 report that historical lynchings have significantly undermined current economic opportunities for Black Americans, attributing this persistent socioeconomic disadvantage to deeply rooted racial prejudices originating in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They detail how urbanization and industrialization during this era led to intense inter-racial competition for economic and social resources, triggering widespread racial violence. Importantly, the authors demonstrate that these conclusions have been corroborated through multiple statistical validation methods.

For example, as reported by Adrian Arellano2:

“Using newly available longitudinal data covering much of the US population from 1989–2015, this study…establishes a statistical association between the severity of lynching of Black Americans and longrun economic outcomes across the Southern United States. Counties that experienced racial violence most intensely in the past have lower levels of Black upward mobility today. … Living in counties that experienced lynchings in the 19th and 20th centuries reduces Black upwardly mobile in the 21st century”.

This research suggests that these violent acts were not just isolated incidents of brutality, but part of a systematic method of maintaining economic and social oppression; that this violence was used as a deliberate, strategic tool of economic disenfranchisement during a period of significant social transformation in the southern United States.

The economic damage resulting from this historical violence has resounded throughout generations, demonstrating the deeply entrenched nature of systemic racism. It is crucial to recognize this historical violence as not just a series of past events, but as an ongoing system of deliberate economic suppression that has had multigenerational economic consequences, and which continues to define economic opportunities and social dynamics in affected communities to this day.

TRUTH TELLING AND SOCIAL RECONCILIATION

In order to truly address the catastrophic effects on the human condition resulting from racial violence throughout US history, we must fully define and acknowledge the atrocities committed, provide methods of repair and atonement, and then enact societal transformation to ensure similar societal wrongs never happen again.

Therefore, a foundational mandate of any US racial justice initiative must be to investigate, document, and chronicle the legally and politically-sanctioned racial violence that Black Americans have been subjected to throughout its history, in order to examine the linkage of those historical policies of brutality and violence to the lasting and self-reinforcing racial inequities and injustices that continue to this day.

We include:

- Enslavement
- The “Black Race” Construct Historical Black Code Prohibitions Jim Crow Segregation

- Racial Terror Lynchings
- GI Bill Exclusions
- New Deal Failures
- Eugenics/Medical “Experiments”
- Community Race Massacres Redlining
- The War on Drugs
- Eminent Domain
- Police Brutality
- Commercial Displacement Community Disinvestment

By recognizing racial discrimination as an integrated, self-reinforcing system, we realize that the only way to interrupt such a well-developed and high-performing system is to very intentionally introduce a deliberate, sustained, and highly coordinated counter-system.

Given the staggering magnitude of the cumulative violence, cultural-erasure, and economic extraction that Black Americans have suffered under this self-reinforcing system of racial discrimination, such a counter-system must include methods for redress, repair, restoration, and reformation, in order to ensure social transformation and unity. Such a counter-system must address the historical injustices embedded within our social systems, policies and processes, and challenge the societal institutions and structures which normalize, legitimize, regenerate and perpetuate these disparities.

TRANSFORMATIVE SOCIAL INNOVATION

For decades, various political regimes have engaged in efforts to dismantle racial discrimination in US labor markets, education systems, criminal justice systems, healthcare systems, housing markets, credit markets, and more. Yet none of these efforts have been sufficient, most have been abandoned over time, and many have been socially destructive.

Instead, we must introduce a Transformative Social Innovation, to create an alternative, equity based system of societal interactions in which the institutions, processes, and social systems are grounded in equity and anti-discriminatory principles. This novel solution frees historically marginalized populations from being trapped within the discriminatory social practices on which the entire US societal structure is founded.

Transitional Justice

A transformative social outcome begins with Transitional Justice.

“Transitional justice refers to a field of activity and inquiry focused on how societies address legacies of past human rights abuses, mass atrocity, or other forms of severe social trauma, including genocide or civil war, in order to build a more democratic, just, or peaceful future”3.

“Transitional justice covers the full range of processes and mechanisms associated with a society’s attempt to come to terms with a legacy of large-scale past conflict, repression, violations and abuses, in order to ensure accountability, serve justice and achieve reconciliation”4.

As further observed by Yuvraj Joshi5,

“For decades, U.S.-based discussions of transitional justice have gazed outward internationally, while overlooking the legacies of slavery, segregation, and white supremacy at home. … From a traditional viewpoint, transitional justice is inapposite to the American context because the United States is assumed to be an “established” democracy, because

it lacks the sort of explicit regime break found in many transitional contexts, or because too much time has passed since its antebellum and Jim Crow histories. … Transitional justice demonstrates that the centuries-long oppression of Black Americans is precisely the kind of massive human rights violation that necessitates systematic and ongoing redress. … Once we acknowledge that transitional justice applies here, the question becomes how mechanisms of justice and accountability should be implemented rather than whether such mechanisms are needed".

Transitional Justice grounding enables a reclamation of community identity, collective agency, and social potential by ensuring that Reparative and Restorative Justice principles drive the social innovation process.

The Reparative Justice component of Transitional Justice ensures appropriate redress for the long lasting consequences of the US institution of slavery. This includes societal acknowledgment of intergenerational harms caused by enslavement, and the implementation of measures to recompense descendants of enslaved individuals.

The Restorative Justice component of Transitional Justice ensures societal recognition and acknowledgement of the depth and breadth of atrocities and systemic injustices perpetuated through decades of US racial oppression and violence, creating a path for unified efforts to achieve understanding, reconciliation, and healing.

Restorative Justice work encompasses:

- Chronicling the historical decimation of Black communities resulting from Black business district race massacres.
- Investigating cultural erasure, gentrification and displacement, disinvestment, and environmental destruction in communities of color.
- Addressing the systemic, intergenerational destruction of Black bodies and lives within the US medical and carceral systems.
- Investigating mechanisms for acknowledgement of, and redress for, atrocities committed against Black individuals through extralegal violence, including6:
    - Engaging public officials
    - Spurring official apologies
    - Engaging the families of the perpetrators
    - Burial markers and civil rights markers
    - Commemorative events and exhibits
    - Correcting public records
    - Court cases and consultations

As shared by Margaret Burnham, Distinguished Professor of Law and Director of the Civil Rights and Restorative Justice Project at Northeastern University7:

Why, with the ongoing racist subordination of African Americans and other groups, and at precisely the moment when deep political retrenchment threatens recent gains, are we still focusing on historical injustices? Our work is informed by three principles: intergenerational justice, legal rectification, and posthumous recognition. First, intergenerational justice looks to the past, the present, and the future. We all have a legacy of benefits and obligations from the past, and our work seeks to illuminate ways to discharge these historical obligations. Second, where traditional legal remedies that could ameliorate the systemic degradation and dishonor wrought by law are not availing (because of the passage of time, for example) legal actors (especially lawyers) have a unique duty to pursue alternative corrective modalities that will establish truths for future generations. And third, those victimized by racist terror lost not only their lives, but their personal legacies, reputational and material. The dehumanization survives the death. Acknowledging that there is legacy after death, our projects are meant to contend with

the posthumous erasure, reclaim moral standing, and reckon — case by case, person by person — with defamed individual histories and stolen remembrance.

Social Innovation

Once a trustworthy foundation has been built for reconciliation and healing, the transformative process of fundamentally challenging the premise upon which the dominant, normalized, racist social systems within the United States were founded can begin.

Building directly on Reparative and Restorative Justice initiatives, Social Reformation efforts will ensure cultural preservation, anti-displacement, and the restoration of community. Further, fostering cooperative, solidarity-based business systems within our most vulnerable communities will seed non-extractive, equitable wealth distribution – leading to mutually-reinforcing societal systems and institutions that promote the intergenerational transmission of equitable access and opportunity. Specifically:

Cooperative Economics, an economic framework that values collaboration over capitalistic competition, will foster community reclamation through shared work and wealth.

Solidarity Economics, grounded in participatory democracy, cooperative and public ownership, and a culture of unity, will further equip communities to regain control of their own economic trajectories.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: TRUTH, RECONCILIATION AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

One well-documented means of addressing economic disparities in Black US communities is the creation of new economic opportunities through business ownership within those very communities8. Job creation and employment, through business ownership, is one of the major contributors to economic vibrancy in communities of color9.

Throughout US history, Black business owners have turned to one another and to their communities to find support in surviving economic subjugation in the midst of deep racial oppression. This type of community-based, collaborative economic perseverance has allowed these communities to "anchor capital in communities, give residents control of economic development in their communities, and generate income and wealth"10. This process further addresses inequities in housing, health, education, and other areas of community disparity11,12,13.

We argue that this historical model of grassroots economic collaboration must now be formalized and purposefully adopted in order to spur lasting economic transformation in US communities of color. Per Jessica Gordon Nembhard, we advocate for "cooperative enterprise development as a strategy for African Americans – particularly as a mechanism to control their own income and wealth generation through economic forms that reflect their social and economic values"14.

THE MULTI-STAKEHOLDER VALUE SYSTEM

We propose a community-centered economic system, to be structured as a multi-stakeholder industry alliance among Black-owned small businesses and social entrepreneurs – purposefully incorporating the grass-roots community-building that has been vital to the current and historical survival of Black-owned businesses. Under this system, all of the businesses – along the entire supply chain and along the entire distribution chain – work in collaboration, together with the purchasing public and the community, so that everyone shares equitably and regeneratively in economic progress.

Written Testimony in Support of the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Countering Systems of Oppression: Reparative Justice

Critically, Gordon Nembhard15 cautions that even while “African Americans throughout their history have come together to pool resources, take control of productive assets, and work to create alternative economies in the face of poverty, limited resources, market failures, and/or racial oppression”, “it has often been a hidden history and one thwarted by racism and white supremacist violence”.

Therefore, this economic system would determinedly seek to address Black businesses’ underlying vulnerability to supremacist suppression by ensuring that collaborating businesses have the tools and resources they need to collectively generate a self-supporting infrastructure.

In particular, the multi-stakeholder businesses that participate in the industry alliance would be provided with support services tailored to address their collective “back-office” operational needs (i.e., accounting, marketing, compliance, IT, benefits, etc.), as well as to address the most critical institutionalized impediments to long-term viability that disadvantaged businesses themselves have long identified (i.e., inequitable distribution of resources, emotional trauma, extractive harm along the supply and distribution chain, business isolation, eviction and space insecurity, employee vulnerability, information technology exclusion, discriminatory funding practices).

In order to ensure the long-term delivery of these crucial back-office and viability support services, an endowed fund would be established through a philanthropic Reparative Justice Wealth Transfer. This endowed fund would generate annual earnings that would be used to compensate a consulting collective within the multi-stakeholder system to provide shared support services to businesses throughout the multi-stakeholder industry alliance.

The proposed application of reparative wealth in support of historically marginalized and disinvested Black businesses echoes recent arguments presented by Boerma and Karabarbounis. They assert that contrary to many expectations regarding the benefits of direct wealth transfer as an effective policy mechanism for eliminating the Black-white wealth gap, reparations in the form of direct wealth transfers today will not fully diminish this wealth gap in the future. Instead, Boerma and Karabarbounis conclude that “subsidies toward Black entrepreneurs are more effective than wealth transfers in permanently eliminating the racial wealth gap”16 (emphasis added).

Community Investment & Shared Value: Restorative Justice

The multi-stakeholder system emphasizes shared community investment, the centering of those most vulnerable within the community, and Restorative Justice as the means for uplifting and securing disenfranchised communities. Based on proven models of mutual aid and community support, this system demonstrates the value in providing culturally-attentive resources and support for collaborating businesses in a manner that reinforces shared community.

Community Healing: Reformative Justice

Addressing historically persistent income and wealth disparities is crucial to fostering equitable economic opportunities and reducing systemic inequities in marginalized Black communities. A key component of the multi-stakeholder system is therefore providing job readiness skills and entrepreneurial incubation for those community members suffering the greatest violence, exclusion and trauma from discriminatory institutions and systems.

The goal is to empower multiply-marginalized members of the community by providing comprehensive training and support to secure stable employment and/or launch successful businesses in underrepresented industries. Through innovative training, access to technology, and holistic mentorship, community members will gain long-term economic stability and empowerment – positioning them exceptionally well to join the multi-stakeholder system as employees in existing businesses or through launching their own entrepreneurial ventures.

Program Outcomes: Transformative Justice

Significant increase in economic opportunities for historically marginalized individuals
Sustainable careers and businesses within a community-based, self-reinforcing ecosystem
Economic empowerment for historically disempowered communities

Transformed communities and trajectories

DLahr 2024

END NOTES

1 Kampanelis, S., & Elizalde, A. (2024). Lynching and economic opportunities: Evidence

from the US South. Kyklos, 77(4), 977–1003. https://doi.org/10.1111/kykl.12397

2 Adrian Arellano (2023) Intergenerational Immobility: A Legacy of Racial Violence, Security Studies, 32:4-5, 846-870, DOI: 10.1080/09636412.2023.2256664 [p.846]

3 From The Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity (Macmillan Reference USA, 2004), vol. 3, pp. 1045-1047

4 UN's Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

5 https://www.justsecurity.org/71372/does-transitional-justice-belong-in-the-united-states/ 6 From the Civil Rights and Restorative Justice Project (CRRJ) at Northeastern University School of Law 7 CRRJ Year End Report, 2024

8 Bates, T., Jackson III, W. E., & Johnson Jr, J. H. (2007). Advancing research on minority entrepreneurship. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 613(1), 10-17.

9 Gorman, I. (2017). The Tapestry of Black Business Ownership in America: Untapped Opportunities for Business Success. Association for Enterprise Opportunity.

10 Gordon Nembhard, J. (2006). Principles and strategies for reconstruction: models of African American community-based cooperative economic development. Harvard Journal of African American Public Policy, 12, 39. [p.51] 11 Asante-Muhammed, D., Collins, C., Hoxie, J., & Nieves, E. (2016). The ever-growing gap: Without change, African American and Latino families won't match White wealth for centuries. Institute for Policy Studies. 12 Davis, K. (2018, May 1). How Black Millennials Can Finally Close the Racial Wealth Gap. Fast Company. Retrieved from www.fastcompany.com/40561619/how-black-millennialscan-Finally-close-the-racial-wealth-gap 13 Gorman, I. (2017). The Tapestry of Black Business Ownership in America: Untapped Opportunities for Business Success. Association for Enterprise Opportunity.

14 Gordon Nembhard, J. (2004). Cooperative ownership in the struggle for African American economic empowerment. Humanity & Society, 28(3), 298-321. [p. 299]

15 Gordon Nembhard, J. (2004). Cooperative ownership in the struggle for African American economic empowerment. Humanity & Society, 28(3), 298-321. [p.317, p. 300]

16 Boerma, J., & Karabarbounis, L. (2021). Reparations and persistent racial wealth gaps (No. w28468). National Bureau of Economic Research.

Professor Joel Edward Goza

Reparations as Justice: Economic, Legal, and Social Pathways to Repair

To the commissioners, to my fellow panelists, to those gathered, it is a great honor to be with you today at this sacred proceeding. I come to you today as a descendant of enslavers, Confederates, and segregationists. I love my family. My family loves me. But, my testimony today is about repentance and embracing my responsibility to work for a reparative future for the sake of my children.

I was born in 1979 in Houston Texas. Growing up, everything I thought I knew about Black people I learned from President Ronald Reagan and a white community seemingly unconcerned with our nation's racial crimes. But over 20 years ago, my life went in an unexpected direction after a friend invited me to move into Houston's 5th Ward Area— a predominately Black community that carries the wounds of our nation's racial crimes.

After moving into the community, a Black church took me under its wing and provided me an opportunity to join them as they worked to revitalize our neighborhood. Under their guidance, I began learning not only how our nation perpetuates atrocities against Black communities but also of our nation's bewildering possibilities if we would repent for our crimes and make the investments necessary to realize a more democratic and equitable future.

After a decade of frontline engagement, the focus of my work shifted to writing and I came to realize how little about our nation's history out of which our present-day suffering flows. In 2019, I began a writing project that demanded I investigate the intersections of slavery, white terrorism, the ritual of lynching, and the work of reparations. What I learned surprised me and became the book Rebirth of a Nation: Reparations and Remaking America.

Previously, when I thought about segregation I thought about white only signs and social practices and public policies that kept Black communities impoverished. But what I learned was that segregation itself must be understood by the aims of its original architects. And when we look at the era of Jim Crow, lynchings, and white terrorism, what we must reckon with is that after slavery's fall many segregationists sought to evolve white supremacy from the project of enslavement to a system with the explicit aim of exterminating Black people.

The ritual of lynching was the tip of the iceberg of a systemic enterprise of Black deprivation, dehumanization, and death. The ritual of lynching was never to produce the highest body count but to keep an entire population terrified of thriving and fighting for equality. The crime of lynching acted as the linchpin to the violent and lethal work of convict leasing, repressing wages, and inadequate education and healthcare. As we know, these wounds have never been tended to and much this work is ongoing.

As expert witnesses, we were asked how the crimes of lynching still impact us today. What I wish to turn our attention to is the ecosystem of white supremacy out of which the ritual of lynching emerged—the sick intellectual, political, and spiritual ecosystem explicitly designed to crucify the democratic conviction that all people are created equal; an ecosystem that violated Black Americans and robbed white people of essential elements of our humanity.

White supremacy's ecosystem during the era of lynching ensured that the racial lies and myths about Black people that once justified slavery never went out of style or lost their power. The lies of slavery were as simple as they were sadistic. Slavery was justified by myths and lies about Black sex and families, about Black sloth and dependance, Black biology, Black people's lack of brain power, and heightened criminality. After justifying slavery from 1619 to 1865, these lies were repurposed and re-engineered.

One example of how the ecosystem of white supremacy evolved during the era of lynching comes from right here in Baltimore is John Hopkins University. It was through John Hopkins that the model of German research universities came to America, helping mold America and Germany's racial imaginations in harmony with one another. Nazi Germany and Jim Crow America's racial imaginations were never identical twins, but they were the closest of cousins. Following slavery, John Hopkins helped ensure that white supremacy's ecosystem contained the intellectual firepower to provide white terrorism scientific justification. Perhaps the most infamous writer John Hopkins helped produce was Thomas Dixon whose writings inspired the movie Birth of a Nation which led to the resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan in 20th Century form.

This ecosystem ensured innocent Black people could look guilty even without committing a crime and that white people could pose as innocent regardless of who was murdered or the suffering that our self-imposed brainwashing inspired. Tragically, this ecosystem of racial lies is still with us—and that is still at war with our humanity and democracy itself.

If we ask what can we do to repair the damages of the era of lynching, we must remember that our nation never lacked pragmatic answers for how to tend to our nation's racial wounds. Instead, we simply ignored those with healing wisdom because too often they were Black. Following the Civil War, Frederick Douglass cried to our nation. Following the passage of Civil Rights, Martin Luther King, Jr. cried out to our nation. And what they called for was the work of repentance and economic empowerment. But we refused.

In a word, what we must do to dismantle white supremacy's ecosystem is to continue the work abolition and civil rights began through the work of reparations. For far too long, I believed that reparations represented nothing more than the utopian fantasies of fanatics divorced from the realistic work racial justice required. But the more I studied our history and the possibilities reparations provide, the more clearly I saw that my resistance to reparations was rooted in the fears and lies of white supremacy's ecosystem. Reparations represent the most practical and pragmatic path to not only tending to the crimes committed against Black Americans, but also for the damage done to our nation's soul. It is through the work of reparations—through the work of repentance, repayment, and repair—that we can transform the aim of our very life together—the aim of creating a land of liberty and justice for all—a land that, in the words of Langston Hughes, has never been but that must be.

It is through the work of repentance that we can begin transforming our political possibilities. By taking responsibility for our present-day racial divisions and the historical crimes we chose to commit, we can forge the strength to strive toward a reparative future. It is through payments that Black Americans can experience the economic foundation financial security requires. It is through the work of repair that we can make the investments necessary to engage in the work of forming a more perfect union.

As a white person who writes on race and has lived in Black and brown communities all of my adult life, I have often experienced the eerie feeling that something was innately wrong with white people. That our greed had permanently turned our hearts hard and made our blood run cold. But by learning our nation's history through the lens of reparations I learned the truth—that history is contingent, it is about the concrete choices we make and how we respond to those choices made before we were ever born. The truth is that things could have been different. If things could have been different, things can be different. If they can be different, we have the responsibility to do the work to make them different. I believe in reparations because I believe our history demands justice for Black people. But I also believe in reparations because reparations provide white people an opportunity to work their way out of the toxic ecosystem we were born into and that we too often perpetuate.

If we as cities, as states, as a nation allow ourselves to grieve, we can grow. If we can mourn, we can mature. Reparations is about the work of creating our future. For far too long, our nation has placed the price of our racism on Black people's back to bare all alone. Our nation yearns for a better way. I thank this commission for its work to open a different door to our nation's future.

Matiangai Sirleaf*
Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Reckoning & Repair: A Public Hearing on Maryland's Legacy of Racial Terror Lynchings
Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History & Culture April 4-5, 2025

INTRODUCTION

It is important to begin this testimony by acknowledging the people who were forcibly kidnapped and sold from Africa to be enslaved on these lands. From the colony's founding in 1634 until the abolition of slavery in Maryland in 1864, enslaved Africans were exploited and labored on this land.

My name is Matiangai Sirleaf, and I am an affiliate faculty member of the Gibson-Banks Center for Race and the Law at the University of Maryland Francis King Carey School of Law.1 I am an interdisciplinary international scholar with expertise in public international law, international human rights law, international criminal law, transitional justice, and racial justice.

As a scholar who strongly believes in the importance of taking positionality seriously, I view this as an opportunity to reflect on my own position. I will share a bit of personal history to illustrate how for African descendant peoples, the specter of racial terror lynchings is not past, but present. White supremacists within the American Colonization Society, working with some formerly enslaved peoples established the colony of Liberia in West Africa.2 In March 1825 and 1829, 34-year-old Julia Ann Richardson and John T. Richardson3 arrived in Monrovia, Liberia. Though the archives do not say the reason for their departure from the United States, this country's brutal racial violence and terror must have informed their decision to flee. My mother is their descendant, and I am my mother's daughter.

I am also my father's daughter. He is from a large ethnic group in West Africa – Mandingo.4 You have likely heard of the Mandingo Black Buck trope wherein auctioneers and enslavers promoted the purported strength, breeding ability, and agility of young Black men from this ethnic group.5 The National Museum of African American History and Culture writes that the stereotype of the Mandingo as animalistic and brutish gave legal authority to White

* Nathan Patz Professor of Law, University of Maryland School of Law; Professor, Department of Epidemiology and Public Health, University of Maryland School of Medicine. I am especially grateful to Susan McCarty for her editorial assistance as well as Zainab Ansari, Hannah Lowe, Catherine McNamara, Karah Palmer and Samuel Tart for their research assistance.

1 GIBSON-BANKS CENTER FOR RACE AND THE LAW, https://www.law.umaryland.edu/academics/programs-- centers/gibson-banks-center-for-race-and-the-law/. 2 Founding of Liberia, U.S. STATE DEP'T OFFICE OF THE HISTORIAN, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1830- 1860/liberia (last visited June 18, 2025). 3 Dwight N. Syfert, The Origins of Privilege: Liberian Merchants, 1822-1847, 6 LIBERIAN STUD. J., no. 2, at 109, app'x 127 (1975). 4 Sarah Pruitt, Who Are the Mandinka?, HISTORY (Apr. 15, 2016, updated Jan. 31, 2025), https://www.history.com/articles/who-are-the-mandinka. 5 Id.

mobs and militias who tortured and killed Black men for the alleged safety of the White public.6 Headlines of newspapers across the nation, beginning around the turn-of-the-century, document a frenzy of arrests, attempted lynchings, and murders of purportedly "Black brutes."7.

The state of Maryland alone has hosted at least 44 documented lynchings pursuant to research conducted at the Maryland State Archives, the Equal Justice Initiative, and

Bowie State University.8 This includes the hanging of laborer David Thomas in 1854 to the hanging and mutilation of field worker George Armwood in 1933.9

In listening to the invocation of those killed through racial terror lynchings in Maryland, I was struck by the names of the unknown:

August 1868: an unknown Black man was lynched in Harford County for unidentified reasons.10 The only reference to his murder is mentioned in a newspaper account of other lynchings.11

Dec. 6, 1931: an unknown 35-year-old Black Man was lynched in Salisbury, Wicomico County, and is the second victim of the White mob.12 He was found unrecognizable in blood soaked overalls due to the damage endured by his face and was determined by police to have been attacked on his way home from the grocery store.13

We call in and recognize the named and unnamed ancestors of racial terror lynchings. You were not unknown to your loved ones and those that knew you. We know that there are more unnamed ancestors whose names, lives, and histories do not appear in newspapers, but who nonetheless faced racial terror lynchings directly or indirectly.

In Orlando Patterson's book, Slavery and Social Death,14 Patterson argues that a key aspect of enslavement was being open to the violence of all others.15 Regardless of whether that violence occurred or not, enslaved people nevertheless existed in a state of structural or open

6 Popular and Pervasive Stereotypes of African Americans, SMITHSONIAN NAT'L MUSEUM OF AFRICAN AM. HIST. & CULTURE, https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/popular-and-pervasive-stereotypes-african-americans (last visited June 18, 2025).

7 Id. 8 Lynchings in Maryland, BALT. SUN, https://news.baltimoresun.com/maryland-lynchings/ (last visited June 18, 2025).

9 See id. (documenting at least forty-four lynchings in Maryland between 1854 and 1933, predominantly involving Black male victims denied due process, often depicted in racist terms by contemporary newspapers, and whose killers were rarely held accountable, as compiled by the Maryland State Archives, the Equal Justice Initiative, and Bowie State University); see also Maryland Establishes First Statewide Commission on Racial Terror Lynchings, EQUAL JUST. INITIATIVE (Apr. 22, 2019), https://eji.org/news/maryland-establishes-first-statewide-commission-on racial-terror-lynchings/. 10 Lynchings in Maryland, supra note 1. 11 Id. 12 Id. 13 Id. 14 ORLANDO PATTERSON, SLAVERY AND SOCIAL DEATH: A COMPARATIVE STUDY (2018). 15 Id.

vulnerability, which continues to prevail and morph.16 This gratuitous violence endures with police murders and vigilante killings of Black people.

Indeed, it is significant that we are gathered for this hearing in Baltimore. This is the home of Freddie Gray. Surrounded by peeling walls and windowsills infused with lead, Gray tested positive for concentrations of lead in his blood more than seven times the level that can result in severe brain damage before his second birthday.17 Due to this, he subsisted on "lead checks" that he received from civil lawsuit settlement payments.18 Gray was a caring person, one who would take his girlfriend's young child to school, and sing off-key to make others laugh.19

On April 12, 2015, 25-year old Freddie Gray had a fatal encounter with the police in Baltimore.20 Police officers arrested Gray and put him into a police transport van with his hands and feet shackled without a seatbelt. Gray was subjected to a "rough ride," marked by reckless driving and being thrown around inside a moving vehicle without appropriate

restraints. When the van arrived at the police station, Gray was unconscious.21 Freddie Gray laid in a coma for a week at the University of Maryland's Shock Trauma Center, mere steps from where I work. Freddie Gray died on April 19, 2015.22 According to the autopsy report, Gray endured a fatal spinal cord injury when the driver suddenly decelerated the vehicle, which ultimately caused his death.23 After Gray's murder, Baltimore became ground zero for Black Lives Matter and the racial justice uprising that exploded across this country.

Throughout history, racial terror lynchings have been, and continue to be, a mechanism to convey to Black people that we exist in a regime of violence where our lives are expendable and disposable. Due to this, we routinely have "the talk" with our children, about how to navigate interactions with the police, thinking that this will keep them safe. Yet, we know that our children are subject to anti-Black violence, which is not contingent upon their or our transgressing of some law or norms of respectability.

II. BLACK PEOPLE'S ANTI-LYNCHING RIGHTS CLAIMS

16 Id. 17 David Warnock, Freddie Gray, Kurt Schmoke and Martin O'Malley, WARNOCK FOUND. BLOG, https://warnockfoundation.org/freddie-gray-kurt-schmoke-and-martin-omalley/ (last visited June 18, 2025). 18 Peter Hermann & John Woodrow Cox, A Freddie Gray Primer: Who Was He, How Did He Die, and Why Is There So Much Anger?, WASH. POST (Apr. 28, 2015),

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/local/wp/2015/04/28/a-freddie-gray-primer-who-was-he-how-did-he-whyis-there-so-much-anger/. 19 Peter Hermann, Friends and Neighbors Remember Freddie Gray: He 'Was Our Family,' WASH. POST (Apr. 24, 2015), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/crime/freddie-was-our-family/2015/04/24/662956a2-e9d4-11e4- 9a6a-c1ab95a0600b_story.html. 20 Justin Fenton & Kevin Rector, Freddie Gray: The Death that Shook the City, BALT. SUN (updated June 2, 2019), https://www.baltimoresun.com/2015/12/27/freddie-gray-the-death-that-shook-the-city/. 21 Freddie Gray, STANFORD U. LIBRARIES: SAY THEIR NAMES,

https://exhibits.stanford.edu/saytheirnames/feature/freddie-gray (last visited June 18, 2025). 22 Freddie Gray Dies in Hospital One Week After Arrest in Baltimore, WJZ NEWS (Apr. 19, 2025), https://www.cbsnews.com/baltimore/news/freddie-gray-passes-away-after-being-injured-in-police-custody/. 23 Fenton & Rector, supra note 20.

From Frederick Douglass to Freddie Gray, Black people's claims for the recognition of our humanity and to be free from racial terror are longstanding. Frederick Douglass was born in Talbot County, Maryland in 1818. Douglass' 1845 autobiography, Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, described his time as an enslaved worker in Maryland.24 It was one of five autobiographies he penned in addition to a score of extraordinary speeches. I want to provide some excerpts from the widely anthologized "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?," delivered in 1852, one of the most damning critiques of American hypocrisy ever uttered.

Douglass delivered this speech to the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Rochester, New York, speaking on July 5, the day after Independence Day (something Douglass had insisted upon), and before a predominantly White audience. Douglass explained:25

"What, am I to argue that it is wrong to make men brutes, to rob them of their liberty, to work them without wages, to keep them ignorant of their relations to their fellow men, to beat them with sticks, to flay their flesh with the lash, to load their limbs with irons, to hunt them with dogs, to sell them at auction, to sunder their families, to knock out their teeth, to burn their flesh, to starve them into obedience and submission to their masters? Must I argue that a system thus marked with blood, and stained with pollution, is wrong? No! I

will not. I have better employments for my time and strength than such arguments would imply. What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. . . There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices, more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States, at this very hour."

This powerful speech is an example of how Black peoples asserted their rights. Because Black peoples generally did not historically have meaningful access to lawmaking apparatus at the national or international levels, they expressed their human rights concepts in other ways, via resistance, speeches, and literature. It is my hope that my forthcoming book with Cambridge University Press, There Were Black People in the Past: Reclaiming Our Time in Human Rights, will help to illuminate how African descendent peoples asserted human rights early and often, not merely as subjects in need of others (like White Saviors) to come save them.

Certainly, the agency of continental and diasporic African peoples is hidden in plain sight. For instance, Black peoples made explicitly transnational and international rights claims in texts such as the 1920 Declaration of the Rights of Negro Peoples of the World, articulated by the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), where 25,000 members gathered in Harlem, NY and produced an important statement of principles. The Declaration denounces racial terror and violence. For instance, the preamble asserts that "In certain parts of the United States of America our race is denied the right of public trial accorded to other races when accused of

24 FREDERICK DOUGLASS, NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS, AN AMERICAN SLAVE (1845). 25 Frederick Douglass, What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July? (July 5, 1852), in FREDERICK DOUGLASS: SELECTED SPEECHES AND WRITINGS (Philip S. Foner ed., 1999), available online at

https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/what-to-the-slave-is-the-fourth-of-july-4/.

crime, but are lynched and burned by mobs, and such brutal and inhuman treatment is even practiced upon our women." 26 Article 17 stipulates that "lynching, by burning, hanging or any other means, of human beings is a barbarous practice and a shame and disgrace to civilization," and declares "any country guilty of such atrocities outside the pale of civilization." Article 20 protests "against segregated districts, separate public conveyances, industrial discrimination, lynchings and limitations of political privileges of any Negro citizen in any part of the world on account of race, color or creed," and asserts that we "will exert our full influence and power against all such."

Moreover, several resolutions from the Pan-African Congresses passed between the 1900s to 1940s condemn racial terror and lynchings. For instance, in 1923, the Third Pan-African Congress held in London and Lisbon noted that lynching and mob law in the U.S. should be suppressed.27 Similarly, during the Fourth Pan-African Congress, racial terror lynchings and violence were an issue raised amongst the representatives assembled in New York City in August of 1927, with representatives from twenty American States, nearly all of the West Indies Islands, from Germany, Japan, India, South America, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Liberia, and South Africa. The attending parties adopted a resolution to express the legitimate aims and needs of the peoples of Negro descent. The United States was singled out for its lynching, segregation, and mob violence that continued to damage the Black population, and the Pan-African Congress urged Black Americans to utilize any political power they had to form unions and start making change.28 These and other examples illustrate how Black peoples, social movements, and civil society groups articulated normative anti-lynching rights and other claims in resolutions long before any prohibition was formally enacted legally. These and other rights assertions from Black peoples are meaningful to excavate because they help us to reconfigure how we think

about law-making, how we evaluate sources, and how we engage with legal regimes that often refused to recognize our humanity. Indeed, here in the United States, according to the Equal Justice Institute's Legacy Museum between 1882 and 1968, two hundred anti-lynching bills were introduced into the United States Congress, but none were enacted. The 1922 bill passed the House, but failed in the Senate after a filibuster from southern senators. Lynching only became legally prohibited in 2022 in the United States with the passage of the Emmett Till Antilynching Act.29

Consequently, we must be careful to not merely focus on how and why the powerful enacted various rights into law domestically, or regionally, and internationally in treaties and custom.30

26 Universal Negro Improvement Ass'n, Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World, art. 17 (Aug. 13, 1920), https://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5122/. 27 Letter from W.E.B. Du Bois to the Editor of African World, The Third Pan-African Caucus (1923), https://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b020-i438. 28 Resolutions Passed by Pan-African Congress, N.Y. AMSTERDAM NEWS (Aug. 26, 1927), ProQuest Newspapers. 29 Emmett Till Antilynching Act, Pub. L. No. 117-107 (2022). 30 RESTATEMENT (THIRD) OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS LAW OF THE UNITED STATES §102 cmt. f (Am. L. Inst. 1987) (Treaties are international agreements that "creates obligations binding between the parties under international law."). A bi-lateral treaty is an agreement between two states. While multilateral treaties are "agreements open to all states, [that] are increasingly used for general legislation, whether to make new law, as in human rights . . . or for codifying and developing customary law. Id.; see id. § 102(2) (defining customary international law as law that "results from a general and consistent practice of states followed by them from a sense of legal obligation"). It goes on to stipulate that complete consistency is not required. Restatement (Third) of the Foreign Relations Law of the United States §102 cmt. f. Relevant state practice should include the conduct of all states which can participate in the

Doing so would obscure how international law entrenched the subaltern positions of many Black, Indigenous, and other peoples who lack(ed) law-making power nationally, regionally, or internationally and were (are) not able to easily translate their rights priorities into law at the global level. For instance, today the main international human rights instruments are conspicuously silent on the prohibition against lynching.31 When the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights states generally that "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life,"32 or the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination stipulates the "right to security of person and protection by the State against violence or bodily harm, whether inflicted by government officials or by any individual group or institution,"33 something profoundly important is lost in translating and capturing the particularized scope, content, and contours of the harms central to enslavement, racial terror lynchings, and the anti Blackness undergirding them, as well as their enduring legacies and afterlives.

III. REPARATIONS LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Notwithstanding the lack of an explicit reference to "lynching," in international human rights law, it is clear that such acts violate the inherent right to life34 and call for accounting, repairing, and healing. There are multiple bases of support for providing reparations to victims of racial terror lynchings and their descendants in international law. Traditionally, international reparation law concerned restitution or compensation from one State to another. Under customary international law, an international breach involves an obligation to make reparations in adequate form.35 The International Law Commission (ILC) outlined the Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts. Under article 31, States are "under an obligation to make full reparation for the injury caused by the internationally wrongful act" and "injury includes any damage, whether material or moral."36 Additionally,

the "responsible State may not rely on the provisions of its internal law as justification for failure to comply with its obligations."37 The ILC also stipulates that "full reparation for the injury caused by the internationally wrongful act shall take the form of restitution, compensation and satisfaction, either singly or in

formulation of the rule and especially reflect the interests of states which are specifically affected. Id. State practice should reflect wide acceptance among the states particularly involved in the relevant activity that is to be regulated. Id. This is another doctrinal device that makes fundamental change of custom by newer states difficult. 31 See, e.g., G.A. Res. 2200A (XXI), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), (Dec. 16, 1966);

International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, art. 5(e) (iv), Dec. 21, 1965, 660 U.N.T.S. 195 [hereinafter CERD]. (note both treaties do not contain the word lynch, or close analogs). 32 ICCPR supra note 31, at art. 6(1). 33 CERD supra note 31, at art. 5(b). 34 ICCPR supra note 31, at art. 6(1). 35 Chorzow Factory Case, Permanent Court of International Justice (holding that where restitution cannot be provided to the wronged state, then the wrongdoer should be required to compensate up to the level of the value attributed to whatever was lost, including loss of profit). 1927 P.C.I.J. (ser. A) No. 9. This principle has been reaffirmed in several cases. See, e.g., Mavrommatis Palestine Case, Permanent Court of International Justice (finding that only states are subjects in the international legal order, so wrongs done to foreign individuals were in actuality inflicted on the state of nationality and states were only ones initially able to bring claims). 1924 P.C.I.J. (ser. A), No. 2. However, there has been a shift in emphasis from the protection of aliens abroad and their property to the protection of individual human rights. See, e.g., Construction of a Wall, Advisory Opinion, 2004 I.C.J. 136 (July 9) (finding that Israel was under an obligation to provide reparations to the Palestinians for damages sustained due to the illegal wall built).

36 Int'l L. Comm'n, Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts, U.N. Doc. A/56/49(Vol. I)/Corr. 4. 37 Id. art. 32.

combination."38 Restitution entails an effort to reestablish the situation which existed before the wrongful act was committed, unless it is "materially impossible" or involves "a burden out of all proportion to the benefit deriving from restitution instead of compensation."39 Compensation is a

more widely used form of reparation and is used where restitution cannot be provided and the wrongdoer is required to compensate up to the level of the value attributed to whatever was lost, including lost profits.40 Per the ILC, satisfaction is required where the injury cannot be made good by restitution or compensation, it "may consist in an acknowledgement of the breach, an expression of regret, a formal apology or another appropriate modality," but cannot involve humiliating the responsible State. 41 This form of providing reparations is aimed at addressing moral damage such as emotional injury, mental suffering, injury to reputation, and similar damage suffered by affected individuals and communities.

A significant shift in the international legal framework for reparations has led to the recognition of the necessity of State to individual and State to society reparations. States have an obligation to provide reparations when they have committed serious violations of human rights, especially when the effects of those violations are ongoing. For example, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) stipulates that, "everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental human rights granted him by the constitution or by law."42 Thus, in addition to international customary law, international human rights law also provides an obligation of repair for the harms of racial terror lynchings.

While some human rights treaties tend to focus more on prompt, adequate, and effective compensation for reparations, others emphasize restitution and/or satisfaction. For example, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, provides that "Anyone who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or detention shall have an enforceable right to compensation."43 Additionally, the Convention Against Torture imposes on parties the obligation to ensure in its legal system that "the victim of an act of torture obtains redress and has an enforceable right to fair and adequate compensation, including the means for as full a rehabilitation as possible," and "in the event of the death of the victim as a result of an act of torture, his dependents shall be entitled to compensation."44 Moreover, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination provides for effective protection and remedies, including the right to seek "just and adequate reparation or satisfaction for any damage suffered as a result of such discrimination."45 Further, the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance affirms that "the victims of enforced disappearance have the right

38 Id. art. 34. 39 Id. art. 35. 40 Id. art. 36. 41 Id. art. 37. 42 G.A. Res. 217 (III) A, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, art. 8 (Dec. 10, 1948). 43 ICCPR supra note 31, at art. 9(5). See also id. art. 14(6) (anyone wrongful convicted, the "person who has suffered punishment as a result of such conviction shall be compensated according to law"). 44 G.A. Res. 39/46, Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, Art. 14 (Dec. 10, 1984). 45 CERD supra note 31, at art. 6.

to obtain reparation and prompt, fair and adequate compensation."46 This Convention also specifies that the right to reparation covers material and moral damages and includes restitution, rehabilitation, satisfaction, including restoration of dignity and reputation, and guarantees of non repetition.47 These international treaties are of particular relevance to the victims of racial terror lynchings and their descendants. The United States is also a State party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention Against Torture, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.48

There are several other international sources on reparations that are relevant for the victims of racial terror lynchings and their descendants. For example, the Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power defines victims of crime as "persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that are in violation of criminal laws operative within Member States."49 Certainly racial terror lynchings constitute murder under Maryland state criminal law,50 even if such acts were not prosecuted at the time.51 Under the Declaration, victims of crime are entitled to fair restitution from offenders or third parties, which includes "their families or dependents. Such restitution should include the return of property or payment for the harm or loss suffered, reimbursement of expenses incurred as a result of the victimization, the provision of services and the restoration of rights."52 Additionally, where "public officials or other agents acting in an official or quasi-official capacity have violated national criminal laws, the victims should receive restitution from the State whose officials or agents were responsible for the harm inflicted."53 Where compensation is not fully available from the offender or others, States should provide financial compensation to "victims who have sustained significant bodily injury or impairment of physical or mental health as a result of serious crimes," and the family, and dependents "of persons who have died or become physically or mentally incapacitated as a result of such victimization."54 The Declaration encourages the "establishment, strengthening and expansion of national funds for compensation to victims."55 It also provides that victims should receive the "necessary material, medical, psychological and social assistance through governmental, voluntary, community-based and indigenous means."56

Furthermore, the United Nations General Assembly in 2005 adopted the Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of

46 G.A. Res. 61/177, International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, Art. 24(4) (Dec. 20, 2006). 47 Id. art. 24(5). 48 U.S. Treaty Reports, https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/reports/treaties/index.htm.

49G.A. Res. 40/34, Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power, principle 1 (Nov. 29, 1985). 50 MD. CODE ANN., CRIM. § 2-201(a) (1) (2024) ("A murder is in the first degree if it is: a deliberate, premeditated, and willful killing;"). This definition of murder is akin to a lynching see infra note 51. 51 See 2019 Md. Laws ch. 41, pmbl. (defining lynching as "the extralegal murder of an individual in an act of mob violence, [and] is a violation of the rights to due process and equal protection of the law"). 52 Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power supra note 49 at principle 8. 53 Id. principle 11. 54 Id. principle 12. 55 Id. principle 13. 56 Id. principle 14.

International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law ("Basic Principles and Guidelines"). 57 This framework consolidates existing rights in international customary and treaty law and best practices within the United Nations human rights system and is relevant for racial terror lynchings. The Declaration outlines five recognized forms of reparations, including restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction, and guarantees of non-repetition.58 Restitution aims to "restore the victim to the original situation before the gross violations of international human rights law or serious violations of international humanitarian law occurred."59 Compensation entails payment for "economically assessable damage," including physical and mental harm, lost social benefits, material damage, moral damage, and costs incurred."60 Rehabilitation includes the provision of "medical and psychological care as well as legal and social services."61

Satisfaction is a wide-ranging element of reparations and remedies. Where appropriate, the Declaration stipulates that satisfaction may encompass measures aimed "at the cessation of continuing violations," "verification of the facts and full and public disclosure of the truth," provided this does not cause more harm to victims; searching "for the whereabouts of the disappeared," and "assistance in the recovery, identification and reburial of the bodies in accordance with the expressed or presumed wish of the victims, or the cultural practices of the families and communities;" an "official declaration or a judicial decision restoring the dignity, the reputation and the rights of the victim and of persons closely connected with the victim;" as well as a public "apology, including acknowledgement of the facts and acceptance of responsibility;" and judicial "and administrative sanctions against persons liable for the violations;" commemorations "and tributes to the victims;" and also encompasses, "an accurate account of the violations that occurred in international human rights law and international humanitarian law training and in educational material at all levels."62

Lastly, the Declaration defines guarantees of non-repetition to also involve wide-range of measures including: "effective civilian control of military and security forces;" for "all civilian and military proceedings abide by international standards of due process, fairness and impartiality;" strengthening "the independence of the judiciary;" protecting "persons in the legal, medical and health-care professions, the media and other related professions, and human rights defenders;" providing "human rights and international humanitarian law education to all sectors of society and training for law enforcement officials as well as military and security forces;" as well as promoting "the observance of codes of conduct and ethical norms, in particular international standards, by public servants, including law enforcement, correctional, media, medical, psychological, social service

and military personnel, as well as by economic enterprises;" also promoting "mechanisms for preventing and monitoring social conflicts and their resolution;" and "reviewing and reforming laws contributing to or allowing gross violations

57 G.A. Res. 60/147, Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law, U.N. Doc. A/RES/60/147 (Mar. 21, 2006). 58 Id. at principle 18. 59 Id. at principle 19. 60 Id. at principle 20. 61 Id. at principle 21. 62 Id. at principle 22.

of international human rights law and serious violations of international humanitarian law."63 The Basic Principles and Guidelines while note exhaustive, are helpful as they help clarify the contours of reparations and provide a foundation for evaluating different reparations mechanisms.

IV. COMPARATIVE EXAMPLES OF REPARATIONS FOR HISTORICAL VIOLENCE

There are several global precedents for remedying historical violence that may be useful to the Commission. New Zealand, Canada, and Australia are instructive global examples of States initiating reparations programs for historical wrongdoing. Reparations programs can involve a mixture of material and individually oriented programs where the compensation comes from governments, trust funds, and/or from the offender, and are paid to individuals through cash payments, pensions, social welfare entitlements, and other methods. Reparations programs can also be material and group oriented, where the government for example guarantees political representation, structural and legal reforms, access to education, or employment opportunities. Additionally, reparations programs can be non-material and individually oriented where the government issues a personal official apology, or there is a personal apology from an offender. Also, reparations programs can entail non-material and group oriented benefits, such as official public apologies, public memorials, days of remembrance, social integration, and cultural re education programs, revision of public history and school textbooks to name a few. The sub-sections below provide a brief summary of national and sub-national reparations programs for remedying historical violence, which were primarily material and non-material group oriented reparations programs.

A. New Zealand

Beginning in 1995, years after the British colonized the Māori, the indigenous Polynesian people of New Zealand's lands, leaving their people with poor housing, minimal opportunities for future success, and substandard wealth compared to their counterparts, Britain started to take accountability for some of their harmful actions against the Māori.64 Britain is compensating Māori tribes billions of dollars, returning land that was previously stolen, and publicly apologizing, in an effort to redress some of the harm they caused.65 New Zealand's reparations program is providing billions of dollars to Māori tribes, which is being utilized by tribes to restore their relationship with the land and to invest into fundamental programs to ensure the security and stability of their future through healthcare programs, education programs, and business opportunities.66

According to findings from a Royal Commission, there were approximately 650,000 children forcibly put into institutional care between 1950 and 2019.67 During this nearly 70 year

63 Id. at 23. 64 Fabiola Cineas, What It Took to Get Reparations in New Zealand, VOX (Dec. 15, 2022), https://www.vox.com/videos/2022/12/15/23504533/new-zealand-reparations-maori-british-crown. 65 Id. 66 Id. 67 Charlotte Graham-McLay, Inquiry Finds 200,000 People Were Abused in Care in New Zealand over Decades in 'National Disgrace,'

ASSOC. PRESS (July 24, 2024), https://apnews.com/article/new-zealand-abuse-catholic-church foster-care-8205b789d5271ea4633edada19f860ae.

period, approximately a third of those children were psychologically, sexually, and physically abused, many of whom were Māori.68 The Commission made recommendations for reforms, including official apologies from state and church leaders, investigating disappeared priests accused of abuse within New Zealand, renaming streets and monuments currently named after abusers, providing legal reform, and offering monetary reparations based on each survivor's lifetime harm.69 Notwithstanding these recommendations, nothing concrete has yet to materialize from the New Zealand government besides apologizing for decades of wrongdoing toward those children.70

B. Canada

Additionally, in 2007, Canada agreed to pay $2 billion to Indigenous peoples in reparation for past "cultural genocide."71 The reparations program was the result of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, which is the largest class-action settlement72 in Canadian history. Canada's Truth & Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established as part of the settlement agreement in order to facilitate reconciliation among former students, their families, their communities, and all Canadians.73 Between 2007 and 2015, Canada's government provided about $72 million to the TRC, allowing them to travel all over Canada and speak to over 6,500 witnesses.74 The TRC created a historical record of the residential schools system, for which the Government of Canada provided over 5 million records.75 Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission provided some space for community testimony, national acknowledgment, and policy change.76

As of 2023, the cost of claims approved is $27.8 billion in payments to individuals and $31.9 billion to organizations, and promises of improved services.77 The Canadian government also announced plans to work with leaders of First Nations, the Métis Nation, Inuit, provinces and territories, parties to the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement, and other key partners to design a national engagement strategy for developing and implementing a national reconciliation framework.78 Other calls to action from the commission include respecting

68 Id. 69 Id. 70 Sarah Shamim, Why New Zealand's PM Has Apologised to 200,000 Abused in State Care, AL JAZEERA (Nov. 13, 2024), https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/11/13/why-new-zealands-pm-has-apologised-to-200000-abused-in state-care. 71 Id.; TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION OF CANADA, FINAL REPORT, https://www.rcaanc cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1450124405592/1529106060525 [hereinafter CANADA, FINAL REPORT]. 72 Ian Austen, Canada Settles $2 Billion Suit over 'Cultural Genocide' at Residential Schools, N.Y. Times (Jan. 21, 2023), https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/21/canada-indigenous-settlement.html. 73 Canada, Assembly of First Nations and Inuit Representatives, and General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada et al., Settlement Agreement, Schedule N (May 8, 2006),

https://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/SCHEDULE_N.pdf. 74 CANADA, FINAL REPORT, supra note 71. 75 CANADA, FINAL REPORT, supra note 71. 76 Id. 77 Tom Flanagan, Commentary: Canadian Taxpayers Not Consulted About Massive Reparations to First Nations People, WESTERN STANDARD (May 26, 2023), reprinted at FRASER INST.,

https://www.fraserinstitute.org/commentary/canadian-taxpayers-not-consulted-about-massive-reparations-first nations-people. 78 Id.

indigenous people's wishes regarding child care and family services, supporting the maintaining of Indigenous languages, establishing an independent and Indigenous-led

council to help advance reconciliation, and efforts to locate, document, and memorialize Indigenous burial sites.79

C. Australia

Australia also provides several generative examples of reparations for historical wrongdoing. For instance, the Government of South Australia created an $11 million Stolen Generations Reparations Scheme in 2015, allowing for reparations to be made and for those affected by Stolen Generations policies to heal through sharing their stories.80 The Individual Reparations Scheme cost $6 million and "provided ex-gratia payments to Aboriginal people who are eligible for reparations under the policy criteria of the scheme." Three years later, eligible applicants received payments of $20,000, with the potential for an additional $10,000 to be arranged, which was made possible due to the unspent money from the Stolen Generations Community Reparations Fund. Through the $5 million originally allocated to this Fund, less than $2 million was used in proposals dedicated to providing support to help members of the Aboriginal communities in healing from the grief and pain they endured.

Additionally, in March of 2021, the state of Victoria announced that it would be establishing the Yoorrook Justice Commission, a partnership led by experts and assisted by the community to investigate the centuries of unjust discrimination and violence that Aboriginal Victorians had to endure.81 A summit of Indigenous leaders recommended not only actively listening to Aboriginal community members, but also taking meaningful actions in order to uplift their voices.82

Moreover, eight years following the establishment of the Stolen Generations Reparations Scheme, Australia pledged the addition of $300 million in funding for improving the livelihood of Indigenous people.83 The government determined to pay reparations by providing AU$150 million across four years to ensure access to clean drinking water within Outback Indigenous communities and by investing AU$22 million across five years to help combat family violence, a significant investment as Indigenous women and children disproportionately faced higher rates of domestic violence than their other Australian counterparts.84

These examples of comparative experiences with reparations illustrate both the urgency of redress, demonstrate some practical pathways, and also provide some non-models for

79 Id. 80 Stolen Generations Reparations Scheme, GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA,

https://www.agd.sa.gov.au/aboriginal-affairs-and-reconciliation/reconciliation/stolen-generations-reparations scheme (last visited June 18, 2025). 81 James Merlino, Gabrielle Williams, Geraldine Atkinson & Marcus Stewart, Joint Statement on Victoria's Truth and Justice Process, VICTORIA STATE GOV'T (Mar. 9, 2021), https://www.premier.vic.gov.au/joint-statement victorias-truth-and-justice-process. 82 Id. 83 Rod McGuirk, Australia Adds $300 Million in Funding for Indigenous Pledge, PBS (Feb. 13, 2023), https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/australia-adds-300-million-in-funding-for-indigenous-pledge. 84 Id.

meaningful reparative action for racial terror lynchings in Maryland that the Commission should be attentive to.

V. DOMESTIC EXAMPLES OF REPARATIONS FOR HISTORICAL VIOLENCE

A. Governmental Initiatives

1. Federal Government

One of the most notable historical examples of reparations in the United States, is when the government paid Japanese Americans reparations. During World War II, after Japan bombed Pearl Harbor in 1941, the United States Government forcibly relocated approximately 120,000 people of Japanese descent, many of whom were citizens, to internment camps. Many decades later, former U.S. President Ronald Reagan signed the 1988 Civil Liberties Act, which included a formal apology and between $20,000 to over $80,000 to individual survivors of these internment camps.

Significantly, the United States Government has not provided reparations for slavery to the enslaved nor descendants of the enslaved, one of the worst crimes against humanity in history.85 None of the objectives of reparations - restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction, or guarantees of non-repetition, were achieved for the enslaved and their descendants. Infamously in 1862, President Abraham Lincoln signed the District of Columbia Compensated Emancipation Act.86 This Act required the immediate emancipation of enslaved people in exchange for $300 for every freed person, which was payable to former owners of enslaved people.87 Within a year, 930 petitions for compensation were completely or partially approved, resulting in the freedom of nearly 3,000 enslaved people.88 The Act also authorized the payment of $100 to formerly enslaved persons, but only if they accepted the condition of being willing to repatriate to Africa.89

Moreover, the Emancipation Proclamation, Field Order No. 15 signed by General William Sherman, and approved by President Lincoln, notoriously set aside 400,000 acres along the southeastern coast that had been confiscated from Confederate landowners, and promised each formerly enslaved family a mule to help them provide for themselves as newly freed

85 Juste Chanlatte, Avis, GAZETTE ROYALE D'HAYTI, May 7, 1807 (Haitian statesman and journalist Juste Chanlatte writing about the Spanish and Portuguese creation of the Transatlantic trade in enslaved persons, that "They were a fierce people who dared to teach others to tolerate such a crime of lèse-humanité!"). The World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance in September 2001 also noted in its final

declaration that: "We further acknowledge that slavery and the slave trade are a crime against humanity and should always have been so, especially the trans-Atlantic slave trade." 86 D.C. Compensated Emancipation Act, 37th Cong., 2d Sess. (Apr. 16, 1863),

https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/DCEmancipationAct.pdf. 87 The Civil War: The Senate's Story, U.S. SENATE,

https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/civil_war/DCEmancipationAct_FeaturedDoc.htm. 88 Id. 89 The District of Columbia Emancipation Act, NAT'L ARCHIVES, https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured documents/dc-emancipation-act (last visited June 18, 2025).

people.90 Thousands settled on the land, but three months after the order was signed, President Lincoln was assassinated. His successor, President Andrew Johnson, overturned the order, leaving most of the newly freed with nothing. To this day, the promise has never been fulfilled or officially addressed by the United States Government. The sub-sections below provide a brief overview of the range of local and state level reparations programs in the United States for historical violence.

2. Florida

While the Federal Government has yet to issue formal reparations for slavery or racial violence, the state of Florida stands out as an early example of a modicum of state-level

redress. In 1993, the Florida Legislature commissioned a study of the 1923 Rosewood massacre, wherein a violent White mob attacked a prosperous Black town. The Rosewood Massacre resulted in the deaths of dozens of Black residents and the complete destruction of Rosewood by fire.91

The findings of that investigation informed a historic reparations bill, which was signed into law on May 4, 1994.92 Subsequently, Florida became one of the earliest U.S. states to enact direct reparations for descendants of enslaved peoples and victims of racial violence. Under the legislation, each of the nine identified survivors of the massacre received $150,000 in compensation. An additional $500,000 was appropriated for property loss claims by descendants of Rosewood families.

The bill also established a scholarship program for both the descendants of Rosewood residents and eligible minority students throughout Florida. Each year, up to fifty students may receive awards of up to $6,100. The destruction of Rosewood, Florida and the limited reparations program enacted, underscores the urgent need for comprehensive reparative strategies.93

3. Illinois

Illinois has several initiatives aimed at addressing its history of racial violence. For example, it formed a Commission on Police Torture to investigate historic cases of police abuse under Commander Jon Burge in Chicago. The Commission determined eligibility for judicial review and potential reparations for survivors of state violence.94 The Illinois Torture Inquiry and Relief Commission (TIRC) was created by statute in 2009 to address the problem of coerced confessions by the Chicago Police Department.95 Over 120 people, predominantly African American men, were tortured from 1972-1991. Approximately, “four of ten torture survivors on death row had sentences overturned” and as “of 2016, twenty Burge torture survivors have been

90 Barton Myers, Sherman’s Field Order No. 15, NEW GEORGIA ENCYCLOPEDIA (updated Sept. 30, 2020), https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/shermans-field-order-no-15/. 91 Equal Justice Initiative, On This Day – Jan 05, 1923: White Mob Destroys Black Community of Rosewood, Florida, A HISTORY OF RACIAL INJUSTICE , https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/jan/05 (last visited June 18, 2025).

92 H.R. 591, 1994 Leg., Reg. Sess. (Fla. 1994) (enacted). 93 Office of Student Fin. Assistance, Rosewood Family Scholarship Fact Sheet (2024–25), FLA. DEP’T OF EDUC., https://www.floridastudentfinancialaidsg.org/PDF/factsheets/Rosewood.pdf (last visited June 18, 2025). 94 ILL. TORTURE INQUIRY & RELIEF COMMISSION, https://tirc.illinois.gov/. 95 Id.

released from prison and exonerated on the basis of their innocence.”96 Reportedly, “other victims served their sentences, but continue to suffer the stigma of wrongful convictions” and “at least twenty individuals remain incarcerated as a result of convictions, based in whole or in part upon their coerced confessions.”97

Chicago is the first city in the U.S. to provide reparations for racially motivated police violence. In May 2015, following pressure from community organizers, Chicago City Council passed a Reparations Ordinance for the Burge police torture survivors and their family members. The ordinance provided for several things: a formal apology from the mayor; a Chicago Police Torture Reparations Commission responsible for administering financial reparations to the torture survivors; a center on the south side of Chicago to provide psychological counseling, health care services, and vocational training to the torture survivors and family members and others affected by law enforcement torture and

abuse; provision for all torture survivors and their family members be allowed to enroll in City Colleges and receive their education and degree for free; recommendation for the Chicago Public School system to incorporate into its curriculum a history lesson about the Chicago Police torture cases and the struggles to hold those accountable and to seek reparations for the survivors and affected family members; the creation of public memorials that memorialize the Chicago Police Torture survivors and the struggle for justice on their behalf; and a minimum of $20 million commitment to finance these initiatives, as well as the stripping of Jon Burge's pension.98As of 2020, survivors were still waiting for the public memorial to be completed.99

Additionally, in June 2019, the Evanston City Council adopted Resolution 58-R-19, to express the city's "Commitment to End Structural Racism and Achieve Racial Equity."100 Evanston also adopted Resolution 126-R-19, in November 2019, "Establishing the City of Evanston Reparations Fund and the Reparations Subcommittee."101 This resolution committed the first ten million dollars ($10,000,000.00) of the City's Municipal Cannabis Retailers' Occupation Tax (3% on gross sales of cannabis) to fund local reparations for housing and economic development programs for Black Evanston residents.102 Moreover, in November 2020, the City Council codified a new Reparations Committee.103 Evanston's reparations program is aimed primarily at redressing housing discrimination because "between 1919 and 1969, the city

96 History of Chicago's Reparations Movement, CHICAGO TORTURE JUSTICE CENTER,

https://www.chicagotorturejustice.org/history (last visited July 28, 2025). 97 Id. 98 The Reparations Ordinance, CHICAGO TORTURE JUSTICE MEMORIALS,

https://chicagotorture.org/reparations/ordinance/ (last visited July 28, 2025). 99 Logan Jaffe, The Nation's First Reparations Package to Survivors of Police Torture Included a Public Memorial, Survivors Are Still Waiting, PRO PUBLICA (July 3, 2020), https://www.propublica.org/article/the-nations-first reparations-package-to-survivors-of-police-torture-included-a-public-memorial-survivors-are-still-waiting. 100 EVANSTON, ILL., RESOLUTION 58-R-19 (2019), https://www.cityofevanston.org/home/showpublisheddocument/49061/636961168761670000 101 EVANSTON, ILL., RESOLUTION 126-R-19 (2019),

https://www.cityofevanston.org/home/showpublisheddocument/90573/638249272128130000. 102 Id. 103 Reparations Committee, CITY OF EVANSTON, https://www.cityofevanston.org/government/boards-commissions and-committees/reparations-committee (last visited July 29, 2025).

allowed zoning ordinances to segregate residents along racial lines."104 Accordingly, the reparations program is structured to provide housing benefits such as mortgage assistance or home infrastructure improvement, or to fund direct cash payments.105

Furthermore, in 2022, Illinois became the second state in the United States to establish a commission to provide reparations for African American descendants of slavery. The African Descent-Citizens Reparations Commission (ADCRC) was created to: develop and implement measures to ensure equity, equality, and parity for African American descendants of slavery; hold hearings to discuss the implementation of these measures; educate the public on reparations; report its findings to the General Assembly; preserve African American neighborhoods and communities; build and develop vocational centers for People of African Descent; ensure proportional economic representation in all State contracts; and to create and enforce an Illinois Slavery Era Disclosure Bill.106 The Commission's work is ongoing at the time of writing in July 2025.

4. California

Notably, in 2020, with the enactment of Assembly Bill No. 3121, California became the first state in the nation to create a task force to study and develop reparation proposals for Black people. The Task Force's mandate covered the history of institutions that engaged in racial discrimination and carried out harmful practices against Black people throughout the United States, beginning in 1619.107 In addition to recommendations on how to educate the public regarding the Task Force's findings, the bill charged the Task Force with recommending "appropriate remedies" that accord with international law and standards on reparations.

The Task Force issued its final report on June 23, 2023, setting forth hundreds of recommendations for repairing harm from racism. Following the report, California's Legislative Black Caucus introduced 14 reparations bills addressing issues such as education, criminal justice, and civil rights.108 In 2024, the California Governor, Gavin Newsom, vetoed a bill that aimed at providing reparations to Black families so that they could reclaim or be compensated for property that was unjustly taken by the government.109 In addition, members of the Black Caucus blocked a bill to create a reparations agency that would have reviewed claims,110 and another bill that would have established and seeded a reparations fund which could gather public

104 Jane Agler, "Equity, Equality and Parity": Illinois' Road to Reparations Explained, 5CHICAGO (July 25, 2024), https://www.nbcchicago.com/news/local/illinois-reparations-explained/3500561/. 105 Evanston Local Reparations, CITY OF EVANSTON, https://www.cityofevanston.org/government/city council/reparations (last visited July 29, 2025). 106 20 ILL. COMP. STAT. ANN. 405/405-540. 107 2020 Cal. Stat. ch 319. 108 TASK FORCE TO STUDY AND DEVELOP REPARATION PROPOSALS FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS, THE CALIFORNIA REPARATIONS REPORT (2023), https://oag.ca.gov/ab3121/report. 109 Associated Press, Gavin Newsom Vetoes Bill to Help Black Families Reclaim Land for Being "Impossible to Implement," NBC NEWS (Sept. 26, 2024), https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/california-gov-gavin-newsom vetoes-bill-help-black-families-reclaim-la-rcna172882. 110 California American Freedman Affairs Agency, S.B. 1403 (Cal. 2023-2024),

https://calmatters.digitaldemocracy.org/bills/ca_202320240sb1403.

and private donations.111 One of the bills that passed in 2024 called for an official state apology from California for its role in slavery, which has since been issued.112 The other bills that passed do not go far enough in remedying the harm done to peoples of African descent in California. For instance, measures passed include improving protections against hair discrimination for athletes,113 combatting the banning of books in state prisons,114 and providing advance notice when grocery stores or drug stores close.115

5. Tulsa, Oklahoma

Another prominent example of attempting to repair a history of racial violence in the United States, is Tulsa, Oklahoma. In 1921, the Tulsa Race Massacre took place after a rumor spread about a Black man allegedly assaulting a White woman in an elevator. Mobs of White people in the city lashed out violently at the Black community - shooting and burning down entire neighborhoods. The official death count from the massacre was thirty-six, but some historians estimate that the number could be as high as 300.116 On June 1, 2021, following the 100th anniversary of the Tulsa Race Massacre, Mayor G.T. Bynum of Tulsa, issued a formal apology for the city's role in the massacre. In his apology, Bynum acknowledged the city's failure to act, the injustice suffered by the Black community in Greenwood, and the city's role in allowing violence to occur and continue without governmental assistance.117

On August 1, 2024, Bynum issued an executive order establishing the Beyond Apology Commission.118 This commission was tasked with developing a reparations plan for the victims and descendants of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre. The executive order emphasizes advancing economic mobility, prosperity, and intergenerational wealth for survivors, their descendants, and residents of North Tulsa, particularly in the historic Greenwood District. The commission is responsible for: (a) reviewing and studying reports from the Tulsa Race Riot, such as the annually updated Tulsa Equality Indicators Report, for foundational information, (b) producing annual goals and objectives to be submitted to the Mayor of Tulsa, (c) providing regular updates to various associated stakeholder groups and attaining help from experts, and (d) conducting

111 The Fund for Reparations and Reparative Justice, S.B. 1331 (Cal. 2023-2024),

https://calmatters.digitaldemocracy.org/bills/ca_202320240sb1331. 112 STATE OF CALIFORNIA, CALIFORNIA APOLOGY FOR THE PERPETRATION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY, WITH SPECIAL CONSIDERATION FOR AFRICAN SLAVES AND THEIR DESCENDANTS (Sept. 26, 2024), https://www.gov.ca.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/9.26.24-California-Apology.pdf. 113 Discrimination: Race: Hairstyles, A.B. 1815 (Cal. 2023-2024), https://calmatters.digitaldemocracy.org/bills/ca_202320240ab1815

114 State Prisons: Banned Books, A.B. 1986 (Cal. 2023-2024),

https://calmatters.digitaldemocracy.org/bills/ca_202320240ab1986. 115 Food and Prescription Access: Grocery and Pharmacy Closures, S.B. 1089 (Cal. 2023-2024), https://calmatters.digitaldemocracy.org/bills/ca_202320240sb1089. 116 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre, HISTORY, https://www.history.com/articles/tulsa-race-massacre#What-Was-the Tulsa-Race-Massacre (last visited June 18, 2025). 117 Chris Polansky, Bynum Apologizes for Massacre on Behalf of City, Supports 'Discussion' on Reparations, KWGS PUBLIC RADIO TULSA (May 31, 2021), https://www.publicradiotulsa.org/local-regional/2021-05-31/bynum apologizes-for-massacre-on-behalf-of-city-supports-discussion-on-reparations. 118 Press Release, City of Tulsa, Mayor Issues Executive Order Creating Beyond Apology Commission (Aug. 1, 2024), https://cityoftulsa.org/press-room/mayor-issues-executive-order-creating-beyond-apology-commission/.

information gathering activities like research and interviews to ensure all information is regularly updated.119 At the time of writing in July 2025, the Commission's work is ongoing.

Looking beyond the federal government at these state and municipal initiatives reveal several potential precedents to draw from domestically for providing redress for racial terror lynchings. Domestic examples of reparations also show how harmful ineffective apologies can be. A meaningful apology must at minimum acknowledge that: a harmful act happened, that the actor caused injury and was wrong, that the apologizer was at fault and regrets participating in the act, that the apologizer will compensate the injured party, that the act will not happen again, and that the apologizer intends to work for good relations in the future. A clear lesson to be learned from the sample of domestic experiences of reparations for historical violence are the essential aspects of an effective apology. These experiences also provide other instructive lessons that the Commission can accept when putting together its recommendations for reparations.

B. Nongovernmental Initiatives

1. National

The Equal Justice Initiative (EJI) is a nonprofit organization that is at the forefront of highlighting the roots of racial injustice within our nation's history and promoting honest

conversations as a mechanism to repair the painful legacy that millions have had to endure.120 For example, EJI opened the Legacy Sites in Montgomery, Alabama to the public in April 2018 with the support of private and charitable donations. The Sites feature a Legacy Museum, a Freedom Monument Sculpture Park, and the National Memorial for Peace and Justice. The latter is the nation's first memorial dedicated to truth-telling and reflection on the history and enduring legacy of racial terrorism in the United States.121 Honoring the memory of more than 4,400 Black individuals who were victims of racial terror lynchings between 1877 and 1950, the memorial features over 800 Corten steel monuments, each representing a U.S. county where such lynchings occurred.122 These monuments are engraved with the documented names of the lives stolen and they form the central structure of the six-acre memorial site.123 The site invites visitors to confront this chapter of American history with honesty and reverence.124

The National Memorial for Peace and Justice demonstrates the critical role of public memory, acknowledgment, and symbolic redress in the broader framework for reparations.125 By identifying and naming victims of racial terror lynchings and displaying monuments, the memorial confronts historical denial and silence while offering a potential model for how

119 Office of the Mayor, Tulsa, Oklahoma, Exec. Order No. 2024-05, Creating the Beyond the Apology Commission (July 24, 2024), https://www.cityoftulsa.org/media/25480/executive-order-2024-05.pdf. 120 Racial Justice, EQUAL JUST. INITIATIVE, https://eji.org/racial-justice/ (last visited June 18, 2025). 121 The National Memorial for Peace and Justice, THE LEGACY CITES, https://legacysites.eji.org/about/memorial/ (last visited June 18, 2025).

122 Id. 123 Id. 124 Id. 125 Id.

societies can engage in truth-telling and collective mourning.126 Importantly, the memorial also illustrates that reparative justice is not solely material; nonmaterial forms of reparation like memorialization, education, and public recognition are vital in affirming the dignity of victims and educating future generations in trying to prevent and disrupt future harm.127

EJI also spearheads the Community Remembrance Project, a local initiative that allows communities to understand racial injustices while empowering community members to change the physical landscape of their own communities to accurately reflect our nation's troubled history.128 This project provides an opportunity for individuals to connect with members of their local community and to examine potential personal connections to legacies of racial terror lynchings.129 Additionally, EJI supports coalitions that memorialize documented victims of racial violence through their Historical Marker Project, which erects narrative markers in public locations describing the unknown violence that took place in these locations.130 Since 2015, this project "has supported local communities across the country to install more than eighty historical markers, collect soil from over 700 locations where racial terror lynchings took place," and created a space for reflection through their Racial Justice Essay contest where over 900 high school students submit entries.131

2. North Carolina

Other non-governmental entities have also been influential in shaping reparations strategies in the United States. For instance, the Beloved Community Center of Greensboro and the Greensboro Justice Fund initiated the Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Project, with support from the Andrus Family Fund and the International Center for Transitional Justice.132 North Carolina's Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission examined the "context, causes, sequence and consequences," of an incident of racial violence to make recommendations for community healing. On November 3, 1979, Klansmen attacked an anti-Klan demonstration being held by the Communist Workers Party, which

resulted in the deaths of five members and the wounding of several demonstrators and a photojournalist.133

126 Id. 127 Id. 128 Community Remembrance Project, EQUAL JUST. INITIATIVE, https://eji.org/projects/community-remembrance project/ (last visited June 18, 2025). 129 Id. 130 Id. 131 Id. 132 Timeline, GREENSBORO TRUTH & RECONCILIATION COMM'N, https://greensborotrc.org/timeline.php (last visited July 29, 2025).

133 This Day in History: Nov. 3, 1979: Greensboro Massacre, ZINN EDUC. PROJ.,

https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tdih/nov-3-1979-greensboro-massacre/ (last visited June 18, 2025). Those killed were César Vicente Cauce, 25; Michael Ronald Nathan, M.D., 32; William Evan Sampson, 31; Sandra Neely Smith, 28; and James Michael Waller, M.D., 36. The demonstrators were Paul Bermanzohn, Claire Butler, Tom Clark, Nelson Johnson, Rand Manzella, Don Pelles, Frankie Powell, Jim Wrenn; Klansman Harold Flowers, and the news photographer was David Dalton. Id.

19

Months before "the truth commission delivered its conclusions, the Greensboro City Council went on record opposing the process in a racially split 6-3 vote."134 The Commission released its report in May 2006.135 It recommended public apologies, community memorials, and anti-racism institutional reform in response to the 1979 Greensboro Massacre. Other recommendations

included formally recognizing that the events of the massacre provide a tragic, but important occasion in the city's history, and lifting the importance of that date in the history of the city. The Commission also recommended that individuals who were responsible for any part of the tragedy of Nov. 3, 1979, should reflect on their role and apologize – publicly and/or privately – to those harmed, and offer restitution by making contributions in their name to support the public monument commemorating this tragedy or other advocacy organizations/initiatives. Additionally, the Commission advised the Greensboro Police Department and the City of Greensboro to issue public apologies for their failure to protect the public – specifically, the Communist Workers Party demonstrators, media representatives, and others. Furthermore, the Commission recommended that these institutions should issue an apology to city residents for not having appropriately acknowledged the massacre or taking the necessary steps for community healing. Likewise, the Commission called for a public monument to be built on the site of the massacre to honor those killed and wounded on Nov. 3, 1979. Moreover, the Commission recommended institutional reform like anti-racism trainings for city/county employees and annual reports on racial disparities.

Most of the Commission's recommendations have not been heeded as of July 2025. For instance, following the release of the report in 2006, the city council voted 5-4 to reject the findings of the Commission.136 By June 2009, the City Council merely adopted a terse resolution of "regret."137 However, by October 2020, in a 7-2 decision, the City Council passed a formal apology acknowledging that the 1979 Greensboro Police Department (GPD) "'failed to warn the marchers of their extensive foreknowledge of the racist, violent attack planned against the marchers by members of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party with the assistance of a paid GPD informant.'"138 In addition, the Council agreed to provide "annually five scholarships in the names of the five slain activists in the amounts of $1,979 to graduating seniors at James B. Dudley High School."139

3. Washington, D.C.

Institutions like Georgetown University have also publicly apologized and begun collaborating with descendants of enslaved people sold to fund the university.140 On April 18th, 2017, they offered a public apology for their role in slavery. These efforts, though largely

134 Jordan Green, Can Greensboro Model a National Truth and Reconciliation Process?, SOJOURNER (Oct. 14, 2020), https://sojo.net/articles/can-greensboro-model-national-truth-and-reconciliation-process. 135 GREENSBORO TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMM'N, REPORT AND EXECUTIVE SUMMARY (2006), https://hmcwordpress.humanities.mcmaster.ca/Truthcommissions/wp

content/uploads/2019/01/UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL.pdf. 136 Green, supra note 134. 137 Id. 138 Id. 139 Id. 140 Descendants, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, https://www.georgetown.edu/slavery/descendants/ (last visited June 18, 2025).

symbolic, also include community dialogue, the naming of campus buildings, and financial reparative projects informed by descendant voices. Those who can prove with genealogical evidence that they are descendants of those who were enslaved by the Maryland Province of Jesuits also receive particular care and attention from the university during their application

process. Georgetown has attempted to meet and connect with descendants of slavery from locations such as Maryland, Louisiana, Washington D.C, and more, to create a potential space for dialogue, partnership, and collaboration and discuss ways to move forward while beginning to acknowledge and condemn their actions from the past.141 Other universities have also started to reckon with their complex histories and connections to enslavement.142

Notably, the private reparations initiatives illustrate the diverse sources of funding potentially available to assist with providing redress for racial terror lynchings. This overview of existing practices within the United States indicates a range of experimentation with the various forms of reparations, both material and non-material, as well as individual and group oriented that the Commission could draw from when fashioning its recommendations for reparations.

CONCLUSION

Reparations of any form (restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction, and guarantees of non-repetition) for racial terror lynchings in Maryland remain largely unaccounted for today. This is a historic opportunity for transformative change in Maryland and beyond. Comparative experience from other countries and jurisdictions in the United States provide several useful lessons for the Commission.

There are several considerations to keep in mind for any recommended reparations program based on comparative experience. One factor is the scope of the program in terms of the total number of beneficiaries covered. Certain programs have found it difficult and impractical to evaluate individual claims. Some reparations programs have provided benefits to all within a class, without regard to the degree of harm suffered, which may benefit some individuals that did not suffer or who are themselves implicated in abuse. The Commission could determine to work from a closed list of racial terror lynchings and not expand recommended reparations beyond that group. If the Commission chooses to define beneficiaries for reparations too narrowly, it can exclude many that are deserving of reparations and, if the commission does so too broadly, it may be over

inclusive. The Commission will have to consider what evidentiary standards it plans to recommend for the reparations program. The Commission also needs to weigh standing issues, including what is required for recipients to show harm of racial terror and violence,

and whether recipients must delineate the harm they experienced as distinct from that of membership within a group or class. What the Commission recommends in terms of privity issues and whether only those who suffered directly or whether indirect harm renders one eligible to claim reparations, will impact the scope and completeness of the program. Moreover, there could be structural issues with outreach efforts, or narrow application deadlines, or requirements to file applications personally, as well as other

141 Draft Principles, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY (Jan. 12, 2018),

https://www.georgetown.edu/slavery/descendants/#draft-principles. 142 Alvin Powell, Dual Message of Slavery Probe: Harvard's Ties Inseparable from Rise, and Now University Must Act, HARV. GAZETTE (Apr. 26, 2022), https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2022/04/slavery-probe-harvards-ties inseparable-from-rise/.

factors that may limit the accessibility of reparations that the Commission should be sensitive to. Accordingly when considering the design of reparations programs, the Commission needs to be sure to validate victim's recollections and not overly privilege documentary evidence of racial terror lynchings over victim's testimony and family narratives of historical violence, nor recommend a reparations program akin to a criminal legal proceeding with the need for victims

and affected communities to prove beyond a reasonable doubt their qualifications for reparations.

Additionally, the Commission will need to consider the comprehensiveness of the recommended reparations program. This includes the distinct set of harms that the Commission seeks to address for those who have suffered directly or indirectly from racial terror violence and lynchings. Experience with reparations from other jurisdictions demonstrates that administrators of programs have wide discretion and the Commission needs to be mindful of this when making its recommendations.

Another consideration for the Commission to bear in mind is the complexity of the reparations program, which refers to how efforts to provide redress are structured. For instance, reparations programs involving monetary payments alone, while simple to administer, face many objections. These tend to concern whether, how, and to what extent the monetary compensation redresses the harm. Comparative practice reflects a tendency usually to compensate victims based on a category of harm and not to pretend that this necessarily corresponds with the level of harm experienced. Potential recipients of reparations payments, may also believe that the amount received is insufficient to make them whole, or may view material compensation as "blood money." Notably, material reparations programs can also involve health care services, educational assistance, business loans (with low to no interest), pension reforms, or other forms of material support. Comparative experience favors more complex reparations programs, with many forms of material support to provide redress. Importantly, government social welfare programs cannot serve as a substitute for reparations specifically addressing historical harm such as racial terror lynchings. The Commission should be mindful to not make recommendations that conflate two separate objectives of government: to make reparations for wrongs committed, and to provide essential services to the population.

Moreover, the Commission will need to contemplate the integrity and coherence of any recommended reparations program. For instance, the internal coherence of a reparations scheme, refers to the relationship between the several types of benefits, both symbolic and material, and group and individual. The external coherence and integrity of a reparations program contemplates designing things in such a way as to bear a close relationship with other mechanisms aimed at providing redress for racial terror lynchings and violence in Maryland. Given this, it is crucial that the Commission's recommendations provide clear

guidance on material and symbolic reparations and institutional and structural reforms, including those to law enforcement and the criminal legal system.

Furthermore, the Commission must consider the overall munificence of any recommended reparations program, which requires attention to the proposed magnitude of the benefits, both from the individual beneficiary's perspective, as well as the affected community's perspective. Further, the Commission should consider the finality of the recommended reparations program. The Commission should consider whether it is recommending once-off or

ongoing material and non-material forms of reparations to the victims and descendants of racial terror lynchings. The Commission must also consider whether it wishes to recommend receiving reparations forestalls pursuing other avenues of civil redress or claims or not.

Ultimately, for reparations programs to be effective, they must be comprehensive and tailored to the specific nature and impact of the harm inflicted. This requires a just distribution of resources and rights, in order to address the full sense of injustice and victimization experienced. Reparations must address both material and symbolic devaluation, which means that any program that focuses solely on one aspect without the other will fail to fully address the humiliation and fury accompanied by denial of rights and resources. By pursuing concrete actions to repair our history and its lingering effects in Maryland, we can take steps toward reckoning with legacies of injustice with an eye towards repairing and creating a more just and equitable future for all Marylanders. Thank you for your time and for this opportunity to speak with you today.

William Darity Jr.

Testimony for the Maryland Lynching, Truth and Reconciliation Commission

William Darity Jr., Samuel DuBois Cook Professor, Duke University
April 20, 2025

There are two major ways to calculate the amount of restitution due to black American descendants of persons enslaved in the United States. The first method is what can be described as the enumeration of harms approach, and the second can be described as the summary measure of damages approach. The enumeration of harms approach involves listing all relevant atrocities inflicted upon the victimized community, assigning a dollar value to each, and adding them up to arrive at a total sum. The summary measure approach identifies a single quantitative indicator that captures the ways in which living black Americans' lives are hamstrung and chained due to conditions of structural racism.

The first method essentially is the strategy pursued by the California Reparations Task Force. Unfortunately, difficulties abound with the enumeration of harms approach. There is the problem of comprehensiveness—whether all the relevant atrocities can be identified and documented.

Even if all are identified and documented, can the full ramifications of each be calculated? For example, white terrorist attacks in Wilmington, North Carolina in 1898, Ocoee, Florida in 1920 and Tulsa, Oklahoma produced refugee populations who fled both the municipality and the state. Their far-flung descendants will be difficult to bring into the fold of the population to be counted as victims of these horrors. Lynchings not only led to the murder of the direct victims, but also produced grief and trauma for their families and communities and generated a chilling effect on the ambitions of black people across the nation.

A further complication is establishing the relationship between each past atrocity and the compensation due to the living descendants of those enslaved in the United States. For example, estimates of the present value of the costs of enslavement to those subjected to bondage has been estimated to run into the quadrillions (Thomas Craemer, 2015), but it is questionable whether those sums are due to their descendants who never experienced chattel slavery.

In contrast, the second method, the summary measure approach, can be satisfied, for example, by using the racial wealth gap to calculate the cumulative, intergenerational impact of white supremacy on those living today. Data from the 2022 Survey of Consumer Finances (Aladangady 2023) indicates the average white household has $1.15 million more in net worth than the average black household. Adjusting for racial differences in household size, the per person differential is approximately $400,000. If about 40 million out of the 50 million black people in the United States are descendants of U. S. slavery, the total bill for reparations required to close the racial wealth gap is $16 trillion.

There is a strong alternative summary measure: the life expectancy gap of the five-to-six year difference in average black and white longevity. Annualizing the $10 million estimate of the statistical value of a human life yields an estimate closer to $28 trillion or $700,000 per person as the amount due for the missing years of black lives (Darity et al., 2024).

Neither of these sums can be met by state and local governments. The combined budgets of all 50 states and 19,519 municipalities are no more than $5 trillion.

Consider Maryland specifically. Given its black population of 1.8 million, say, conservatively, 1 million persons will be eligible for black reparations. At $400,000 per person, the total cost of closing the racial wealth gap for Maryland residents would be $400 billion in a state with an annual budget of $65 billion. Even if the expense of closing the gap was distributed over a decade, $40 billion per annum would necessitate a substantial increase in taxes.

The federal government, in contrast, as a sovereign currency issuer will not have to raise taxes to meet a reparations obligation of this magnitude (Darity and Mullen 2020, see Chapter 13).

Opting for the enumeration of harms strategy will not improve feasibility at the state level. As the California Reparations Task Force has demonstrated, the more extensive the categories of atrocities included as pertinent to compensation, the bill can exceed the amount needed to eliminate the racial wealth gap for the state's residents.

I conclude that no state or local commission addressing racial redress can develop or recommend a viable proposal for true reparations.

The limitation of your Commission's charge to lynching in Maryland between 1865 and 1950 does make for a manageable. albeit incomplete, scope for reparative action. Lynchings are a particularly graphic illustration of the ferocity of anti-black terrorism, but many more atrocities have taken place in Maryland and, of course, elsewhere.

The interval 1865-1950 excludes the past 75 years and does not include police executions of unarmed blacks—also interpretable as lynchings. For example, the killing of Freddi Gray that precipitated the 2015 uprising in Baltimore does not appear to be under the Commission's purview.

Medical experimentation on black subjects without informed consent in Maryland hospitals is outside the reach of the Commission. School segregation and its ramifications also are not on the agenda for consideration. Nor are environmental injustices inflicted on black communities.

What might a Commission of your type actually accomplish? There are three major tasks that can be fulfilled. First, as Commission Charles Chavis Jr. puts it, the mission of "radical truth-telling" is vital. Setting the record straight on Maryland's lynching trail is of deep value, particularly at a time when the nation is plunging toward narratives of its past fueled by Lost Cause inspired lies.

The Commission also can specify ways in which the state can dismantle its own apparatus of structural racism. While full reparations for the harms that have been imposed is not feasible, ending the processes and mechanisms that have produced the harms certainly is practicable.

Finally, the Commission can develop and support a plan of action for the state of Maryland to support true reparations at the federal level, the only level of government where true reparations can be achieved.

One additional comment as an addendum: The Commission's title includes a charge that cannot be fulfilled, "reconciliation." There never has been an authentic moment of conciliation between black and white America; therefore, reconciliation is impossible.

References

Aladangady, Aditya, Andrew C. Chang, and Jacob Kimmel "Greater Wealth, Greater Uncertainty: Changes in Racial inequality in the Survey of Consumer Finances" FEDS Notes October 18, 2023 https://www.federalreserve.gov/econres/notes/feds-notes/greater-wealth-greater-uncertainty-changes-in-racial-inequality-in-the-survey-of-consumer-finances-20231018.html

Craemer, Thomas "Estimating Slavery Reparations: Present Value Comparisons of Historical Multigenerational Reparations Policies" Social Science Quarterly 96:2 June 2015 639-655.

Darity, William, Jr., Thomas Craemer, Daina Ramey Berry, and Dania Francis "Black Reparations in the United States, 2024: An Introduction" RSF: Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences 10:2 June 2024 1-28.

Darity, William Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press 2020.

Adjoa A. Aiyetoro

Testimony

Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission

RECKONING AND REPAIR

April 5, 2025

It is an honor to be asked to provide testimony before the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission to assist it in its work to develop the public record on racially motivated lynchings in Maryland, foster dialogue on racially motivated violence and explore paths to reconciliation. I have been an active member of the movement for reparations for Black people of African descent since the mid-1980's. As the Director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL) I worked with Nkechi Taifa, Kalonji Olusegun and Imari Obadele of the Republic of New Afrika (RNA), Chokwe Lumumba of the New African People's Organization (NAPO) and Dorothy Benton Lewis of the Black Reparations Commission, among others. In 1987, I joined with them and many others in the founding of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) following NCBL's conference focused on what the United States Constitution would have looked like if it had considered the interests of Black people of African descent. I organized a panel on reparations at NCBL's conference that included Richard America, a Black economist who had researched and written about the value of the unpaid labor of enslaved Africans , Chokwe Lumumba, Imari Obadele, and Nkechi Taifa. NCBL was one of the three co-founding organizations of N'COBRA, along with NAPO and RNA. I continue to work with N'COBRA serving on its Elder Advisory Council and as a legal advisor. I am also a co-facilitator of NCBL's Reparations Committee and the director of NCBL's Reparations Research Project, overseen by the Reparations Committee. The Project has produced a handbook for community organizing - Working to Obtain Reparations: Balancing the Scales of Justice. The Handbook is designed to be a guide to community groups as they work to obtain reparations from their local and state governments It is also a helpful guide for those seeking reparations from the federal government. As a part of my active participation in the reparations movement since the mid-1980s, I have authored a number of articles on reparations.

I am an advocate for reparations from local, state and federal governments for supporting by law and other conduct the subordination of Black people. Slavery was legal in Maryland. The state thus authorized the exploitation of the enslaved's labor, allowing the physical and mental brutality of those enslaved. It also created by law, policy and practice the subordination of Black people of African descent who may have been considered "free". Its historic treatment of Black people, creating a legally sanctioned system of subordination, is responsible directly or indirectly for the lynchings and other acts of racial violence documented by this Commission. The Commission's hearings and research detail, document and acknowledge these enumerated deprivations, injustices and much more.

The Commission's title, and therefore part of its goal, includes "reconciliation". This is a noble goal. I understand the desire to create harmonious relationships between white and Black residents specifically and among all groups, generally. The Cambridge dictionary defines reconciliation as "the restoration of friendly relations." Similarly, the Britannica defines reconciliation as "the act of causing two people or groups to become friendly again after an argument or disagreement." Reparations scholars note that reconciliation can only come after atonement and forgiveness . If Maryland develops and implements a reparations program for Black people of African descent who have been injured by its laws, policies and practices that supported lynching it can then ask the injured group to forgive it for instituting and supporting those laws, policies and practices. Rather than reconciliation,

forgiveness is the essential step that follows the provision of appropriate reparations to Black people of African descent who have been victimized by historic racial violence and subordination. Indeed, there has never been true friendship between Maryland and Black people of African descent. Maryland must own its violations of the human rights of Black people of African descent, acknowledging the enumerated violations recorded in this report. It must develop a reparative program to address the injuries its actions and inactions have caused. This can serve as the basis for a trust, friendly relationship. It is only then that true harmony can be established. It is only then that true "friendly relations" free of fear from government supported violence can be established within a State that by its laws, policies and practices elevated white people to an unwarranted superior position and allowed them to brutalize and murder Black people of African descent them through lynching and other subordinating behaviors.

Reparations are a remedy for injuries inflicted on people based on their group identity. The United Nations supported reparations to Black people of African descent for slavery and its legacies in the Declaration and Programme of Action issued after deliberations at the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerances in 2001. In 2005 it adopted a resolution articulating the right to reparations for violations of human rights and humanitarian law which slavery and the targeting of people for bodily harm and death because of their group identity are. The U.N. adopted a resolution in 2019 that identifies the forms of reparations, including restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition. Reparations have been provided by local and state governments in the United States and the federal government for violations of the rights of Black people based on their group identity. The United States also paid reparations and issued an official apology to Japanese Americans for their internment during World War II.

Maryland owes Black people of African descent reparations for having laws, policies and practices that were the ground upon which the lynching history being examined by the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission stood. Lynching is more than just hanging. It is "a form of violence in which a mob, under the pretext of administering justice without trial, executes a presumed offender, often after inflicting torture." Although not always a crime of racial violence, the record of lynching in the United States and in Maryland supports the conclusion that it has been used overwhelmingly as a method by which whites inflict extrajudicial punishment on Black people of African descent accused of crimes against white people. The record the Commission is developing supports the conclusion that Maryland's laws, policies and practices undergirded lynchings and racial violence against Black people. In order to serve as the rationale for reparative programming, this record must demonstrate that Black people of African decent were specifically harmed by Maryland's laws, policies and practices, a number of which protected the persons engaged in lynching from legal responsibility and punishment. This is important not only for providing reparations to the direct victims of lynchings and their descendants and to Black people of African descent who lost property or had other material losses or injuries as a result of a lynching, but also to the Black community more generally due to the fear created of "stepping out of line" or having their actions construed as violating a white person. Evidence describing that fear, how it felt and how it affected people specifically is essential. This evidence would include testimony from social scientists on this topic, in addition to testimony of specifically impacted Black people, would assist in solidifying the reality of injury to Black people who were not direct victims of lynching.

Demetria McCain. Director of Policy of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, provided a detailed overview of the state of the law as it relates to race specific remedies on the panel: Law and Legacy: Legal Pathways to Justice and Accountability. The Handbook produced by NCBL Reparations Research Project also provides guidance on whether and how a reparative program could survive a legal challenge. Given the state of the law on providing

race specific remedies, a record must reflect specific injury, not simply generalized discrimination. The Supreme Court decided, under its 14th Amendment analysis, that any racial classifications are inherently suspect and are to be viewed under the "strict scrutiny" standard, meaning the program can only be upheld if it is narrowly tailored to further a compelling state interest. There must be no other less restrictive means to achieve that interest. In the case of race-specific remedies, this means considering race-neutral alternatives. The strict scrutiny standard requires the proponent of the program to show that it has a compelling interest in establishing its proposed program and that the program only functions to serve that interest. The Court has recognized public health, national security, and protection of fundamental rights as compelling state interests. The Court has held that general societal discrimination alone is not a compelling state interest. For example, a program that gives all Blacks a lump sum of money in an attempt to close the wealth gap between Blacks and Whites caused by general discrimination in jobs and lack of access to financial resources will most likely be found to be unconstitutional because it is based on societal discrimination, which is not a compelling state interest. However, a particular instance of past discrimination that is caused by a specific entity is not general societal discrimination. It would, therefore, be considered a compelling state interest and that entity could provide a race-based remedy. Maryland is one such specific entity. Its policies, practices and laws allowed for, if not called for, the taking of the life of a Black person by a white person, often white mob, based on accusation and in an extralegal process. Its laws, practices and policies allowed for, if not called for, terrorizing the Black community. Maryland subordinated Black people of African descent by law and practice. It repeated in its actions and inactions the holding in Dred Scott – Black people have no rights that white people are bound to respect.

In June 2023, the Supreme Court in Students for Fair Admissions held that race-specific remedies are available if seeking to provide a remedy for past discrimination. The Court recognized that "remediating specific, identified instances of past discrimination that violated the Constitution or a statute[,]" is a "compelling interest that permit[s] resort to race-based government action." A reparations program that prioritizes Black people to remedy specific past discrimination against them that was lynching and the terror it caused, therefore, should be upheld. Proponents of reparation for this abominable history should be able to show that prioritizing Blacks is essentially the only way to remedy the specific past discrimination (that there was no race - neutral way to do so), meeting the narrowly tailored standard.

The forms of reparations vary based on the nature of the harm caused and allowed by Maryland's laws, policies and practices. As with the Japanese Americans redress, reparations should flow from a formal apology from Maryland for instituting, by its laws, policies and practices, the conditions under which lynchings occurred. A reparative program should include payments to direct victims of lynching and their descendants, including those killed, maimed or who lost property. It should include a requirement that the curriculum in public schools, at all grade levels, include the authentic history of lynching in Maryland as documented by the Commission's report. It should include funding for programs developed and led or co-led by Black people in multiracial formations that are designed for the purpose of building towards reconciliation.

The goal of establishing trusting and supportive relations between Maryland and Black people of African descent, what those forming the Commission call reconciliation, can only be reached after honest presentation of the historical facts and present-day effects, Maryland's apology and proffer of a meaningful reparative program. This Commission's work is commendable in moving Maryland in the right direction. Perhaps it will lead to Maryland becoming the first state to take seriously its disregard for the humanity of Black people of African descent and the injuries that resulted from this crime against humanity.

ARMSTRONG WILLIAMS

Subject: Statement Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission

STATEMENT OF ARMSTRONG WILLIAMS
BEFORE THE MARYLAND TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

APRIL 4, 2025

The Role of the Media in Black Lynchings

“To the living we owe respect, but to the dead we owe only

the truth.” Timeless words from Voltaire. We are assembled here today in part to pay homage to our black ancestors who, during the blackest days of Jim Crow, gave and risked that last full measure of devotion so that their posterity might enjoy the benefits of the United States Constitution irrespective of skin color. It was not an unreasonable aspiration.

The Thirteenth Amendment prohibited slavery and peonage.

The Fourteenth Amendment overruled Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney’s notorious declaration in Dred Scott v. Sanford (1857) that whether free or enslaved, black persons were disqualified for United States citizenship based on skin color alone. The Chief Justice added that blacks were endowed with “no rights which the white man was bound to respect.” A statue honoring Chief Justice Taney outside the Maryland State House in Annapolis endured from 1872-2017—145 years—before that odious symbol of racism was removed. To quote Shakespeare, “the evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones.”

The Fifteenth Amendment extended the franchise irrespective of race.

But when Reconstruction ended in 1876, the Civil War Amendments were honored more in the breach than in the observance. The Ku Klux Klan with its Imperial Wizard was born with its signature odious cross burnings and lynchings. For black people, to vote or to walk erect was to sign their death warrants. A drop of black blood meant ostracism or worse. Remember the infamous “separate but equal decision of the United States Supreme Court in Plessy v. Ferguson (1896). Mr. Plessy’s one-eighth black blood was sufficient to render him a pariah to whites on a passenger train. The Louisiana statute at issue made an exception to separate but equal for black nurses attending white children. The color line could be broken to cater to white convenience or luxury. By an 8-1 vote, the racist Supreme Court absurdly denied that white supremacist laws denoted any inferiority of blacks. Justice Henry Brown maintained in a flight from reality: “We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff’s argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it.”

Racism was given prime time at the White House under President Woodrow Wilson. He notoriously segregated the federal workforce. He hosted and endorsed the racist film The Birth of a Nation by D.W. Griffiths effusing, “It is like writing history with lightning and my only regret is that it is all so terribly true.” President Wilson conscripted blacks to fight in segregated units in World War I under the hypocritical banner of “saving the world for democracy” while crushing it at home.

Pervasive racism continued throughout the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt. It found expression in refusing to endorse his wife’s federal anti-lynching legislation. Gunnar Myrdal’s An American Dilemma showcased the persistent depth of racism in 1944. The

United States Supreme Court with such luminaries as Justices Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis D. Brandeis affirmed separate but equal in Gong Lum v. Rice (1927).

The media, including The Baltimore Sun founded in 1837 in the heyday of slavery in Maryland, served as a claque for white supremacy. It profited from slave trade advertisements. It shunned abolitionists and employed dehumanizing language or stereotypes. Such shameful journalism is not surprising. To paraphrase Justice Benjamin Cardozo, the great tides and currents which engulf the rest of men do not turn aside in their course and pass journalists by. For good or for ill, journalism reports history. It does not make it.

Lawrence Brown has summoned The Baltimore Sun to be more forthcoming in unearthing its complicity in slavery, Jim Crow, and white supremacy. I am not certain that much is to be gained by such self-flagellation. The evils touched every phase of life. Few if any could escape its tentacles. Racism should be repudiated in all its moods and tenses without sanctimony. As Jesus sermonized, “He that is without sin among you let him first cast the stone at her.” The Sun is proud to have charted a positive approach. It has worked over the years to better cover all communities throughout the region.

The Sun’s focus remains on building trust among all communities, including seeking out diverse voices for our pages. Our commitment to being a champion in providing a place where citizens from our entire region can be heard and included remains an important part of our core mission. The Baltimore Sun Diversity in Journalism Scholarship has been presented since 2003 through the University of Maryland to deserving journalism students within The Sun’s circulation area. And since 2024, The Sun and its affiliate newspapers such as The Capital Gazette in Annapolis and The Carroll County Times have been

co-owned by me. We are one of only a few major metropolitan news organizations with minority ownership. Monochromatic journalism distorts reality or perspectives and shortchanges truth.

Let us avoid self-righteousness. History chronicles the tendency of the oppressed to become the oppressors as soon as they enter the citadel of power. The greatest gratitude we can display towards our oppressed ancestors is to uncurtain a new dawn where character and accomplishments determine every person’s station in life. The accident of birth or skin color will not matter. It is a wonderful ambition to live for the ages.

Frances Murphy Draper

CEO and Publisher, The AFRO-American Newspapers dba AFRO News (Maryland's oldest Black-owned business and the nation's oldest family-owned, continuously published Black-owned media company)

"Who's a Victim, Who's a Threat? The Media's Framing of Crime and Racial Justice"

Good afternoon, Chair Fakunle and Commissioners,

Thank you for the opportunity to provide expert testimony before this historic Commission.

Maryland's legacy of racial terror has been thoroughly documented, painfully debated, and rightfully mourned. Rather than restate what is already well known, my intent is to examine how these stories were framed in the media at the time—particularly by the Black press—and to offer bold, forward-looking recommendations rooted in justice, memory, and healing.

This testimony highlights the vital role of the Black press—especially the Baltimore AFRO-American—in documenting lynchings in Maryland. It concludes with legislative recommendations to sustain this truth-telling legacy and confront the enduring effects of racial terror in our state.

Historical Context

Between 1882 and the mid-20th century, at least 33 documented lynchings occurred in Maryland. White-owned newspapers such as The Baltimore Sun often reported these atrocities as tragic episodes or unfortunate disruptions of public order.

By contrast, the AFRO-American called them what they were: acts of racial terror.

The difference was not just in language—it was in moral clarity. While much of the white press distanced itself from the pain of Black communities, the AFRO sat at kitchen tables, listened to trembling voices, and gave names, faces, and voice to the victims.

Restoring the Humanity of the Victims

Matthew Williams (1931) After his lynching in Salisbury, the AFRO published a blistering "Maryland's Shame Edition"—not only condemning the mob but indicting the state's indifference. Reporters spoke with Williams' coworkers and grieving family. One remembered him as "quiet, industrious." Another wept: "Buddie was a good boy."

The white press, by contrast, characterized the mob's actions as impulsive and emotional, minimizing the humanity of the man they killed.

George Armwood (1933) In Princess Anne, the AFRO covered Armwood's lynching with the chilling headline: "Roman Holiday as Armwood is Hanged, Burned." The article exposed how community members watched the spectacle—some cheering, many silent—as law enforcement stood by.

Unlike white newspapers, which often criminalized the victim, the AFRO emphasized that Armwood was mentally disabled, nonviolent, and well-liked. A National Guard lieutenant later admitted that he disobeyed direct orders to protect Armwood—an act of state-sanctioned complicity.

The Black Press: Chronicler and Conscience

The AFRO-American and other Black-owned newspapers were more than news outlets. They were preservers of memory, advocates for justice, and pillars of community power.

They told the truth when others refused. They remain, to this day, trusted institutions of conscience.

As the biblical prophet Micah reminds us: “What does the Lord require of you but to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with your God?” The Black press has long walked that walk.

Modern Echoes of Lynching

While public lynchings may have ceased, their legacy persists in policies and systems that continue to disproportionately harm Black Marylanders:

- Economic injustice — unemployment, wage disparities, and barriers to generational wealth constitute a form of economic lynching
- Educational inequity — until the Blueprint for Maryland’s Future is fully and fairly implemented, especially in schools serving Black children, the denial of quality education amounts to educational lynching—not by rope, but by policy
- Environmental racism — Black communities are more likely to live near toxic sites and polluting industries
- Police violence — Black people remain nearly three times more likely to be killed by police in the United States

The rope may be gone, but the outcomes of racial terror endure—in law, policy, and lived experience.

This is the moment to act boldly, guided by truth and accountable to history.

Legislative Recommendations: Toward a More Equitable Maryland

(Target Implementation: FY2028, with phased pilots in FY2027 where feasible)

Note: Proposed bill titles are conceptual. Budget estimates reflect current fiscal realities and align with existing state programs and policy frameworks.

1. The Maryland Reparative Justice and Equity Fund Act

Purpose:

Establish a permanent fund to support reparative initiatives for African American Marylanders, including:

- Postsecondary scholarships for descendants of lynching victims and other racial terror

- Revitalization of historically Black neighborhoods

- Preservation and public interpretation of Maryland sites associated with racial violence and resilience

Policy Foundation:

- Builds on legislation passed in 2025 to establish the Maryland Reparations Commission, pending the Governor’s signature as of April 2025

- Intended to act on the Commission’s final recommendations (expected in 2027)

FY2028 Budget Recommendation:

- $10M/year:

  - $5M for higher education scholarships (via MHEC or the Guaranteed Access framework)

- $3M for community revitalization grants (via DHCD or the Community Legacy Program)

- $2M for historic preservation and interpretation (via Maryland Historical Trust/AAHPP)

2. The Racial Justice in Law Enforcement Transparency Act

Purpose:

Advance racial equity in policing through:

- Reforming traffic stop laws to prohibit minor-equipment-only stops (as proposed in SB292, 2025)

- Enhancing public reporting and data transparency on police stops and searches

- Expanding civilian oversight capacity within Police Accountability Boards (PABs)

FY2028 Budget Recommendation:

- $3M/year for:

- Law enforcement data system upgrades

- Civilian oversight training and technical assistance

- Public transparency dashboards

3. The Inclusive K–12 History and Civic Learning Act

Purpose:

Mandate inclusive education that:

- Covers slavery, lynchings, Jim Crow, civil rights, and structural racism

- Includes Maryland-specific stories and primary sources

- Supports educator training in partnership with HBCUs and MSDE

Policy Context:

- Complements The Blueprint for Maryland's Future

- Responds to the failure of SB0189 (2024) to pass, despite broad support for inclusive standards

FY2028 Budget Recommendation:

- $1M in FY2027 for curriculum framework development

- $2M/year beginning FY2028 for educator training and implementation support

4. The Black Memory and Media Preservation Act

Purpose:

Invest in preserving and elevating Black voices through:

- Digitization of Black-owned media archives and historical records

- Oral history initiatives led by HBCUs and grassroots organizations

- Grants and fellowships for independent Black journalists, documentarians, and publishers

Policy Context:

- Aligns with HB1010 (2025), which expands the African American Heritage Preservation Program (AAHPP) to support noncapital projects beginning FY2026

- Fills a critical gap, as no standalone state fund currently supports Black media preservation

FY2027–FY2028 Budget Recommendation:

- $2M in FY2027 for pilot projects (via expanded AAHPP)

- $3–5M/year starting FY2028 for wider implementation

Combined Budget Overview

Initiative	FY2027 (Pilot/Prep)	FY2028+ (Full Launch)	Notes
Reparative Justice Fund	Planning only	$10M/year	Tied to Commission findings
Law Enforcement Transparency & oversight	$500K–$1M	$3M/year	Data modernization
Inclusive Curriculum & Training support	$1M	$2M/year	Curriculum + educator
Black Media & Community Memory	$2M	$3–5M/year	Via AAHPP and partnerships
Total Estimated Cost	$3.5–4M	$18–20M/year	Phased implementation

Final Note: From Acknowledgment to Action

These proposals are fiscally responsible, scalable, and aligned with Maryland's core commitments to equity, transparency, and education. They draw upon—rather than duplicate—existing frameworks like the Blueprint for Maryland's Future, the Police Accountability Act, and the African American Heritage Preservation Program.

More importantly, they offer a path forward: from remembrance to repair, from erasure to investment.

We owe it to those whose names were nearly lost to history—and to the generations yet to come—to build a Maryland where truth is told, justice is done, and equity is not just promised, but delivered.

Thank you for the opportunity to submit this testimony and to contribute to Maryland's journey toward racial justice.

Joanne M. Braxton, Ph.D.

Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Day One, April 4, 2025

From Harm to Hope: Strategies for Resisting and Thriving Testimony of Joanne M. Braxton, Ph.D., expert witness From Pain to Power: Mental Health Solutions for Coping and Thriving

Panelists: Rev. Dr. Joanne Braxton, Dr. Gail Christopher, & Dr. Cheryl Grills Moderator, Commissioner Christoper Haley

Good afternoon. I am Joanne Braxton, a scholar of the African American experience, and president of the Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency and Joy, a non-profit ministry of teaching and healing that co-creates collective strategies to repair and heal harms and traumas of historically oppressed communities and to lift up legacies of resistance and joy.

Thank you, Dr. Fakunle and the Commission, for inviting me to testify in these proceedings. Dr. Fakunle, I also thank you for your drumming and storytelling in my hometown of Lakeland, Maryland, where we are currently engaged in the work of Restorative Justice. Lakeland remembers you and we thank you. Thanks also to my long-time friend and colleague Rev. Dr. Diane Teichert and the Prince George's County Lynching Memorial Lynching Project for bringing me and our organization into the necessary work of Truth Telling, Reconciliation and potentially, healing. In honor of their determined and diligent work, I call the names of those lynched from PG County: Thomas Juricks, 1869, Piscataway; John Henry Scott, 1875, Oxon Hill; Michael Green, 1894; Upper Marlboro, Stephen Williams, 1894, Upper Marlboro. My charge today is to speak to you about the paths from pain to power--- mental health solutions for coping and thriving. I'm going to modify that in light of my current research as a Visiting Scholar at the Library of Congress is in the realm of African American spirituality and health, which touches on the study of autobiography, narrative change, and Bioethics, as well as Reparations.

Who is Joanne Braxton? I'm going to speak today as a homegirl. I was born in 1950 in Freedmen's Hospital in Washington, DC and grew up in Lakeland, in Prince George's County. I attended Lakeland Elementary School, where I received an excellent education in the care of Black teachers, graduates of Maryland's historically Black teacher's colleges. When integration came, I entered Greenbelt Junior High when I was 12 years old. I later earned a PhD in American Studies at Yale University, authoring the dissertation that became the book Black Women Writing Autobiography: A Tradition Within a Tradition under the direction of historian John Blassingame. I am a descendant of Muirkirk Iron Furnace workers through both my mother and my father.ii My father's mother, Emma Margaret Harrison, came from folks who had been enslaved on the Snowden-owned Montpelier plantation at Laurel, and who went on to work at the furnace. I'd like

to begin by reading a poem from my 1977 collection, Sometimes I Think of Maryland, which captures some of the world my ancestors knew.iii

Poem on Turning Around

between 3 and 4 o'clock

in the morning

she wakes to see the brightest star

shaded by a crescent moon

until the morning bursts
a belly of swollen light
in this world of images
where we live and die
a wrinkled old woman
speaks out to her mother
in the voice of a baby
but the listener calls her grandmom
not daughter
and cannot recognize the birthmark
the image of one she has never seen
as manifest in walnut face
the smile the hands of youth
seasons pass
risings and fallings that crescendo with each new birth
each passing festival
of juba, boogey and bop
washboard symphonies
and country crucifixions
where they spill our blood
who will survive America?
who will survive neo-colonialism
who will survive default
urban renewal
unemployment
police violence
piss poor education
and smack?
In America, who will survive?
Who will hold the dream
the vision of the king?
Who will unite the consciousness of the people
as it makes war against itself?
Who will show America
which way to go
as generations are born
and returned to the soil in
singing sadness
our desperate hope
the trail of staying alive in this white America

to survive with humor

dignity

and style.

iv Charles Coffin's furnace

At the time of Thomas Juricks' lynching in nearby Piscataway on December 12, 1869, my great grandfather, William Harrison, was living in one of the houses Charles E. Coffin had built for his workers at the Muirkirk Iron Furnace, and this is where my grandmother was born in 1895, one year after the lynching of Stephen Williams in nearby Upper Marlboro and less than 30 years after Juricks was lynched. Grandmom had only a fourth-grade education, but she could read and write and manage her own accounts. She herself worked as a maid, a nanny and a cook and raised my father, who went to work when he was five years old. Later, Grandmom Emma became a deaconess in the AME Church, and with my father's help, she acquired property. Her motto was "Put God in front of everything." From this grandmother, I learned, through the oral tradition, our family history and genealogy. Sometimes, if she perceived that I was listening deeply, she would share stories that in the parlance of Toni Morrison, were "not meant to be passed on." v

Telling "stories that were not meant to be passed on" is an act of resistance and self determination. The Commission's work of documenting the history of racial terror lynchings in Maryland is part of that resistance, a charge from those who came before us, to recover our past and re-tell stories that the dominant culture has sought to suppress. Now that we know his name, what if we were to take another look at the lynching of Thomas Juricks as what today might be called "Know your place aggression," to borrow a term from Koritha Mitchell? When we view Juricks' lynching though this lens of racialized terror, including his seizure from collaborating law officers by a mob in front of his wife and children, and the display of his body on the grounds of the Chapel Hill Freedmen's school his children likely attended, the dropping enrollment in the school in the following year becomes completely understandable. In fact, it has been suggested that Juricks was targeted because of this school. This inflicted terror was a message broadcast to all Black residents of Prince George's County, who no doubt heard it through the grapevine. That would have included two sets of my great grandparents.

We are living in dangerous times. What does historical trauma look like today? The suicide rate for Black youth has doubled since 2014, the racial wealth gap continues, issues of police violence against Black people persist, and individuals and communities are subject to root shock, serial forced displacement, moral injury and premature aging and weathering as a consequence of the legacies of segregation, redlining, urban renewal, gentrification, foreclosure, over incarceration and resulting community disintegration. But this disintegration of community is only part of our inheritance. Reflecting on the path from harm to hope, in 2017 I preached "A Sermon for Dangerous Times: How Do We Rest with Our Broken Hearts?" In this sermon, I reflected on creative responses to oppression and what our ancestors did to survive and thrive under such adverse conditions: they sang together, they built communities of resistance, and they loved one another.

Song has that power to lift, to heal and to create community spaces. Speaking historically, Black song has offered sophisticated modes of analysis and healing. In times of trouble, we have turned not only to our preachers and politicians, but also to our artists, song leaders and poets. Earlier, someone mentioned Billie Holliday's rendition of "Strange Fruit," an excellent example of the liberatory power of Black song. Back in 1845 Frederick Douglass spoke of the healing power of Black song: "those rude and … apparently incoherent songs told a tale of woe which was then altogether beyond my feeble comprehension; they were tones loud, long, and deep; they breathed the prayer and complaint of souls

boiling over with the bitterest anguish. Every tone was a testimony against slavery, and a prayer to God for deliverance from chains. …."

As Lawrence Levine argued, in the Black spiritual God is always on the side of the oppressed. This awareness is part of what enabled Frederick Douglass to resist enslavement, whip the slave-breaker who attacked him and escape to freedom, and it makes sense in light of current studies of collective trauma and healing and what we know today. Jack Saul finds that while trauma takes away a person's agency, co-creative acts offer the opportunity for bearing witness in relation to others, which in turn establishes archives and therapeutic contexts from which new justice-making contexts arise. vi Through these proceedings, the Commission is building the healing archive from which new justice-making contexts will arise. There will always be more to do, such as changing the narrative and advocating for repair.

This Commission has heard the testimony about known racial terror lynchings in Maryland as recorded by the Baltimore Sun, and other biased sources, which is extra judicial killings of Black people by White people, usually by mob violence. Unfortunately, almost all of the original accounts that have come down to us have come from biased sources, and this bias must be acknowledged. Racial terror lynching, first and foremost, was a tool that was used to suppress Black land ownership, Black education, and Black economic self-determination overall. Whole communities were impacted, not just individuals. Part of our love for ourselves, and our love made manifest for both the ancestors and future generations, is to change the narrative about lynching. Scholars and practitioners are turning to "storytelling and narrative change" to "address the social determinants of community well-being…. Narrative change offers ways not only to understand what is happening to us, but also to make interventions to address the systemic causes of our collective distress" (Family Pictures Institute for Inclusive Storytelling).vii

We need narrative change that makes plain the root causes of lynching. When we look at Maryland's Red Record, revealing our collective historical trauma through shared narratives of racial terror and violence, we see that most of those lynched were accused of rape, or the attempted rape of white women. As Ida B. Wells demonstrated in her early 20th century writings, most lynchings had an economic motivation. The accusation of rape was most often a cover story, that is, a story used to cover up another motivation for racial terror.viii In her work, Southern Horrors, Ida B. Wells established that many so-called "rapes" were also cover ups for interracial love

affairs between Black men and white women.ix She added that many accused lynchers were themselves the fathers of mulatto children. This is consistent with Blair Bowie's testimony before this Commission, when she affirmed that "the same communities that lynched Black men for mere allegations of impoliteness or insults toward white women ignored and excused white men's blatant sexual attacks against Black women and girls."

Naming the names, witnessing to ourselves and each other in a formal process and changing the narrative is essential to all phases of intervention, repair, and the formation and expansion of communities of care as communities of resistance. Once this moral space is opened, we can proceed to address the causes of our psychosocial, economic, and political distress with fewer impediments, with love for ourselves and the ancestors as well as hope for future generations. May it be so.

Respectfully Submitted,

Joanne M. Braxton

Frances L. and Edwin L. Cummings Professor Emeritus, William and Mary President, Braxton Institute for Sustainability, Resiliency and Joy!

Distinguished Visiting Scholar, John W. Kluge Center, United States Library of Congress
Fellow, Hastings Center for Bioethics

Team Leader, Reparations for Lakeland Now!

jbraxton@braxtoninstitute.org

jmbrax@wm.edu

i My great grandfather, John Abram Weems, (in the photo, far left), my mother's paternal grandfather, worked at the Muirkirk Iron Furnace, as did my father's maternal grandfather, William Harrison. Harrison was the caster. Both men worked under extremely dangerous high heat conditions. Muirkirk Ironworkers were technological innovators, drawing on charcoal production techniques practiced in Africa. They are also credited with discovering the first dinosaur bones in Maryland. Mining Dinosaurs, UMD.

iiiJodi Braxton, Sometimes I Think of Maryland, New York: Sunbury Press, 1977, pp. 31-32. iv Mining Dinosaurs, UMD.

v For more on Toni Morrison's view of dangerous stories in her own words, see "On the Nature of Oppression" video. For a discussion of the special role of Black grandmothers, see Joanne Braxton, "Black Grandmothers: Sources of Artistic Consciousness and Personal Strength," a 1984 working paper from the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women. For an example of one of the stories told to me by Grandmom Emma, see Braxton, Black Women Writing Autobiography: A Tradition With a Tradition (Temple U Press: Philadelphia, 1989), p. 4. While this is not a story about lynching, it is a good example of a "story not meant to be passed on," one that exemplifies some of the struggles faced by Black Marylanders, and Black women in particular.

vi See Jack Saul, Collective Trauma, Collective Healing: Promoting Community Resilience in the Aftermath of Disaster, (Routledge, 2022). For the distillation of these reflections, I am grateful for the scholarly writings John Blassingame, Laurence Levine, and James Cone on Black song and enslaved communities, social psychiatrist Mindy Fullilove on Root Shock and serial forced displacement, public health scholar Arlene Geronimus on the Weathering Effect and premature cellular aging and the effects of "impoverishment, structural racism and disinvestment," and epidemiologist David Chae on racism as a disease and premature cellular aging as it relates specifically to Black people. There are others who have contributed substantially through the interpretation of this research, but these are the folks whose primary research has influenced me most, along with Rita Nakashima Brock and Gabriella Lettini, who have contributed to my own scholarship on Moral Injury and Moral Suffering. See Braxton et. al., "Mapping the Terrain of Moral Suffering," Perspectives in Medicine and Biology (Spring 2021), pp. 235-345.

vii To be clear, as epidemiologist David Chae has shown through his research, racism is a disease that produces systemic inequality. He put it simply, "Racism kills." It has an impact on psycho social identity formation for both Blacks and whites and negatively impacts psychosocial and physical health outcomes for Blacks.

viii One such case was that of Hezikiah Brown, a Methodist Episcopal minister and teacher at Ellicott City Colored School. Brown experienced a near lynching after he was accused of marrying a white woman, a rumor likely started by people who were unhappy that she was attending his church and that her son was attending the Colored school, in short because she was mixing with Black people. This is a good example of the ways in which lynching and the threat of lynching were used to not only to suppress Black people, but also to control white women and prevent them from mingling with Black people for any reason.

ix “Although lynching proved an effective sanction against sex between black men and white women, white men were rarely punished for their sexual exploitation of black women” (Braxton, Black Women Writing Autobiography, p. 119). Wells wrote “the miscegenation laws of the South only operate against the legitimate union of the races; they leave the white man free to seduce all the colored girls he can, but it is death to the colored man who yields to the force and advances of a similar attraction in white women.” Ida B. Wells, Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases (New York: Arno Press, 1969; originally published 1892), p.2

Dr. Gail C. Christopher, D.N.

Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission

From Pain to Power: Mental Health Solutions for Coping and Thriving

Dr. Gail C. Christopher, D.N., Executive Director, National Collaborative for Health Equity
April 4, 2025

I am so honored to share this panel with my wonderful, brilliant and beautiful sisters, Dr. Grills and Dr. Braxton. I have been in Maryland now for over 20 years and I can't believe we haven't met before but I'm looking forward to staying connected. I want to echo the endorsement of the evidence based practices and applaud the leadership that happened in California. The state of California has demonstrated exceptional leadership on the issue of reparations and redress for African Americans. I also want to thank Dr. Braxton for bringing us such a holistic understanding. As Executive Director of the National Collaborative for Health Equity and Senior Scholar with George Mason University's Center for the Advancement of Well-Being, I also bring a holistic perspective. One of the speakers earlier today asked, "what kind of people could do these things?" I think that's an important question for us to ask. There may be multiple answers, but one thing is certain, they embraced a belief system which is alive and well today, and that belief system is a false hierarchy of human value. I have gleaned some critical life lessons over the decades. One lesson has emerged through pain and joy. That lesson is about personal power and our ability to create desired outcomes. I think it is very important for this Commission to recommend things that will enable us to tap into our true power. I believe we must embrace a non-deficit frame for our identity, capacity, relationships, and potential. There is something in the western mentality that moves from a deficit perspective. It defines the medical system, it undergirds the discipline of psychology, shapes our education system as well as our perspectives about the economy. Too often this deficit mentality embraces an expectation of lack versus an expectation of agency.

Today's panel, Moving from Pain to Power is appropriately titled. In order to move from pain to power, some specific health dimensions must be considered. My career has unfolded in unexpected ways. It evolved from clinical practice in Chicago to designing social programs, to leading government innovation eUorts at Harvard, ultimately to the philanthropic world and being able to distribute millions of dollars working toward health equity and justice for marginalized communities. My work over the decades revealed that our country has failed to implement a truth process. I was privileged while working for the Kellogg Foundation, and I prayed for direction to help

our country address the unfinished business of racism and racial hierarchy. My prayers were answered; what came to me like a neon sign were the words, Truth, Racial Healing and Transformation. What is Truth, Racial Healing and Transformation (TRHT)? It is a truth process for this unique country. Notice I did not say reconciliation; why? The connotation of that word in the popular consciousness is coming back together. Have we ever been together? This country was founded on the premise of a false hierarchy of human value. I believe the term, "transformation and healing" was impressed in my consciousness because reconciliation might work for people immediately post conflict, but that's not where we are as a country. Centuries have passed without implementing a truth process.

In 2017 the Kellogg Foundation supported the launch of Truth, Racial Healing and Transformation for America. The TRHT framework oUers a five-pillar strategy as well as a five-step process for working with communities and organizations, public and private sector institutions, and individuals. The five pillars of the TRHT framework are Narrative Change, Racial Healing and Relationship Building, Separation, Law and Economy. Participants begin their work by creating a shared vision of success. There are now 75 college campuses that have established TRHT centers, several local jurisdictions have

established TRHT coalitions, and the work is expanding. Follow this link to the National Collaborative for Health Equity website. Here you will find an interactive map that depicts the scope and scale of the TRHT and health equity movement across the United States.

I want to take a moment to talk about what I mean by healing. It is vital that we understand that healing is a process. It is not a pill for an ill. It is not an intervention in terms of an imposition of someone else's consciousness and will over our own. Healing is a process, and you've heard much about it today, but it must be grounded in love and in the expectation for positive outcomes and genuine change. We must believe healing will actually happen. That is part of what I meant by non deficit frame. Healing is a natural process. The human body is always healing itself. My sisters and brothers, the human body creates itself; how could it not heal itself? From one cell, trillions of cells are made, not by addition, but by division. If that one cell has within it the trillions of cells that become us, let us embrace our bodies with love and with the expectation that healing is innate. Now how does that show up in overcoming the eUects of the legacy of racial hatred? It shows up through a holistic frame. I'll use the terms that Dr. Daniel Amen, a renowned psychiatrist uses in his holistic approach. The first is biological. The general public is not usually educated, informed and

guided enough about our biological essence and relationship to nature. However, if we're going to heal and overcome the consequences of chronic exposure to racism, we must start at a biological level. This means we must have healthy food, healthy water, healthy air, and healthy relationships.

I could spend days on the biological aspect of this, but I just want to emphasize how critically important our relationships with food, movement, peace and nature are for health and wellbeing.

From the biological we move to the psychological. Psychological is rough. I appreciate Dr. Grill's acknowledgement of the role that the systems of psychology in this country have played in imposing the hierarchy of human value perpetuating its deficit frame and pathologizing the Black experience. Too often we refer to mental health by describing various pathologies or diagnoses. I believe the concept of mental health and well-being has yet to be fully explored. The psychological dimension has to do with our true sense of identity. It is critical that we understand who we really are, not who others say we are. As parents we must instill a sense of self-worth and self-value in our children. Recommendations of this Commission must move beyond capturing and exposing the trauma and horrors associated with lynching in Maryland. Recommendations must also identify and emphasize the power and strength that is embedded and characterizes our full journey as African Americans. America has been blessed by the presence of our ancestors since its inception. I dare say we're probably the best thing that ever happened to America.

Moving on from the biological and psychological to the social. As human beings, we are by nature people who require relationships in order to thrive. You spoke about it, Dr. Braxton, as did you, Dr. Grills. We are who we are in relationship to the people around us, the people that care about us, and the people that receive our caring. A very important part of this healing journey is through relationship. We live in a democracy, and we cannot be insular or myopic in our understanding of the relationships that are required for optimizing our opportunities for health and healing. I have developed a circle methodology that is called Rx Racial Healing. Its purpose is to help participants overcome the fallacy of a hierarchy of human value by engaging with diverse people in storytelling and story sharing. This process helps to melt away biases and prejudice. Social science provides clear evidence that the most eUective way for reducing bias is through experiences that provide engagement with the perceived other. We must expand our circles of engagement so that we never again experience the degree of perceived polarization and antagonistic

relationships that prevent civil discourse and fair humane treatment of one another. This work of healing the social fabric of

the United States of America and understanding the equal value of all people is to key actualizing the espoused potential of this democracy.

From the biological, psychological and social, we can move to the spiritual. We know that the spiritual foundation of our sojourn - our journey, is what enabled us to be here now. Spiritual is absolutely at the core of our healing and resilience. As human beings, we each must have some sort of relationship with that which we believe is omnipresent, omnipotent and greater than us. From that source comes our capacity to withstand and to create. Our capacity to create is the most important part of this work. What we focus on, what we iterate and reiterate shows up in our experience. I am going to say this and it's probably controversial, but I have to say it. When we're talking about individual and collective consciousness - individual and collective awareness; words matter. I admire my brothers and sisters who spent the last five years engaged in what was termed anti-racism activism. Neither individual nor collective consciousness registers the modifier. It hears the subject, and the subject of anti-racism work is racism. Have we ever seen as much racism in the last 50 years as we see today? We must recognize what we actually want to create and make that our focus. Do we want to create more lynchings? Do we want to create more racism? Do we want to create more violence and terror? No, we want to create healing and transformation. We want to create honor for our bodies, minds and capacities at both the individual and community level. We want to create loving relationships. This is our work – we must be clear about our intentions so that we don't generate unintended harmful consequences.

Witness the tenor of the recent election. Dr. Braxton said we are living in dangerous times. We cannot underestimate that danger. The need to eliminate the progress that we have made is a manifestation of fear, and fear drives violence; it always has. I say to young people today who say we must resist what's being done right now. I say, no, today's political climate is the resistance to the progress made by our ancestors and our contemporary movement for equity and justice. It is vital that we understand the power of correctly framing the narrative and the reality today. Our movement is not the resistance. Our movement embodies forward momentum fueled by centuries of victories and accomplishments for equity, justice, and human evolution. Today's dominant elected political ethos is a form of resistance. I believe this resistance is futile. Human evolution is destiny. We are destined to succeed in throwing oU the yoke of believing in a false hierarchy of

human value and replacing it with a deeply embedded understanding of our sacred interconnectedness and interdependence as a global human family.

We all descended from a very small group of people on the continent of Africa. Our perceived superficial human physical diUerences are hallmarks of the environments in which our distant ancestors adapted as a result of migration patterns. In truth we are all part of an extended human family with shared ancestry from the continent of Africa. It took 100 years to end slavery, but it happened. It took another 100 years to bring about civil rights and to express our full humanity guaranteed by the constitutional amendments that followed the civil war. I view this as one continuous movement. We still have a lot of work to do but let our positive intentions and expectations for success define our approach and narrative for this work. Let us know that we will succeed. We have succeeded to this day. There are greater challenges today, but actualization of our full humanity is inevitable. I am honored to be a part of this work, and I honor the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission for leading it.

Appendix G

Public Hearings and Related Media Coverage

Appendix G: Links to Public Hearings and Media Coverage

1. MLTRC Hearings

Video and transcripts for all of the public hearings can be found at: Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Meetings and Hearings as well as below:

Public Hearing - Allegany County
October 2, 2021
View Recording | Transcript

Public Hearing - Baltimore County
June 4, 2022
View Recording | Transcript

Public Hearing - Anne Arundel County
October 8, 2022
View Recording | Transcript

Public Hearing - Wicomico County
October 22, 2022
View Recording | Transcript

Public Hearing - Somerset County
November 5, 2022
View Recording | Transcript

Public Hearing - Frederick County
April 13, 2024
View Recording

Public Hearing - Montgomery County
October 5, 2024
View Recording

Public Hearing - Harford and Cecil Counties
October 26, 2024
View Recording

Public Hearing - St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties
November 16, 2024
View Recording

Public Hearing - Caroline, Kent, Queen Anne's County
December 7, 2024
View Recording

Public Hearing - Howard County
January 11, 2025
View Recording

Public Hearing - Prince George's County
January 25, 2025
View Recording

Public Hearing - Carroll County
February 1, 2025
View Recording

Public Hearing - Institutional and Reconciliation Hearing
April 4 and April 5, 2025
Program | Day 1 Livestream | Day 2 Livestream

Public Hearing - Discussion with Maryland State Police Leadership
June 16, 2025
View Recording

2. MLTRC Press Coverage

Many articles, press releases, and broadcasts related to the work of the MLTRC can be found at Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Press. Featured articles include:

2025:

- Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Commissioners' Release Details of Recommendations for Reform, November 1, 2025 | Delonte Harrod, for The Intersection Magazine, https://www.theintersectionmag.com/technology/maryland-lynching-truth-and-reconciliation-commissions-commissioners-release-details-of-recommendations-for-reform
- Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission prepares for final public hearing in Baltimore, March 21, 2025 | Megan Sayles, for The AFRO, https://afro.com/maryland-lynching-truth-reconciliation/
- Group shares "hard but necessary" history during Westminster hearing on racial violence, lynchings, February 3, 2025 | Brennan Stewart, for The Baltimore Sun (via The Carroll County Times), https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/BaltSunLynching2025.pdf
- Public hearing on Carroll's history of racial violence set for Saturday in Westminster, January 29, 2025 | Allana Haynes, for The Baltimore Sun (via The Carroll County Times), https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/Jan29CarrollHearingInBS.pdf

2024:

- Commission hears of Southern Maryland Lynchings, November 19, 2024 | Matt Wynn, for Southern Maryland News, https://www.somdnews.com/enterprise/news/local/commission-hears-of-southern-maryland-lynchings/collection_1019223c-a5eb-11ef-9679-b77ce628bcfb.html
- Commission to hold hearing on region's lynching past, November 7, 2024 | Michael Reid, for Dundalk Eagle, https://www.dundalkeagle.com/news/state/commission-to-hold-hearing-on-regions-lynching-past/article_52202eae-9bba-11ef-b4db-3362f8badfe9.html
- More than 100 years late, lynchings get a hearing, October 28, 2024 | Petula Dvorak, for The Washington Post, https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2024/10/28/more-than-100-years-late-lynchings-get-hearing/
- Md. commission examines long-ago lynchings, and what they mean for today, October 25, 2024 | Mark Fowser, for WDEL, https://www.wdel.com/news/md-commission-examines-long-ago-lynchings-and-what-they-mean-for-today/article_d0b3f386-92e6-11ef-8d18-bb21dd874e64.html

- ‘Not ancient history’: MoCo grapples with legacy of lynchings, October 7, 2024 | Ginny Bixby, for MoCo 360, https://moco360.media/2024/10/07/not-ancient-history-moco-grapples-with-legacy-of-lynchings/
- ‘There he was hanged from a locust tree’: Identity of 3 DC-area lynching victims revealed by Maryland commission, October 6, 2024 | Dick Uliano, for WTOP News, https://wtop.com/maryland/2024/10/painful-chapter-in-maryland-history/
- Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission Public Hearing, April 13th, 2024 | The Frederick News-Post, https://www.fredericknewspost.com/news/crime_and_justice/descendants-of-frederick-county-lynching-victims-advocate-for-ancestors-acknowledgments/article_ece40ff2-e436-5a0c-9133-9443b53e530a.html
- Descendants of Frederick County lynching victims advocate for ancestors, acknowledgments, April 13th, 2024 | Gabrielle Lewis, for The Frederick News-Post, https://www.fredericknewspost.com/news/crime_and_justice/descendants-of-frederick-county-lynching-victims-advocate-for-ancestors-acknowledgments/article_ece40ff2-e436-5a0c-9133-9443b53e530a.html
- A Maryland city’s apology for lynchings rings hollow for some, March 11th, 2024 | Joe Heim, for The Washington Post, https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2024/03/10/lynching-apology-salisbury-maryland-racism/
- James Taylor Historical Sign Locations Presented to Town Council, February 21, 2024 | James Dissette, for The Chestertown Spy, https://chestertownspy.org/2024/02/21/james-taylor-historical-sign-locations-presented-to-town-council/
- “Envision the Razing of All These Structures”: Evidence of Forced Displacement and Dispossession, February 7, 2024 | Jack Del Nunzio, for Rediscovering Black History, National Archive, https://rediscovering-black-history.blogs.archives.gov/2024/02/07/envision-the-razing-of-all-these-structures-evidence-of-forced-displacement-and-dispossession/

2023

- Maryland Humanities Chief Executive Officer Selected for Truth and Reconciliation Committee, December 7, 2023 | Maryland Humanities Press Release, https://www.mdhumanities.org/news/maryland-humanities-ceo-selected-for-truth-and-reconciliation-committee/
- Maryland lynchings still haunt communities like Salisbury, October 2, 2023 | John-John Williams IV, for The Baltimore Banner, https://www.thebaltimorebanner.com/politics-power/social-justice/maryland-lynchings-salisbury-reparations-4JSQ4QRVVRGIZATBWVC6CARSUA/

2022

- Harford County lynching victims remembered with soil collection ceremony, *Baltimore Sun,* March 27, 2022, https://www.baltimoresun.com/2022/03/26/harford-county-lynching-victims-remembered-with-soil-collection-ceremony/
- Truth rising and lies dying’: Commission reviews roles of public institutions in Anne Arundel lynchings, October 8, 2022 | Dan Belson, for Capital Gazette, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/truth-rising-lies-dying-capital-gazette.pdf
- 5 Past Lynchings In Anne Arundel Are Topic Of Upcoming Meeting, October 6, 2022 | Jacob Baumgart, for Annapolis Patch, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/5-past-lynchings.pdf
- Maryland lynching commission arrives in Annapolis. Lots of questions. Few answers, October 6, 2022 | Rick Hutzell, for Meanwhile in Annapolis, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/md-lynching-commission-arrives-annapolis.pdf

- Carl Snowden: Public hearings set on lynching, race and racism | COMMENTARY, October 1, 2022 | Commentary by Carl Snowden, for Capital Gazette, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/capitalgazette-snowden.pdf
- Maryland commission holds hearing on 1885 Towson lynching of boy, June 7, 2022 | Ngan Ho, for The Baltimore Sun, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/06072022baltimoresun.pdf

2021

- Maryland is the first state to formally reckon with its history of lynching and racial violence, December 4, 2021 | PBS Newshour, for PBS News Weekend, https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/maryland-is-the-first-state-to-formally-reckon-with-its-history-of-lynching-and-racial-violence?utm_source=facebook&utm_medium=pbsofficial&utm_campaign=newshour&utm_content=1638662389
- The Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Maryland Commission on African American History and Culture Announce Partnership, April 26, 2021 | Staff of The Southern Maryland Chronicle, for The Southern Maryland Chronicle, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/southern-md-chronicle.pdf

2020

- MARYLAND DELEGATION MEMBERS RECOGNIZE $300,000 FEDERAL AWARD TO MARYLAND LYNCHING TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION, November 2, 2020 | Jamie Raskin Press Release, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/20201102_%20congressmanjamieraskin.pdf
- Maryland attorney general, state commission awarded $300,000 grant to investigate unsolved lynchings, October 28, 2020 | McKenna Oxenden, for The Baltimore Sun, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/20201028-baltsun.pdf
- Maryland Panel Tasked With Investigating State's Lynching History, September 28, 2020 | Interview for NPR's All Things Considered, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/20200928.pdf
- History of lynching in Maryland shows need for racial reconciliation, September 22, 2020 | Lisa Robinson, for WBAL, https://www.wbaltv.com/article/maryland-lynching-history-racial-reconciliation/32961065
- Landmark commission begins tackling 'unconfronted truth' of racially motivated lynchings in Md., September 18, 2020 | Ovetta Wiggins, for The Washington Post, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/twp-article-sep2020.pdf
- Truth and Reconciliation for Lynching Victims and Their Families, February 3, 2020 | DJ Cashmere, for yes! Magazine; https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/yes-magazine.pdf
- Maryland Lynching Commission Continues its Mission, January 15, 2020 | John H. Muller, for The Washington Informer, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/informer-article.pdf

2019

- BURN: The Lynching of George Armwood, December 19, 2019 | Pennant Productions, Ltd., https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kERIFEu_cyE
- The energy behind MD's lynching reconciliation panel, November 7, 2019 | University of Maryland Eastern Shore Press Release, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/umes-article1.pdf

- Civil rights author cheers public launch of new commission on Maryland's lynching history, September 13, 2019 | Jonathan M. Pitts, for The Baltimore Sun, https://www.baltimoresun.com/2019/09/13/civil-rights-author-cheers-public-launch-of-new-commission-on-marylands-lynching-history/
- Commission Begins Work to Confront History of Lynching in Md., August 13, 2019 | Danielle E. Gaines, for Maryland Matters, https://marylandmatters.org/2019/08/13/commission-begins-work-to-confront-history-of-lynching-in-md/
- Maryland panel on lynching begins yearlong study of killings, August 12, 2019 (UPDATED: August 13, 2019) | The Associated Press, published in Capital Gazette, https://www.capitalgazette.com/2019/08/12/maryland-panel-on-lynching-begins-yearlong-study-of-killings/
- Maryland panel on lynching to hold first meeting; at least 40 lynched in state between 1854 and 1933, August 12, 2019 | The Associated Press, published in The Baltimore Sun, https://www.baltimoresun.com/2019/08/12/maryland-panel-on-lynching-to-hold-first-meeting-at-least-40-lynched-in-state-between-1854-and-1933/
- Maryland Has Created a Truth Commission on Lynching– Can it Deliver?, June 14, 2019 | Kelebogile Zvobgo, for The Conversation, https://theconversation.com/maryland-has-created-a-truth-commission-on-lynchings-can-it-deliver-118154
- Md. lynching commission offers chance to investigate, atone, April 29, 2019 | Nicolas Creary, Op-Ed for The Baltimore Sun, https://msa.maryland.gov/lynching-truth-reconciliation/pdf/baltsun-mlcarticle1.pdf
- Maryland Establishes First Statewide Commission on Racial Terror Lynchings, April 22, 2019 | Equal Justice Initiative Press Release, https://eji.org/news/maryland-establishes-first-statewide-commission-on-racial-terror-lynchings/
- Lynching in Maryland: Proposed Commission could shed light on history, February 28, 2019 | Rose Velazques, for The Daily Times, https://www.delmarvanow.com/story/news/local/maryland/2019/02/28/lynching-maryland-proposed-commission-could-shed-light-history/2804010002/
- State Lawmakers Propose Commission to Confront Dark History of Lynchings in Maryland, February 13, 2019 | Danielle E. Gaines, for Maryland Matters, https://www.marylandmatters.org/2019/02/13/state-lawmakers-propose-commission-to-confront-dark-history-of-lynchings-in-maryland//
- Backers pitch bill that would create statewide commission on Maryland's lynching history, February 12, 2019 (UPDATED: July 1, 2019) | Jonathan M. Pitts, Op-Ed for The Baltimore Sun, https://www.baltimoresun.com/2019/02/12/backers-pitch-bill-that-would-create-statewide-commission-on-marylands-lynching-history/

Appendix H

Recommendations for Future Truth and Reconciliation Commissions

Appendix H: MLTRC Recommendations for Future Truth and Reconciliation Commissions

The Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Commission) was established in 2019 by House Bill 307 and amended by House Bill 297 in 2021 and Senate Bill 478 in 2023. The Commission was authorized to research cases of racially motivated lynchings and hold public meetings and regional hearings where a lynching of an African American by a white mob has been documented.

The Commission is the first in the country to address these heinous crimes. The Commission's Logistics Committee took the opportunity to review and reflect on the processes that were implemented to guide the Commission's work. We humbly put forth the following recommendations for future Truth and Reconciliation Commissions.

CREATING A COMMISSION

Areas to consider when creating a commission.

1. Legislation vs Executive Order. Both options have pros and cons. In Maryland, our path was via legislation. In some instances, the state may not be open to the work and another entity may need to assume responsibility. In determining the best option for your state or jurisdiction, consider which path might ensure the greatest success.
2. Appointments Process. Both the *timing* of appointments as well as identifying *who* is appointed are important considerations. An extended lag time between the creation of the Commission and appointments is neither helpful nor does it garner trust. Diversity of skillsets on the Commission is additive and necessary to the work. Full transparency of information, expectations of time commitment, and scope of the role for Commissioners, officers, and committee will lead to increased engagement. Engagement is instrumental to success. Forward, continued, momentum and engagement of all is important.
    a. If organizations are named in the legislation, it is important that organizational representatives are selected as to who has sufficient time as well as expertise to support the commission.
    b. Members-at-Large are important on the Commission. Members-at-Large should be identified through an unbiased, non-Commission review.
    c. The Chair of the Commission must have the authority to require action of Commissioners. In those cases where Commissioners are not engaged—quickly identify the issue and determine if it may be resolved.
    d. Establish and adhere to minimum committee hearing, general, and subcommittee attendance level; for example, a 75% minimum attendance requirement over a six month period. If a commissioner is unable to meet that minimum requirement lacking reasonable causes as shared with the commission chair and/or vice chair, that commissioner should resign or be removed from the commission so another more able person can be appointed.
    e. Establish a compensation structure for Commissioners so that they are able to prioritize this work given their other competing demands, either through honoraria or "buy down" of time from other obligations (i.e. teaching).
    f. Develop an onboarding process, especially for those Commissioners who join after the start date.
3. Staffing. Identify who will provide staffing support, how much, and the kind of staffing that is needed. Funding should go to staffing and to ensure staffing levels are appropriate to the work. If staffing is limited, identify funding to support

contracts. Prepare to post for contracted positions and establish the mechanism to manage bids, RFPs, interviews, and onboarding. Overall, clear direction is key otherwise time may be wasted and/or duplicated.

4. Committees. The MLTRC had three standing committees: Research, Reconciliation, and Logistics. In addition, an Executive Team was established.
    a. Research: The Research Committee was charged with gathering information about each of the identified cases of racial terror lynching in the state. Information gathered by the Research Committee provided a foreground of understanding for public hearings, and was shared and interpreted, as appropriate, via the Commission website. The Research Committee served as the liaison to contracted genealogists and to Commissioners serving as the lead for each county hearing to assist in the flow of information and housing of research. The Research Committee was busiest during the first two thirds of the Commission's time.
    b. Reconciliation: The Reconciliation Committee was charged with making recommendations and developing an implementation plan for reconciliation and restorative justice for local communities and the state around the legacy of racial terror lynching. This plan embraced a framework that views reconciliation and justice on a spectrum moving from minimalist to deliberative to maximalist processes of reconciliation. The Reconciliation Committee met during the duration of the Commission's time, and was busiest in the final year.
    c. Logistics: The Logistics Committee was charged with coordinating logistical matters associated with conducting the public forums called for in the legislation which created the Commission. This coordination included areas such as venue/site selection, public outreach, recording the sessions, and ensuring accessibility. The Commission created the Logistics Committee to help work through the detailed coordination of the many aspects of the Commission's work. A member of the Logistics Committee attended most of the planning meetings for the public hearings and the Chair sat on the Research and Reconciliation Committees to increase communication. The Logistics Committee was busiest during the planning and presentation of the public hearings, and during the final months.
    d. Executive: The Executive Team consisted of the Chair, Vice Chair, the three committee chairs, and a liaison to the Maryland State Archives. The group worked closely with staff from the Office of the Attorney General (OAG). The Executive Team met on alternating weeks.
5. Budget. The Commission did not receive funding from the state, although it did receive an allocation of staff time through the OAG's office. The Commission applied for, and received, funding from the Department of Justice Emmett Till Cold Case Investigations and Prosecution Program. The external funding supported outside contractors (e.g. genealogists, trauma informed mental health counselors, videographers for recording and live stream of hearings, marketing, project manager). Unfunded categories included, but were not limited to: cost of hearing and meeting space, food, transportation, and compensation for Commissioners (e.g. monetary or time, such as course release for college faculty). If no budget is provided to support the work of the Commission, the Commission will not succeed. It is recommended that there is an investment in sufficient resources to ensure the work is done to an acceptable standard, especially in this important and long overdue research.
6. Records Retention and Confidentiality. It is recommended that the process of retaining records, including identification of location, and ensuring confidentiality is established in advance.

7. Realistic Timeline. It is strongly recommended that time to establish relationships and build trust is included in the timeline and scope of work of the Commission. Relationship building with communities and local stakeholders, especially regarding sensitive information and leaving counties/communities after the hearing and/or sunsetting without follow-up, must be considered at the start of the Commission's work. Re-traumatization must be avoided.
    a. Research, both historical and genealogical, took much more time than expected. Making contact with descendants of victims, perpetrators, and communities, was labor intensive—and important.
    b. Allowing no less than nine months to write the final report is recommended. If feasible, it is recommended to allow for a full year.
    c. It is recommended that the number of general business meetings of the Commission be less than monthly, with increased emphasis on working sessions with committees.
8. Partnerships. Partnerships with local stakeholders is key to success. See #2 in the next section.
9. Media Contact. Consider in advance who will be the media spokesperson for the Commission and how media interactions will be managed. Media protocols are important to ensure that the purpose and role of the Commission is communicated accurately.

RESEARCHING THE HISTORY OF LYNCHING

Areas to consider when researching the history of lynching.

1. Communication. Assign one or more commissioners and staff to sit on all committees to increase communication.
2. Internal and External Groups. Balance the need to contract out for work with potential disruption of information, overlapping work, and lost information due to an unestablished process to store research. In Maryland, research was conducted by many groups (e.g. Heritage Associates [contracted], Maryland State Archives, Maryland Lynching Memorial Project and county coalitions [independent], and members of the public). The various types of researchers resulted in deep and broad information, but also confusion.
3. Research Storage. In advance of beginning the research process, identify: where research will be housed and how the process will be supported; who will have access, and how information will be accessed; and how research will be managed that should be kept confidential. Transparency is important and individual commissioners should not accept donations of research materials on behalf of the body.
4. Coalescing Research. Recognizing that research is a dynamic process, we recommend developing a process, prior to initiating research, on how to navigate coalescing research throughout—and after—the Commission's lifetime.
5. Research Challenges. The challenge of researching the history of individual lynching events cannot be underestimated. While the identification of descendants of lynching victim descendants and perpetrators may not be successful during the life of the Commission, recognize that these efforts will lay the groundwork for future inquiry in support of reconciliation efforts.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC HEARING PROCESS

Areas to consider when developing the public hearing process

1. Selection of Appropriate Location. In addition to selecting a location that is responsive to considerations such as wifi capability for live streaming, sufficient parking, ADA access, and proximity to public transportation, we recommend choosing a location that is identified and considered "safe" by the local community before, during, and after the public hearing. A courthouse, for example, might meet logistical requirements but may not be an environment in which the local community will be welcomed and at ease.
2. Types of Attendance. Accommodate both in person and virtual participation. Record public hearings and make the recording available for review online.
3. Agenda. Develop a consistent agenda for use at all hearings that is agreed upon by the full Commission in advance. Carefully consider who is provided with a platform to speak and ensure that long-silenced voices are given the opportunity to be heard. Ensure that there is sufficient time for public comment at the end of the formal program.
4. Management of Types of Testimony. Plan for testimony from descendants of victims, perpetrators, and communities; institutions; advocates; members of the public; etc. Awareness of potential interactions between those testifying and attending the public hearings is important. Ensure the necessary supports are identified and present.
5. Public Safety. Considerations of safety for members of the public in addition, those that provide testimony, and the Commissioners. The Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission collaborated with the Maryland State Police (MSP) for the public hearings. The MSP, Commissioners, and members of the public reported this to be a positive partnership.
6. American Sign Language (ASL) Interpreters. Ensure communication is accessible to all.
7. Mental Health Resources. Recommend including trauma informed mental health resources at all public hearings and at periodic Commission business meetings. Their observations and attendance may inform recommendations in addition to providing important mental health support. Include breaks during the public hearings proceedings as well as space for one-on-one and/or group conversations with the mental health providers.
10. Collaboration with Local Partners. Collaboration with local partners was a key reason why the Commission was successful. Local partners include county coalitions of the Maryland Lynching Memorial Project, NAACP, sites of worship, local government and elected officials, libraries, and local historians. Building community relationships is central, it is important to have buy-in from local communities and partners to avoid mis-representation and to build trust for future work. Make it clear from the beginning of the hearing planning process who is responsible for what, such that confusion is avoided.
11. Preserving the Hearing Record. Identify how the public hearings will be recorded, transcribed, reviewed, and stored.
12. Marketing. Identify how to publicize the public hearings and who should receive notice of the hearings (e.g. news media, local government, local organizations). Communicating information about the Commission's work and the public hearing process is critical in order to build an audience for the individual hearings and lay the groundwork for public acceptance of the Commission's reconciliation recommendations.
13. One Pager. It is recommended that the State, or oversight body, should prepare a one pager of state, local, and nonprofit resources that might be shared with the

Commission (e.g. videographer) to assist with the planning and process of the various components of planning and hosting public hearings.

WRITING THE REPORT & DEVELOPMENT OF RECONCILIATION RECOMMENDATIONS

Areas to consider when writing the report and developing reconciliation recommendations.

1. Partnerships. Partnerships with local stakeholders and community leads (e.g. Commission vs county coalitions vs NAACP vs community organizations, etc.) should be considered throughout the process.
2. Identifying Reconciliation Recommendations: Important to have "heavy hitters" who have the time and skills to do the work on the Reconciliation Committee when reviewing data and information—gathered from hearings, interviews, online forms, and oral histories—that inform the Commission's recommendations. Strive to keep conversations open to ensure community input during this important stage. This stage is informed by community input towards reconciliation and the repair of harm.
3. Public Support: Student (undergraduate and graduate from several disciplines) interns and members of the public assisted on the Reconciliation Committee and the subject-focused public hearing. Their work offered additional perspectives and proved to be invaluable. The Commission was open to this experience and benefitted from the contributions.
4. Report Preparation: Development of the final report is a complex task that requires the synthesis of a large amount of data in a compressed timeframe. Development of the report by the Committee is not recommended. Dedicated staff with a singular focus on report preparation is desirable with review and comment by the Commission built into the report development timeline.
5. Legal Considerations. Anticipate that there will be legal challenges to any proposals that attempt to address the harm that Black Americans have suffered as a result of centuries of racial discrimination. Consult with a civil rights attorney when drafting recommendations and consider defining the category of beneficiaries by their shared experiences rather than by their race.

SUNSETTING THE COMMISSION

Areas to consider when sunsetting the Commission.

1. Standard Operation Procedures (SOP). Develop a SOP for community partners to guide the active work during the planning and hosting of the public hearings as well as "how to stay involved" with state and nonprofit organizations after the Commission's sunset date. Efforts should be made so community partners are not re-traumatized (e.g. feelings of abandonment and or vulnerability) as members of the Commission and staff transition to their next assignments.
2. Unique Circumstances. Subsequent commissions may need to "build from scratch" to be reflective and respective of their unique communities, histories, and circumstances. It may be that local researchers, or others, coordinate in new and different ways. Remain open.
3. Communication. Remain open and transparent regarding the process and timeline as the sunset date approaches.
4. Archive. Ensure that all work products and relevant files of the Commission are archived for future generations. Ensuring that materials have been saved, inventoried and accessible is key.

Access. Ensure members of the public have free, easily accessible opportunities to review the final report. If possible, distribute the final report across a variety of platforms and mediums. Be intentional about distributing the final report to key stakeholders and contributors.